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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκρίτως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XV.



L O N D O N:

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M.DCC.LXIV.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

LOUISIANA.

^a **W**E shall confine our account of this country to that part of it which was ceded by *France* to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris* in 1763, and which is properly called *Louisiana*, to distinguish it from *Florida*, of which it was formerly a part. Having already mentioned the first attempts of *M. de la Sale*, father *Hennepin*, and others, to discover the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, we refer our readers to that part of our work, and shall here take up the history of *Louisiana*, which has been ceded as above, and is a settlement of very modern date. In the year 1684, when *la Sale* was at the *French* court on the subject of his discoveries, *de Seignelay*, then the *French* minister, had conceived some prejudices against him from *le Barre's* representations, which we have already mentioned. *La Sale* had the address to conquer them; and he not only won the esteem of that minister, but brought him to agree, that he should prosecute his discoveries, and attempt to enter the mouth of the *Mississippi* by sea, and there form a settlement. All the winter was spent in making preparations for his expedition, and, by his commission, he was to command all the *French* and savages that lay between fort *Lewis*, which he had already built upon the river *Illinois*, to that part of *Florida* called *New Biscay*; and that the *French* commodore, who was to carry him to *America*, should give him all the assistance in his power.

Le Sale attempts to discover the mouth of the Mississippi.

^b Four vessels of different burdens were built at *Rochfort*; on board of which were embarked an hundred soldiers, a *Canadian* family, thirty volunteers, some of whom were gentlemen, a few ladies, and workmen: but *Charlevoix* observes, that most part of the latter, as well as the soldiers, were most miserable ignorant wretches. Three ecclesiastics, with four recollects, amongst whom was father *Zenobe*, composed the rest of the company, together with a burges of *Rouen*, one *Joutel*, who was a man of some capacity, and intended as a kind of an assistant to *la Sale*. The ships destined for this discovery were the *Joli*, of forty guns, commanded by *M. de Beaujeu*; another vessel of six guns, which the *French* king made a present of to *la Sale*; the *Amiable*, a merchant-ship of about three hundred tons burthen, which carried *la Sale's* baggage and implements; and a ketch of thirty guns, freighted with ammunition and merchandizes. This little squadron had scarce cleared the land, when the main-mast of the *Joli* broke, and all the four ships returned to *Rockelle*, from whence they again set sail on the first of *August*, and on the 16th, they came in sight of

LaSale discovers the country of Florida, but misses the mouth of the Mississippi.

of the *Madeira*. By this time, *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* had quarrelled. The latter proposed to put into *Madeira*, there to take in water and provisions; but as the success of the expedition depended on its being kept a secret from the *Spaniards*, *la Sale* resolutely opposed their stopping, which increased the ill humour between them. When they came to *St. Domingo*, *Beaujeu* came to anchor at *Petit Guaves*, on the west end of the island, though *la Sale* had business of great importance, trusted to him by the minister, with *M. de Cussi*, the *French* governor, who lived on the north side; so that *Cussi*, with other two *French* officers, was obliged to repair to *Petit Guaves*, where he found *la Sale* greatly indisposed, chiefly through vexation, two *Spanish* peraguas having taken his ketch off the island. The growing discontents between *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* made all the adventurers despair of success in their undertaking; but, at last, *la Sale* recovered, and having dispatched his business at *Petit Guaves*, he set sail from thence on the 25th of *November*, more embroiled than ever with *Beaujeu*. About the 12th of *December*, they entered the gulph of *Mexico*, but were obliged by contrary winds to lie by, till the 18th. On the 28th, they discovered the continent of *Florida*, and having been informed that the currents in the gulph set strongly in for the east, he did not doubt that the mouth of the *Mississippi* lay a great way to the west; upon which he bore westward. The 10th of *January*, 1685, he was near the object of his search, without knowing it, and passed it without sending any of his people ashore. Some days after, beginning to be sensible of his mistake, he wanted to return, but *Beaujeu* refused to obey him, and *la Sale* acquiesced, though he had been extremely obstinate in all their differences of little consequence. Still holding to the west, they at last arrived without knowing where they were, at the bay of *St. Bernard*, which lies an hundred leagues to the west of the mouth of the *Mississippi*. Here *la Sale* discovered a river, which he imagined might be that he was searching for; and, after some farther bickerings with *Beaujeu*, he resolved to land all his people there. On the 20th of *February*, he sent orders to the commander of the *Amiable*, the merchant-ship, to lighten her, that she might sail up the river, and ordered one *le Belle* to command her; but the captain of the vessel refused to receive him. In the mean while, some of *la Sale*'s company who had landed were carried off by the savages; and as *la Sale* was running to disengage them, the *Amiable* was run ashore, designedly, as it was thought, by the commander. The crew was saved, and some part of the cargo; the whole of which might have been saved, had not the vessel's long boat been destroyed on purpose. This obliged *la Sale* to wait for next morning, when the *Amiable* bulged (U); so that no more was got on shore, than thirty casks of wine and brandy, some barrels of flour, and salted meat. In the mean while, a bundle of blankets and several other things had been driven from the wreck to the shore, where they were seized by the savages. They were redemanded by *la Sale* and his people with so much roughness, that the *Indians* resolved to be revenged, and refused to give up their prey. Upon this, *la Sale* seized their canoes, which they had left ashore. This incensed them still farther, and marching in the night-time to *la Sale*'s camp, they killed some of his men, and wounded others, amongst whom was *Moranger*, *la Sale*'s own nephew.

His obstinacy,

It appears from all accounts, that *la Sale* was obstinate, proud, and passionate, to the last degree; qualities but ill suited to an undertaking like his. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that *Beaujeu*, who considered his station of commander of a royal ship, as superior to that of *la Sale*, to whose orders he was subjected, could not bear with his peevish tyrannical humour, and took all opportunities to thwart him. All the sensible and independent part of the adventurers, some of whom had risked large sums in the undertaking, were disgusted for the same reason. They complained, that all their hardships were owing to *la Sale*'s headstrong humour in his disdain to advise with any one; and some of the most considerable amongst them proposed returning to *France* with *M. Beaujeu*, who was making ready for his voyage. *La Sale* applied to him for the cannon and bullets, which he had on board; but *Beaujeu* answered, that the season was so far advanced, that he could not spare time, as they were in the bottom of the hold, for putting them ashore. This was not the only mortification *la Sale* met with at this time; for though the captain of the *Amiable* was convicted of running it ashore with design, yet *Beaujeu* received him and his crew on board; and setting sail, he left *la Sale* with no more than ten field-pieces ashore, and without any balls. All those untowardly circumstances were far from daunting *la Sale*. He set about

(U) *Joutel*'s account of this voyage was published some years after *Hennepin*'s book, which *Charlevoix* wants so much to discredit, because he put himself under the protection of the *English* government, on account of the bad treatment he received from the *French*. We cannot, however, help observing, that there runs through all *Hennepin*'s narratives an air of native candour; that his relations, though discredited when they were published, have been confirmed by after-discoveries, particularly

the characters and descriptions he gives us of the savages and their countries; that though he had great reasons to be dissatisfied with *la Sale*, yet he does him at least as much justice as *Charlevoix* does; and that his accounts of that gentleman's rambles and discoveries differ very immaterially from those of *Joutel*, who, by the bye, did not publish his own work, and complained of its having been altered.

- a erecting a store house, which he intrenched and fortified as well as he could; and *Beaujeu* having sailed about the middle of *March*, a fort was begun, though *Hennepin* says, that it was almost finished before he sailed. While it was building, *la Sale* gave the charge of it to *Joutel*, and left about sixscore persons with him; and, with the remainder, which did not exceed 60, he proceeded in his own frigate up the river, being still of opinion that it either was the *Mississippi*, or a branch of it. He had not sailed far, when hearing some discharges, which had been made by *Joutel* against the savages, who were molesting the store-house, or fort as it is called, he returned back with five or six of his company, and informed *Joutel* that having found a most commodious situation for a fort futher up the river, he had begun to build it. He then took leave of *Joutel*, and returned to his newly founded fort, where he
- b soon perceived, that the savages had robbed his workmen of their tools and utensils; and that even when they were supplied by others, they knew not how to use them; so that the work went on very heavily. In the beginning of *June*, *la Sale* sent an order to his nephew *Moranget* to bring all the people from the first fort to the new fort excepting thirty, who were to be left with *Joutel* and the store-keeper. Scarce was the main body gone, when two ruffians entered into a conspiracy to murder *Joutel* and the store-keeper, and, after robbing the fort, to desert. This plot was discovered by a third soldier, whom the conspirators wanted to make an accomplice; and *Joutel* put them both in irons. On the 14th of *July*, a fresh order came from *la Sale* for *Joutel* entirely to abandon the first fort, and to repair to him with all his people, which he accordingly obeyed, but found *la Sale* and his new settlement in a
- c wretched condition. The fort was but little advanced, and scarcely any part of it, but a small magazine, was covered over head. They had planted and sowed, but little came up, and even that little had been destroyed by the wild beasts. Several of the most considerable adventures were dead, and maladies were every day encreasing amongst the living. All those mortifying circumstances greatly affected *la Sale*: but he dissembled his chagrin, and continued to behave with incredible spirit and industry. No sooner were all his people reunited, than he set them the example, by working at the fort with his own hand, which would have had an excellent effect by raising an emulation amongst the men, had he not destroyed it by his excessive cruelty and severity. He gave them no respite from labour; he could not bestow on any one a civil expression: he punished every fault with the utmost rigour, nay
- d barbarity; and misery, which commonly renders other men sociable, seemed only to exasperate him into inhumanity. At the same time, despair and want of wholesome food threw his men into a kind of langour, which carried off numbers. To crown those misfortunes, the imprudence of some of his people had rendered the inhabitants of the place irreconcilable enemies to the new settlement.
- THESE were called *Clamcoets*, and were a cruel perfidious people, but remarkable for covering their revenge and deceit under the appearances of buffoonery and gaiety. They had strong liquors of their own making, and were monstrously addicted to drinking. Both men and women amongst them go almost naked, and they have other barbarous customs peculiar to themselves. Those savages, at the same time, inhabit one of the finest climates in the world, wholesome, serene, and fruitful by nature. The river, on which the new fort was built, was called that of *Cows*, from the great number of those animals found on its borders; which abounded likewise with deer and kids. Some lions and tygers are likewise said to be found here, and a great many bears and wolves. Smaller game swarms all over their country, and their rivers and lakes abound with fishes. Their plains, though level, are extensive, but beautifully diversified with wood and water; and they produce herbs, that must be of the most salutary efficacy, because the inhabitants, who use them, notwithstanding their excessive drinking, are remarkably long-lived. To counterbalance all those blessings of nature, their rivers are pestered with sharks, and their plains with rattle-snakes. Their woods are full of most of the trees known in *Europe*, and many to which we are strangers. They are fruitful in vines, which bear both black and white grapes. Nuts of excellent kinds, and some of them very large, mulberries, and banana figs, grow every where; and a fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Tsonnos*, of the figure of an egg, but delicious and refreshing, is peculiar to this country. Notwithstanding the soil is extremely fertile, it seldom rains in this country, and the natives are furnished with plenty of salt, which the sun makes on the sea-shore and the banks of the lakes. The people who lie next to the *Clamcoets*; but farther up the country, are little known to *Europeans*; but are said to be pretty much of the same cast, and to live in the same manner, with the *Clamcoets*.
- ABOUT an hundred leagues towards the north, live the *Cenis*, or *Affinai*s, a more humanized people. They settle in habitations; they cultivate the earth, and raise maiz, beans, citrons, water melons, and various other vegetables, together with tobacco, and breed great numbers of horses to bring home what they kill in their hunting. The *Cenis* make war very differently from all the other *American* savages; for they take the field on horseback, with
- Mod. HIST. VOL. XV. C a bow,

and various removals.

A conspiracy.

Imprudent severity of La Sale.

Description of the Clamcoets.

and the Cenis.

a bow, and a quiver full of arrows, hanging at their back, and a buckler made of a bull's a hide on their left arm for carrying darts. Their bridles are made of horse-hair, as are their stirrup straps; the stirrups themselves being made of boards to the form of their feet, and their saddles are made of folded deer skin. If a prisoner can find means to escape, so as to enter into one of their cabins, he is free, and becomes one of the nation, otherwise they put him to a most excruciating death, and afterwards his body is dressed and eat. The *Cenis*, according to *Joutel*, cannot lend to the field above an hundred men capable of bearing arms. Their cabins are round, in the form of a hay-rick; but commonly very large, some of them being sixty feet in diameter: and each family has a piece of ground lying round its habitation. Besides their dwelling-places, they have other cabins, all of them most curiously constructed, that serve for their public meetings. Their furniture consists of hides and b skins, well-dressed, some matts and earthen-ware, all of good workmanship, for dressing their provisions, besides wicker-baskets for holding their pulse and fruits; and their beds, which are hung with skins, are made of woven canes, and raised three feet from the ground, spread with skins handsomely dressed, but with the hair upon them. When seed-time comes, the men and women labour equally, but in separate bodies. Their tools have no iron about them, and are all of wood; with which they just remove the surface of the earth; but the women have all the labour of the harvest. Their habit is much like that of the *Clamcoets*, and though they seem to have no notion of religious worship, yet certain faint ideas of a Deity are discernible in some of their ceremonies. We have thought proper to be more particular in our account of those savages, who are now become our neigh- c bours, if not subjects; nor can we have too much information, as to their manners and dispositions.

La Sale's war
with the sa-
vages.

At last, *la Sale* finished his fort, which he called that of *St. Lewis*, and he gave the same name to the bay of *St. Bernard*, into which he still believed the *Mississippi* discharged itself, and therefore he resolved to make an accurate survey of it in his frigate. It was now in the month of *October*; and he covered the roof of his fort with green turf, to prevent its being set on fire by the arrows, which the savages used to discharge with lighted matches tied to them. It happened luckily for *la Sale* and his adventurers, that those barbarians were cowardly to a ridiculous degree; and two or three *French* men often put as many dozens of them to flight, but they never failed to destroy the *French*, when they could do d it by stealth. *La Sale*, finding he could not reclaim those savages, endeavoured to subdue them, and he had many skirmishes with them, in which he was always conqueror; yet he never was successful, for he never could bring the savages to give him information concerning the country, or lend him their peruagas, which were so necessary for him in his intended voyage. So far, however, he prevailed, that the savages being intimidated, removed to a convenient distance from the fort, and gave the new settlers time for cultivating their lands, and raising their stock, which they did with amazing success, and obtained so much respite, that they even built canoes, which proved of the greatest utility to the undertaking. At last, in the month of *October*, *la Sale*, with the bulk of his people, who were now greatly reduced, went on board his frigate; but left *Joutel* with thirty-four persons under his com- e mand at fort *Lewis*, with orders, that he should admit none of those who attended him into the fort, without a particular order signed by himself. The frigate was gone three months, without *Joutel* or his people hearing any thing of it. About the middle of *January*, 1686, *Dubaut*, one of the adventurers, whose younger brother, *Dominique*, had been left in the fort, came back to it alone in a canoe; and *Joutel* thought he had so little to apprehend from him, that he received him into the fort without any order for admission from *la Sale*. From him *Joutel* learned, that *la Sale's* pilot had orders to sound the mouth of the river, but that he having come ashore with five men, they were all murdered, while they were asleep, by the savages; and *la Sale* the next morning found the remains of their bodies, which had been devoured by the wild beasts. The death of this pilot was an irreparable loss to *la Sale*. f He, however, ordered the frigate to advance up the bay; while he himself with two canoes crossed it, and sinking them in the water, he proceeded by land, attended by about twenty persons till he came to the banks of a fine river, where *Dubaut* pretended he accidentally lost them, and that in searching for them, he was insensibly carried back to fort *Lewis*. About the middle of *March* *la Sale* returned in a very miserable plight with his brother M. *Cavalier*, an ecclesiastic, who had attended him, and five or six persons; having dispatched the rest of his attendants, amongst whom was his youngest nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, whose name was *Cavalier* likewise, in search of his frigate, on board of which were his linnen, baggage, and most valuable effects.

He returns to
Fort Lewis.

To keep up the spirits of his people, he pretended to be wonderfully pleased with the dis- g coveries he had made, and he seemed even to forgive *Dubaut* for returning to the fort without his leave. Next morning, young *Cavalier* and the rest of his companions returned, but brought no accounts of the frigate, to the great mortification of *la Sale*, who had proposed first s

- a first to send it to the *French American* islands for supplies, and then to have coasted all the gulph of *Mexico* in prosecuting his search. Here we cannot help being of opinion, that during the whole of this expedition, *la Sale*, with all his personal resolution and perseverance, betrayed an untruly romantic disposition. If his main object was to discover the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, he might have done it, in much shorter time, by coasting the gulph of *Mexico* in his frigate, than he consumed in his idle settlements, and with a much smaller loss of men, than those he lost in his rambles. Be this as it will, the frigate, in the mean while, was lost in the following manner; an account of which was brought to the fort about the beginning of *May*, a few days after *la Sale* himself had set out in quest of it. The crew wanting water, an officer with six men went ashore to procure some; but the wind rising, and the night coming on, the long boat, in which they were, could not reach the ship, and never was heard of after. After waiting for some days, the crew, who were extremely weakened by thirst and fatigue, and very bad sailors, made for the fort; but the wind proving contrary, the frigate was thrown, and wrecked, upon the opposite side of the bay. The crew having lost their long boat, immediately set about building a raft; but it was so badly executed, that all those who ventured on it were drowned. The survivors made another with better success, on which they put all they could save out of the wreck, and they happily passed on it into the river on the opposite side of the bay, where it was useless, because it could not carry them up to the fort; nor durst they travel by land for fear of the savages. At last, meeting with an old canoe, they refitted it, as well as they could, and it brought them to fort *Lewis*.

The loss of his frigate.

- LA SALE* had then been two months gone, and it is not at all to be wondered at, if the settlement he left behind him was full of discontent and murmurings at what they suffered from his unaccountable conduct. Many of them, who could not remain shut up in the walls of the fort, were murdered by the savages as they strolled abroad a-hunting. The more sedentary, who were the most valuable part of the settlement, were carried off by diseases; and many of them ventured even to throw themselves upon the barbarians, who gave them liberty to live as themselves, while those who remained entered into a conspiracy, at the head of which was *Dubaut*, whose younger brother was with *la Sale*. *Joutel*, the commandant of the fort, coming to the knowledge of those cabals, acted with so much prudence and resolution, that he kept the conspirators in awe, till the return of *la Sale*, which was about the month of *August*. During this last ramble, he had visited the country of the *Cenis*, with whom he made an alliance, and who furnished him with five horses laden with provisions, but he had learned nothing of the main object of his search; and of twenty men he carried out with him, he brought no more than eight back. Amongst the missing was *Dubaut's* brother; but *la Sale* pretended that he had given him, and several others, leave to return to the fort. Those new losses augmented the discontent of the settlers, whom *la Sale's* presence, however, overawed; and, as the *Clamcoets* had begun to renew their incursions, he communicated to *Joutel* a design he had formed of transferring his settlement to the country of the *Illinois*, with which he was well acquainted; and that, in the mean time, he would undertake a third journey to visit them.

Discontents of the settlement.

- As he was preparing to set out, he was attacked by a fever, which confined him to the end of *December*, when being recovered, he renewed his preparations for his journey; and having given *Joutel* leave to attend him, he nominated another in his room to command the fort, the works of which had of late been much strengthened, and it was stored with a sufficiency of provisions for all who were to be left in it, who were no more than twenty persons, seven of whom were women, and two recruits. About the beginning of *January*, he set out, attended by sixteen persons, amongst whom was his brother *Cavalier* and his two nephews, father *Anastase*, *Joutel*, and *Dubaut*; the rest of his company we shall have often occasion to mention. For the conveniency of travelling, *la Sale* ordered the five horses, which he had brought from the *Cenis* to be loaded with provisions. This third ramble seems to have been dictated by necessity; for, in fact, he could remain no longer amongst the *Clamcoets*, and he missed of the end he had proposed, which he pretended to be the discovery of the *Mississippi*, but in fact to render himself master of the *Spanish* mine of *St. Barbe*; a more romantic enterprize than the other. Having travelled a little way, he met with some bodies of savages, whom he knew so well how to humour, that they parted good friends with him. He then crossed many rivers, but they encreased so fast, and were sometimes so swollen by rains, that they were obliged to think of building a large canoe for crossing them; and which they proposed to carry upon poles, and which proved to be of singular use. The countries through which he passed were extremely beautiful, and sometimes populous. Three great villages, particularly, are named *Taraba*, *Tyakappon*, and *Palonna*. The course by which he travelled was north east, and, at last, he came to the country of the *Palaguissens*, who, he was told, were in alliance with the *Spaniards*. Amongst his attendants was one *Hiens*, whose true name was said to have been *James*, and himself an English

He undertakes a journey to the Illinois.

1687.

English soldier; one *Larcheveque*; and a surgeon called *Liotot*. As it was impossible for our a
travellers to carry with them a sufficiency of provision to maintain them during the whole of
their journey, they had recourse to hunting, the country through which they travelled being
full of excellent game, and they divided themselves into small parties for that purpose.
Moranget, *la Sale*'s valet, and one *Nika*, an *Indian*, but a most admirable hunter, formed
one of those parties, and, as is reported, fell in with *Dubaut*, *Hiens*, and *Liotot*. A quarrel
ensued, in which *Moranget* is said to have abused *Dubaut*, whose younger brother was sus-
pected to have been put to death by *la Sale*'s own hand. It is probable, that the tyranny
and insolence of *la Sale* determined those men to dispatch him; but that they did not think
themselves safe without first murdering *Moranget*, the valet, and the hunter; which they b
accordingly did, when they were asleep, in a most inhuman manner, *Larcheveque* and the
pilot *Tessier* being their accomplices. Despair, rage, and misery, prompted them to cross
a river which lay between them and *la Sale*, to murder him likewise; but they were detained
for two days by the swelling of the waters. By this time, *la Sale* became excessively
uneasy, because *Moranget* and his two servants had not returned, and resolved himself to
go in quest of them, taking with him father *Anastase* and an *Indian*, and recommending the
care of his little encampment to *Joutel*. Having travelled a little way, he fired his gun at
some eagles that were hovering in the air, which in those parts is a sure sign of carrion
being near, and the discharge informed the assassins where he was. Two of them, *Dubaut*
and *Larcheveque*, passed the river; and the former concealing himself behind the bushes,
instantly shot *la Sale* dead. Father *Anastase* expected the same fate, but was informed by the c
assassins that he was safe. *Charlevoix* and *Hennepin* have bestowed great encomiums upon
la Sale's vast abilities, perseverance, spirit, and courage. But, admitting all they say to be
true, every man of sense, who reads his history, even as represented by them, can consider
him in no other light than that of a madman, with sensible lucid intervals. The manner of
his death was however deplorable, and perhaps a loss to the public. That he had made
great discoveries of nations lying upon the *Mississippi* can scarcely be doubted; but his austere
reserved humour, joined to his pride and ambition, (which seems to have been unbounded)
prevented his opening himself to any one on that subject. The *French* court, long after
his death, availed itself even of the manner of it, by pretending, in their solemn memo-
rials, that he had made discoveries of lands, (tho' they had, for a century before, been in d
possession of the *English*) and that his discoveries comprehended the whole extent of country
to the *Mississippi*, and even to the west of it.

*La Sale mur-
dered.
His character.*

*His effects
seized by the
murderers.*

CAVALIER was informed of his brother's death by father *Anastase* and the assassins,
who, after the murder of *la Sale*, returned to the encampment, and assured both him and
Joutel that they had nothing to fear; which is a farther proof, that personal resentment alone
prompted the murders that had been committed. *Dubaut*, however, took possession of the
command instead of *Joutel*; and he and *Larcheveque* shared *la Sale*'s booty, which they say
amounted in money, plate, and merchandizes, to 50,000 franks, between them. Next day,
which was the 21st of *May*, the assassins, with the other *French*, were prevented by the
badness of the weather from going to a village of the *Cenis* for provisions; nor could they set e
out till the 29th, when they met three savages on horseback, one of them habited like a *Spani-
niard*, but the other two stark naked. From them, *Joutel* understood, that some *Spaniards* lived
not far off; and the savage in the *Spanish* dress informed him, that he had been lately amongst
them; and to confirm what he said, he produced a printed paper of indulgencies from the *Holy
See* to the *New Mexican* missionaries. The *Spanish* dressed savage remained with the *French* all
night, and next morning led them to the village, where they were hospitably received by
the elders, who presented them with pipes of tobacco, and here they met with a *Frenchman*,
who lived with the savages, and could not be distinguished from one of them, and who had
deserted from *la Sale* during his first voyage. Through his interest, they were entertained
with all the luxury of the savages, and the day after, they exchanged some trinkets for f
provisions; but the village not containing a sufficiency for the *French*, *Joutel* remained in
it to complete their cargo, while his companions returned to their encampment. His chief
motive for this was, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with two other *French*
deserters, who, as he understood, were in those parts, and who he thought, could give
him some light with regard to the *Mississippi* river, and the route they were to take towards
the *Illinois*. *Joutel* had the good fortune to meet with one of those deserters, who was quite
naked, painted, and marked like a savage; not were his manners different, being in all
respects a complete barbarian. He could give him no information as to the *Mississippi*,
other than that there was a great river at the distance of forty leagues northwards. *Joutel*
took it for granted, that this river must be the *Mississippi*; and, being extremely desirous g
to get rid of the company of the murderers, he engaged the savage *Frenchmen* to go in search
of

*Joutel's ad-
ventures.*

a of another *French* deserter, who lived in the same manner amongst the *Cenis*, and to accompany him in his journey towards the river. The *French* savage soon found out and brought his companion, who was not quite so barbarously drest as the other, and confirmed all the other had said with regard to the great river, which he informed him lay to the north east; and he added, that *Europeans* were often seen near it: but both *Ruter* and *Grollet*, which were the names of the two *French* deserters, offered to accompany him in his journey to find it out. *Joutel* with joy accepted of their attendance; and, leaving him for that time, in two days after they brought him a horse to carry their provision on the road; so that they rejoined their companions on the 10th of *April*.

Travels of Joutel to the Cenis.

b WHILE *Joutel* was absent, *la Sale*'s murderers confederated amongst themselves to return to fort *St. Lewis*, where they were to build a bark, which was to carry them to the *French American* islands. Their companions, who were innocent of the murder, prepared, at the same time, to set out for the country of the *Illinois*. *Cavalier*, *la Sale*'s brother, was at the head of the innocent party; and, understanding that *Dubaut* and his companions were preparing to set out for the *Cenis* country, where they were to purchase horses to carry them to fort *St. Lewis*, he begged of them some powder and shot, and a few hatchets. His pretence for this was, that he and his companions, being too much fatigued to proceed, were determined to stop at the first village of the *Cenis* they met with, and he offered to give them a draught for the value of all he received, at *Dubaut*'s own price. After some consultation with his companions, *Dubaut* told *Cavalier*, that he and his friends were welcome to half the goods that were in the store-house; and that if his companions and he should not succeed in building a vessel at fort *St. Lewis*, they would return to *Cavalier*'s party, and that all of them should share the same fortune. Some days after, the assassins split amongst themselves; *Dubaut* was for returning to *Cavalier*, and going with him to the country of the *Illinois*, while the others insisted upon returning to fort *St. Lewis*, or having their dividends of *la Sale*'s effects. The dispute growing hot, *Hiens* shot *Dubaut* through the head, as *Ruter* did *Liotot*, the surgeon; and thus the murderers of *la Sale*, and *Moranget* were justly punished by one another's hands. According to *Hennepin*, *Hiens* took the part of the deceased *la Sale*, and pretended that he had killed *Dubaut*, because he was his murderer. *Joutel*, who was by this time returned, and an eye-witness to the tragical scene, seems to confirm the innocence of *Hiens*; for he told him he had nothing to fear, and that though he was confederated with *Dubaut*, yet he would have prevented *la Sale*'s murder, had he been present. *Joutel* was then at great pains to instruct the savages who attended him, and who beheld what had happened with visible signs of horror, that the two wretches who had been killed deserved their fates, because they had been guilty of murdering their superior, and plundering his effects; at which they appeared satisfied. *Larcheveque* was abroad hunting during this scene of murder, and *Hiens* declared he would serve him upon his return, as he had done *Dubaut*, but was dissuaded from it by the elder *Cavalier*, and father *Anastase*, while *Joutel* went and acquainted *Larcheveque* of his danger, and, upon his arrival at the encampment, *Hiens* and he were made friends. They then consulted what they were to do next, and *Hiens* said, that having promised the *Cenis* to assist them in their next campaign, he was resolved to be as good as his word; and that, if the company would attend him thither, they could then determine what they had to do. As *Hiens* and his confederates still remained masters of the company's effects, they were obliged to comply. Upon their arrival at the *Cenis* village, *Hiens* took the field with the savages, and six *Frenchmen*, all on horseback, while the rest of the *French* remained in the village. A few days after, the latter was surprised to see the women of the village, all bedaubed with earth, enter their cabins early in the morning, and dance round them for three-hours. The dance being ended, the master of the cabin presented each of the ladies with a piece of their country tobacco, which has a smaller leaf than that raised in the *French* plantations.

The murderers kill one another.

The Cenis gain a victory.

THE occasion of this festivity was a complete victory, which had been gained by the *Cenis* over their enemies, the *Cannobatinos*, a fierce people, who, according to father *Hennepin*, always boil in cauldrons, and eat, the prisoners they make. Hearing of the *French* and their fire-arms, that were on the side of the *Cenis*, they durst not stand a charge, but took to their heels; and the *Cenis*, in the pursuit, besides making prisoners, killed about forty-eight men and women. They returned in triumph with the scalps of the dead to their village, where they immediately put all the prisoners to death, excepting two boys and two women. One of the women was scalped, and dispatched, with a charge of powder and shot, to her countrymen, to inform them that the *Cenis* intended, in a short time, to pay them another visit. As to the other woman, she was conveyed to a lone place, where were none but her own sex, each of whom was armed with a sharp pointed bludgeon, with which they punched and beat the poor creature all over. They then plucked out her hair, and cut off her fingers, till, at last, she was happy enough to expire under their cruelties; and all this in revenge of the husbands and lovers who had been killed by her countrymen; after that,

Their triumphs on that occasion.

her body was cut in pieces, and given for food to their slaves. Next day was dedicated to rejoicings. The cabin of their chief was cleaned out, and spread with matts, upon which their elders and the *French* were seated. After this, the company was harangued by the village orator, upon the glorious victory they had obtained chiefly by means of the strangers. His speech being finished, a woman appeared, who held in her hand a large reed or cane; she was followed by the warriors, each of whom were preceded by their wives, carrying in their hands, the scalps of the enemies they had killed, and every warrior, having in his hand a bow and two arrows. The procession was closed by the two young prisoners; one of whom, being wounded, was on horseback.

Each warrior, as he passed by the orator, presented him with the scalps, which he took out of his wife's hand. The orator received them in both his hands, and after turning round to each quarter of the world, he laid them on the ground. This ceremony being ended, sagamet (X) was served in, in large platters; but, before any of the company touched it, the orator filled out some into a capacious dish, and placed it by way of offering before the scalps; after which he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and perfumed the same with its smoke. Besides the sagamet, the tongues of their enemies, who had been killed, were served up, and the two young prisoners were obliged to eat gobbets cut from the flesh of the woman mentioned to have been sacrificed to the fury of her sex. The like ceremonies were performed in other cabins; and the whole was concluded by a profusion of singing and dancing. The feasting being over, the *French* returned to their consultations upon the course they were to hold; but *Hiens* said, that he neither could agree to the journey to the *Illinois*, nor would he be publicly executed in *France*. The innocent part of the company made no reply to this declaration, but persisted in their resolution of travelling towards the *Illinois* country. The savages did all they could to persuade them to remain where they were, by painting in frightful colours the length, the difficulties, and dangers of the journey they were about to undertake; but, finding they were determined in their resolution, they readily gave them two of the best guides for their journey that their country afforded. *Hiens*, who was still in possession of *la Sale's* effects, and wore his scarlet cloaths laced with gold, a circumstance of no mean importance amongst the barbarians, offered to accommodate *Cavalier* and his party with whatever was in his power; but he forced him, at the same time, to give him under his hand a *Latin* attestation of his being entirely innocent of his brother *la Sale's* death.

The number of the party which travelled to the *Illinois* country were seven; the two *Cavaliers*, uncle and nephew, father *Anastase*, *Joutel*, one *Marle*, a young *Parisian* called *Bartholemy*, and *Tessier* the pilot. *Larcheveque*, *Munier*, and *Ruter*, had promised to accompany them; but the libertine habits they had contracted detained them amongst the *Cenis*. According to *Hennepin*, each was accommodated with a horse, powder and shot; and, wherever they came, the inhabitants entertained them with complaints of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, against whom they said twenty of their nations were confederated, and were extremely importunate with the *French*, because of their fire arms, to march against them likewise. The name of this people was the *Nasonis* (Y). The travellers parting with them, their guides led them northwards and north-east, through the most delightful countries in the universe, inhabited by different nations. They crossed four great rivers, besides many cuts made by the rain, and at last they came to the *Nabiri* or *Neanfi*, and after that to the *Cadodacchos*. As they drew near the chief village of this nation, one of their guides ran on before to apprize the inhabitants of their coming; upon which they met them a league from the village, received them with the calumet or pipe of peace, and entertained them with tobacco, leading their horses by the bridle, and introduced them in triumph into their village. According to the report given by those travellers, that people lived so far within the country, that they had never before seen an *European*; and they called the *French* "spirits come from the other world." Being arrived at the village, where they found all the inhabitants assembled, the woman washed their heads and feet with warm water, and the rest of the night, as well as day, passed in rejoicings. The *Cadodacchos* seem'd to have some notion of a deity by the worship they paid to the sun; two figures of which luminary were painted on their ceremonial habits. On the 24th of *June*, *Marle*, one of the *Frenchmen*, in bathing himself, was sucked by a whirlpool and drowned. Soon after, his body being found,

(X) This is the common food of the *Indians*, and is made of maiz or *Indian* corn, which, when boiled in a certain manner, will keep a long time. It is of itself insipid, though not disagreeable to the taste; especially when eat with salt or prunes. One species of it, when properly prepared, is said to be very delicious to the palate, but not as the *Indians* dress it; for they generally impregnate it, as they do all their other food, with tallow, when they can come at it.

(Y) *Hennepin*, though he seems himself to have been

an enthusiast, was born a subject to the king of *Spain*, and always expresses a warm side for that nation. He is therefore somewhat doubtful with regard to this part of *Joutel's* narrative, thro' the ignorance of the travellers in the savage language. But as it is universally agreed there is a great affinity in the language of all the savages in that country, the travellers had been long enough there to get some knowledge of it, and not improbably, a few of the inhabitants had a smattering of the *Spanish*.

Joutel and his party set out for the Illinois.

a it was carried to the house of the chief of the village, where his wife wrapped it decently up in a handsome mat; and the young man having dug a grave, it was interred by father *Anastase* with all the ceremonies of the *Romish* religion, to the great admiration of the savages, and adorned with a large cross.

It was the beginning of *July* before they left this hospitable people, and they next met with the *Natches*. This nation was the most gentle of all the savages of the *American* continent. They worshipped the fire, which, like the *Persian* magi, they never suffered to be extinguished; and it is probable from some traditions they had amongst themselves, that their forefathers came from a country on the borders of *Peru*; for they said that they retired thither to avoid subjection to a prince who was too powerful for them. But we shall have occasion to mention this extraordinary people again. Our travellers met from them, and all the other nations they passed through, with an affectionate reception, and an unbounded hospitality. The farther they advanced northward they found the greater plenty of beavers and otters. At last they came to the *Ouidiches*, where they met with three warriors of two nations, called the *Cabinnio* and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty-five leagues farther east north-east, and had seen some *Frenchmen*. They offered to conduct them to their countrymen. In their journey they passed several rivers and brooks, and were still treated with the same affection and hospitality by all the people through whom they passed. Some of them talked of a captain with one hand, who was *de Tonti*, and who informed them that a greater captain than he, meaning *la Sale*, would soon visit them. On the 20th of *July* they arrived amongst the *Akansas*, where they met with two of their countrymen, one *Delaunay*, and another *Couture*, who was a carpenter, that had been sent by *de Tonti* into those parts to meet *la Sale*; but despairing of his return, they had settled there. The chiefs of some of the people through whom they passed, turned their own families out of their cabins, that they might accommodate them with beds, and called them envoys from the sun, who came to defend them from their enemies with thunderbolts, meaning their muskets, which they had never seen before. Upon their departure the savages would have loaded their horses with otter and beaver skins, which are there in such plenty, that they are of no value; but the *French* declined to accept of them, and travelled for some days along the beautiful banks of the *Akanfa*, being visited by deputies from all the neighbouring countries. When they drew near the place where they were told the two *Frenchmen* lived, they fired their guns; upon which they appeared. After some conversation, *Couture* charged his countrymen not to mention the death of *la Sale* in public, because his very name had kept all the neighbouring savages in awe, and had supplied them with canoes, guides, and every thing they wanted.

Their travels and adventures.

AFTER this *Cavalier* persuaded *Couture* to intimate to the heads of the savages, that *la Sale* had made a fine settlement upon the gulph of *Mexico*; and that they, from whom he had those happy tidings, were then travelling to *Canada*, that they might there look for proper merchandizes; that they would soon return with a good number of *French* to settle themselves in their country, in order to defend them from their enemies, and to make them happy by the fruits of an established commerce; and that they hoped at the same time to obtain from them the same assistances and marks of friendship they had experienced from the nations through which they had travelled. The *Akansas* omitted no circumstance of honour or accommodation for the entertainment of their guests, and assembled together, to consult upon their proposals. Some difficulty was raised with regard to guides; for, amongst them, all are equally reckoned children of the public: but even that difficulty was got over by promises and presents, to which the most generous of the savages are not insensible, tho' we must do them the justice to say, that all goes into the public stock; by which private avarice amongst them, in fact, becomes a public virtue. The young *Parisian* unable to travel farther, remained amongst the *Akansas*, while the other attended for some time by *Couture*, proceeded on their journey. On the 27th of *July*, they embarked on board a peragua, rowed by four savages, one from each nation they were then treating with, the better to express their universal friendship with the *French*. Falling down the river *Akanfa* they reached, the same day, the village of *Toriman*, where they had the first view of the *Mississippi*, which they crossed on the 29th (Z); and the same day they reached the village of *Kappas*, where *Couture* took leave of them. On the 3d of *September* they entered the river of the *Illinois*, at a place one hundred leagues distant from fort *Crevecœur*; and on the 14th they arrived at fort *St. Lewis*, where an officer, one *Bellefontaine*, commanded in the absence of *Tonti*, who was then serving in *Canada* under *Denonville* in his expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*. Arriving there, they were pestered with questions about *la Sale*, whom they pretended they had left about forty leagues on the other side of the *Cenis's* country, fearing, that if the savages

(Z) This route is rendered very unintelligible by *Akanfa*; so that *Joutel* seems to be in the right, in making *Kappas* the most northerly village of the *Akansas*. *Charlevoix's* own map of *Louisiana*, where the village of *Kappas* is placed on the same side of the *Mississippi* as

in the neighbourhood had heard of his death, they should have found it impossible to have procured accommodations for their journey to *Canada*, which was extremely hazardous on account of the war then raging with the *Iroquois*. It happened that *Tonti's* commissary *de Boiscondet* was setting out at the same time for *Canada*, and all of them embarked together: but the severity of the weather obliged them to put back to the fort, and took from them all hopes of reaching *France* that year, or sending from thence any succours to their friends, whom they had left at the *Louisianian* fort of *St. Lewis* near the bay of *St. Bernard*.

And arrive in France.

ON the 27th of *October*, *de Tonti* arriving at the fort, *Cavalier* informed him of his brother's death, from whom he had received a letter of credit for 4000' franks or value, which *Tonti* immediately paid him in furs. It was the 21st of *March*, 1688, before they again set out; and, on the 10th of *May*, they arrived at *Michillimakinac*, from whence they repaired to *Montreal*. There they pretended to *Denonville* and *Champigny* the intendant, that they were obliged to go directly for *France*, that they might from thence send supplies to *la Sale*, and the governor and intendant believed them on their words (A). They accordingly made the best of their way to *Rochelle*, and *Charlevoix* often saw, and conversed with *Joutel* in 1723. We have thought proper to be the more particular in our detail of this wonderful journey, which, tho' performed by private *Frenchmen*, may now be of public utility to this country. When our adventurers came to *Paris*, and began to solicit for supplies to be sent to the settlement at *St. Bernard's bay*, it was judged to be too late to risk any; and that apprehension proved but too true. No sooner were the *Clamcoets* informed of *la Sale's* death, and the dispersion of his company, than they surprised the inhabitants of *St. Lewis's* fall, and murdered all of them, excepting three sons of one *Talon* and *Eustace de Breman*, and an *Italian*, all of whom they carried to their village. This *Italian*, who had performed by land the stupendous journey between *Canada* and *St. Bernard's bay* to join *la Sale*, to whom he certainly would have been of infinite service, saved himself by a very extraordinary stratagem. When they were about to kill him, he told them they did him injustice, because he carried them all in his heart; and that if they would spare him till next morning, he would convince them that what he had said was true. The strangeness of the proposal, and the air of confidence with which the *Italian* spoke, startled the barbarians, who, without hesitation, granted his request. Next morning, when the trial came on, he boldly advanced towards the savages, and opening his breast, to which he had neatly fixed a small looking-glass, in which each of them saw himself, they were so amazed that they spared his life.

The French at fort St. Lewis murdered.

The Spaniards alarmed.

By this time, the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* hearing of *la Sale's* expedition, were so much alarmed, that they sent five hundred men into the country of the *Cenis*, where they made *Larcheveque* and *Grollet* the mariner prisoners. Sometime after, another body of two hundred *Spaniards* arrived at the same place, and when upon their march they seized *Munier*, and *Peter Talon*, the brother of those we have mentioned above. The design of the *Spaniards* was to have settled two *Franciscan* missionaries amongst those savages; and understanding, that *Talon* and his companion were perfectly well acquainted with the language of the natives, they treated them with great civility, that they might induce them to remain with the missionaries. *Talon*, upon this, informed them that he had three brothers and a sister in slavery amongst the *Clamcoets*, and the *Spaniards* immediately sent a detachment to find them out. It was with great difficulty that this detachment brought off two of the *Talon* brothers, their sister, and the *Italian*, the barbarians having conceived a great affection for them all. Next year, a detachment of two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* came to the village of the *Clamcoets*, where the third brother of the *Talons* remained still in servitude, as did the *Italian*. Both of them were seized and conducted to *St. Louis du Potosi*, a city of *New Mexico*. From thence they were carried to *Mexico* itself, where they were admitted into the service of the viceroy. As to *Larcheveque* and *Grollet*, they were sent to *Old Spain*, and from thence back to *Mexico*, probably to work in the mines there; the like fate seems to have attended *Eustace de Breman*. Their examples furnish us with a pregnant proof of the unrelenting jealousy of the *Spanish* government with regard to its possessions in *America*. The clemency shewn towards the *Talons* and *Eustace de Breman*, was probably owing to their youth and inexperience, which rendered them less obnoxious to the *Spaniards*. It is plain, however, that none of them were suffered to return to *France*, for fear of their giving information of the mines, commerce, and country possessed by the *Spaniards*. Eight years after, the three brothers, the *Talons* being grown up, were sent to serve on board the *Spanish* vice-admiral's ship, which, being taken by a *French* ship, procured them their liberty, and they returned to *France*, where they related the above particulars, which otherwise never could have been known through the *Spaniards*. As to the youngest brother of all,

(A) We can by no means see the use or expediency of this imposition, as they had already acquainted several of the *French* officers with *la Sale's* death.

a and his sister, they were carried to *Old Spain* by the viceroy when he was relieved from his government.

Thus ended the mighty projects of the *French* court under the direction of *M. de la Sale*, to obtain a settlement at the mouth of the *Mississippi* which might overawe both the *English* and the *Spaniards* in *America*; for both of them were then at war with *France*. The reader has been sufficiently informed of *la Sale's* character, and his various adventures. His reserved severe temper, and his numerous ramblings, which he and his countrymen called voyages and discoveries, together with his sudden and tragical death, left his airy countrymen impressed with notions that he had discovered mines and countries richer than those of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and that a little spirit and perseverance alone were wanting to make the *French* rival the *Spaniards* in riches upon the continent of *America*. The truth is, *la Sale's* real object, as we have already said, were the mines of *St. Barbe*; and yet we know of no regular plan, and no feasible attempt he made to become master of them. It is possible, as happened in the case of *Canada*, that the perpetual wars in which his court was engaged in *Europe*, prevented it from sending the necessary assistance for his undertaking to *St. Domingo*, from whence he seems to have expected them; but had they arrived, his romantic, disagreeable humour rendered him the most unequal man in the world for carrying on a regular plan of operations. After his death his court resumed his chimerical projects, and entered into intrigues with a *Spaniard*, the *Comte de Pinaloffa*, for realizing them; but this bubble likewise burst, and the accession of the duke of *Anjou* to the crown of *Spain* united the interests of that monarch with those of *France*.

Reflection on *la Sale's* expedition.

c NOTWITHSTANDING all we have said of *la Sale's* chimerical projects, it is certain that his ramblings, and the visits he paid the savages on the *Mississippi*, made the *French* better acquainted with that country than they had ever been before. He had given it in honour of *Louis XIV.* the name of *Louisiana*, which it still holds; and though he had been unsuccessful in the search, yet after his death it was generally agreed, that the *Mississippi* discharged itself into the gulph of *Mexico*, and that a settlement might there be made, attended with the greatest advantages to the *French* nation. This opinion undoubtedly was rational and well founded; but about the year 1719, it turned into a kind of a phrenzy amongst all ranks of people, which being encouraged by a designing government, brought that

The *French* resume his projects.

d monarchy to the gates of destruction. We are now to trace the steps by which this calamity was effected. After the death of *la Sale* his projects appeared for some time to have been dropt by the *French* ministry: but *Iberville*, whom we have so often mentioned in the history of *Canada*, after his successful expedition to *Hudson's Bay* in 1697, revived them, by undertaking to *Pontchartrain* the discovery of the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, and of building a fort, and making a settlement there. *Iberville's* known capacity, both as a seaman and a land officer, and the reputation he had acquired in both services by his prudence and address, prevailed with the minister to order two ships on this expedition, the *la Francois* and *la Renommee*, to be commanded by the marquis *de Chateaumorand* and *M. d'Iberville*. Setting sail on the 17th of *October* 1691, they cast anchor at *Cape Francois* in *St. Domingo*. From

which are prosecuted by *Iberville*.

e thence they proceeded to *Leogane*, where they had a conference with the famous *M. Ducaffe*, then governor of *St. Domingo*, who made a most favourable report to the minister of *Iberville's* great abilities for carrying into execution what he had undertaken. On the last day of the year the two captains again set sail, and on the 27th of *January*, 1699, they discovered *Florida*; and sending an officer a-shore to wood and water, they understood that they were opposite to *Pensacola Bay*, upon which three hundred *Spaniards* had been settled for some time, in order to be beforehand with the *French*, whom they expected in those parts. *Lefcalette*, the *French* officer, who had been sent a-shore, entered the harbour of *Pensacola*, and demanded permission of the governor to take in wood and water. The governor, understanding from whom he came, sent his major with his compliments to the two *French* cap-

His difficulties.

f tains (for *France* and *Spain* were then in peace by the treaty of *Ryswick*) with a letter, importing, that his most Christian majesty's two ships were welcome to take in wood and water, and to come as near as they pleased to the shore, but that he was expressly ordered to admit no foreign ships into the harbour; yet, that he would send his pilot to conduct them into the bay, if they should be forced to take shelter through bad weather. On the 31st the two *French* captains, upon reflexion, not thinking it proper for them to force an entry into the harbour, stood out from the bay into which they had been driven by stress of weather; and *Iberville*, who was foremost, anchored at the south-east point of the river *Mobile*, famous for the bloody victory which the *Spanish* general *Ferdinand de Soto* obtained there over the

g savages. On the 2d of *July*, he went a-shore on an island about four leagues in circumference, with a tolerable good harbour, when clear of the sands, which sometimes choak it after tempestuous weather. *Mons. d'Iberville* gave this island the name of *Massacre*, on account of the skulls and bones of about sixty people, who had been newly devoured, and were scattered along the shore; but this term was afterwards changed for that of the isle of

At last he enters the Mississippi.

Dauphin. From this isle *Iberville* passed to the main land, where he discovered the river *Pascagoulas*, on which he met with a great number of savages. All those discoveries, however; together with the subsequent one of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, were far from being new, either to the *English* or the *Spaniards*; but they served to the *French* as pretexts for ascertaining to themselves the property of the country. The informations which *Iberville* received of the *Pascagoulas* left him no room to doubt, that he would soon discover the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which the savages called *Malbouchia*, and the *Spaniards* *la Palisade*, on account of the vast number of trees which are carried down by the force of the tide, and stick in the mud at the mouth of the river. On the 2d of *March* he entered it, and being well satisfied as to the reality of his discovery, he communicated the same to *Chateaufort*, who was sailing gently after him, and who, according to orders, immediately returned in the *François* to *St. Domingo*. *Iberville*, when he made the discovery, was attended by his ensign *de Sauvolle*, his brother *de Bienville*, and about forty-eight others on board twenty small sloops. The farther he proceeded up the river, the more he found fault with the informations that had been given him concerning it by *de Tonti* and *Hennepin*; by this circumstance, which is related by *Charlevoix*, who had in his hands *Iberville's* letters to the minister on that head, is of no great weight, as it was natural for *Iberville* to be fond of having the honour to be the first discoverer. When he arrived at the village of *Bayagoulas*, he went ashore, and the chief of the savages there conducted him to a temple of a most curious construction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and, amongst others, of a red cock. The entrance was, by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long, supported by two large pillars fastened to a beam running across the roof of the portico. Both sides of the entrance were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and several birds, and at the head of them all was a *Chouchouacha*, a creature, whose head is the size of that of a sucking pig; its fur is grey and white, its tail resembles that of a rat; its feet those of a monkey; and the female has under its belly a bag, where it engenders, and feeds, its young ones. The door of this temple was but three feet high and two broad, and the savage chief ordering it to be opened, entered it, being followed by *Iberville*. The inside was formed like other cabins in the manner of a cupola, but a little shattered, and about thirty feet in diameter. In the middle of it stood two faggots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and burning, and filled the temple (as it was called) with smoke. A scaffold was raised from the floor, heaped with a great many bundles of the skins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been sacrificed to *Chouchouacha*, whose figure was represented in several parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of *Bayagoulas*. There was another temple of the same kind in the village, but *Monf. d' Iberville* does not seem to have visited it. As to the village itself it consisted of seven hundred cabins, each containing a family, but without any other day-light than what came in at the door, and a hole about two feet in diameter in the middle of the room or roof.

Meets with a letter to la Sale from Tonti.

From thence *Iberville* went up to *Oumas*, where he was received with great affection by the inhabitants. Though he met at *Bayagoulas* with some evidences of *de Tonti's* having been there, yet he began to entertain some suspicions as to the identity of the *Mississippi*, on account of its appearance, which was very different from the description given of it by *de Tonti*. At last a letter, which was presented to *de Bienville* by a savage chief, removed his uncertainty. It was written by the chevalier *de Tonti*, and directed to *la Sale*, who is there styled governor of *Louisiana*; and it is dated from the village of *Quinipissas* (the same as *Bayagoulas*) the 20th of *April*, 1695. In this letter *Tonti* informs *la Sale*, that having found the standard with the *French* arms, which he had erected, thrown down by the violence of the tide, he had set up another about seven leagues from the sea, and had there left a letter in a tree. He says that all the nations he came through sung him the calumet, and that they were much afraid of the *French*, ever since *la Sale* had left that village. "I shall finish, continues he, in acquainting you with the very great trouble it gives me, that we are obliged to return with the misfortune of not having met with you after two canoes had skirted the coast of *Mexico* for thirty leagues, and thole of *Florida* for twenty-five."

D'IBERVILLE, being now satisfied of his having entered the real river, returned to the bay of *Biloxi*, situated between the mouths of the *Mississippi* and the *Mobile*, where he built a fort three leagues from the river *Pascagoulas*, of which he made *de Sauvolle* commandant, and *de Bienville* lieutenant; and then he returned to *France*, where he entirely satisfied that court as to the reality of his discovery; but remained there a very short time, and on the 8th of *January* 1700, he was again at *Biloxi*. He there understood, that, during the preceding *September*, an *English* vessel of twelve-guns, had entered the mouth of the *Mississippi*, and was met by *de Bienville* as he was sailing to take soundings twenty-five leagues from the sea. *De Bienville* acquainted the *English* commander that he had no business there, and advised him to be gone, otherwise he would force him. The *Englishman* pleaded pre-occupancy on the part of his countrymen, who, he said, had a better right to that river than the *French*; but

- a but finding it to no purpose to discuss the matter farther at that time, he retired, threatening to return with a greater force. *Iberville*, at the same time, understood, that other *English* from *Carolina* were amongst the *Chicachas*, where they traded in furs and slaves; and where, according to *Iberville's* accounts, they had instigated the *Tonicas* to massacre an ecclesiastic. This, with the declarations of the *English*, that they had taken possession of the mouth of the *Mississippi* fifty years before, determined *Iberville* to renew the possession, which had been taken formerly by *Monf. de la Sale*, of that river, and the lands about it, as if that empty ceremony could defeat a prior possession, which most undoubtedly was in the *English*. At the same time *Iberville* erected on the bank of the river another little fort mounting four pieces of cannon, and gave the government of it to his brother *Bienville*;
- b but this fort, which stood towards the east of the river's mouth, was soon abandoned. While *Iberville* was busied in giving directions about it, *de Tonti* arrived with about twenty *Canadians*, who had been settled amongst the *Illinois*. By this time a pamphlet had been published upon the discovery of *Louisiana*, and the *Mississippi*, under *Tonti's* name; but when *Iberville*, who found great fault with it, mentioned it to *Tonti*, he disowned it, and threw the blame of its publication upon a *Parisian*, who had undertaken it for lucrative views. *Charlevoix* therefore casts the blame of the *English* endeavouring to disturb this settlement (B) upon *Henne-*
pin;

- c (B) Father *Charlevoix*; it is true, is by far the most circumstantial and judicious of all the *French* writers, who have treated their *American* affairs, and when we consider him in the triple light of a jesuit, a traveller, and a historian, his freedom and candour surprize us. We are, however, to reflect, that he composed his history from such materials as were furnished him by the *French* ministry, who had a certain end to serve in all he wrote. The reader, therefore, cannot be displeased here to read the accounts given by the *French* themselves in their gazettes, when the *Mississippi* was first discovered.

- d "Our settlement at the mouth of the *Mississippi* will cost us much more pains and trouble before it is brought to perfection. In the mean time, it makes the *English* no less jealous than the *Spaniards*. The first had a design to have made themselves masters of our fort, and came up with two frigates, and three hundred men, but finding two of the king's men of war in the road, they retreated, after they had paid several civilities to the commanders, and eaten with them several times. Another *English* ship of twelve guns sailed up the river above thirty leagues beyond our fort, but *M. d'Iberville* forced her to return, and at the same time took an *Englishman*, who treated with the savages our confederates. He came into that country thro' the river *Oye*, which, after a course of two hundred leagues, throws itself into the *Mississippi*, two hundred leagues from the mouth. The *Englishman* was sent to *Quebec*, in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his example to make the *English* desist from trading in that country. We have discovered two other mouths of the river *Mississippi*, besides that upon which our fort is built. Now in regard that whatever we sowed in the parts thereabout has produced nothing, because the ground is dry and sandy, *M. d'Iberville* has caused another fort to be built about thirty-five leagues to the north-west upon good land. 'Tis believed that the new fort is not above fifty leagues from the mines of *Zacathua*; but that discovery being yet in its infancy, we can expect no benefit from it soon. The same commander had sailed very high up the river, and joined *M. de Tonti*, who gave him several skins for which he had trafficked in his way. They were like cow-hides, of an extraordinary bigness covered with wool, and which would be of great use for coaches; but before his departure he was to conclude an alliance with a very numerous nation, adjoining to *New Mexico*, and an irreconcilable enemy of the *Spaniards*, with whom they are always at war."—*State of Europe*, Aug. 1700.
- f

- g Since the discovery of the river *Mississippi* in *America*, there has been another more considerable made by eleven *Frenchmen*, about eight years ago, but of which no information was given, till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of these discoverers, after some hardships, got safe with much ado; as also from *Bress*, where another of the discoverers lan-

ded about the beginning of this month. Both report, that sailing up the river *Mississippi* in *Canada*, they saw another river to the north west, which was to them unknown. They sailed up this river and after a navigation of about three hundred league they met with a civilized people, very courteous, and by whom they were received, and treated very kindly. Nor were they less surprized with the magnificence of the people, who made use of nothing but gold for every thing, and made so slight of it, that they let them carry away as much as they could load in their canoe. But in their return they were taken by the *English*, then at war with *France*. They add, that the *English*, not being satisfied with their booty, would needs know of their prisoners where they had it: which the *French* not being willing to discover, they put three to the rack, who died under their torments, without making any discovery. That the rest fearing the same usage, took part with the *English*, except the two abovementioned, who, escaping different ways, yet agree in the report. Some geographers, to whom the court ordered that this discovery should be made, judge by the situation of this river, that if you could ascend as high as the spring, which must come from the west, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan*, which they believe to be not far distant.

The river of *Mississippi* might dispute in beauty with the most renowned rivers in the world, were it not for a shelf, that lies before the mouth of it, where there is not above ten feet water; so that none but small frigates and flat-bottom'd boats can get into it. The banks of it are covered with great high trees, embraced by bastard vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the sight, but no way pleasant to the taste. The channel of the river is twice as large as that of the *Seine*, keeping the same breadth all along. The stream is rapid, though it be full of windings and turnings, from the north-west for above nine hundred leagues. Among others, it receives into it two considerable rivers, which the natives of the country call *Ouabache* and *Missouri*. The first takes a long course from the north-east; but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and fishing are equally plentiful; we saw there cows that bare wool, of a prodigious bigness, and roe-bucks in great numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the river, we met with above fifty sorts of savage nations, as well upon the banks, as in the parts adjoining, the most numerous of which did not amount to above 1000 men; the people are well set, and tall enough, but without any religion; and they frequently make war one upon another, for the possession of women: striving to enlarge our discovery, we lit upon one of these nations, who, upon our arrival, were so kind as to leap upon our shoulders in sign of peace, and pushed on their civility so far, as to rock us all night, but we admitted the impertinent ceremony

pin; whose book was published long before this time. But as we have before observed, a there can be no manner of doubt, that the whole of this river, and the adjacent country was known long before to the *English*, under the name of *Carolana*, and that it was comprehended in a grant that was made by king *Charles* the 1st. on the 30th of *October*, in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir *Rob. Heath*, knt. his attorney-general. The extent of this grant^b set out in the charter, was, all the continent on the west of *Carolana*, from the river *St. Matteo*, lying, according to the patent, in thirty-one degrees of north latitude (though by later and more accurate observation, it is found to lie exactly in lat. 30°. 10') to the river *Passo Magno*, in north lat. 36°. extending in longitude from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific* sea, a tract which was not then possessed by any Christian power, together with all the islands of *Veanis* and *Bahama*, and several adjacent islands lying south from the continent, within the b said degrees of latitude, to be all called by the name of the *Carolana* islands. Sir *Robert Heath* conveyed over his right to the earl of *Arundel*, who was at the expence of planting several parts of the country, when the civil wars broke out, which put a stop to that noble design. By different conveyances, immaterial here to be mentioned, the property of the whole country devolved upon one Dr. *Cox*, who, at a large expence, discovered part of it, and, who actually presented to king *William* a memorial, in which he incontestibly proved his claim to it, and his son *Daniel Cox*, Esq; who resided fourteen years in the country, continued his father's claim, and published a very full account of it^c.

The English
possessors of
Louisiana before
the French discovery.

It is therefore idle, and contradictory to a thousand evidences, to suppose the *English* to have had no information of this country, but from *Hennepin*, whose first discoveries were c made at the expence of the *French* king. *Callieres* in his letters to *Pontchartrain* affects to be of that opinion; but the facts, with many others too tedious to introduce here in favour of the *English*, are so evident, it would be superfluous to insist upon them. King *William* himself was so much convinced of the right his subjects had to this country, that about the year 1698 he had some thoughts of planting it with a colony of *French* protestants. It happened, however, unfortunately for the *English* claims, that the people of *New York* likewise put up a title to *Louisiana*: and twenty of the *New York* people actually set out from thence to treat with the *Illinois*, on pretence that it had been ceded to them by the *Iroquois* who had conquered it. Be this as it will, it is certain, that three ships were sent from *England* to take possession of the *Mississippi* at the same time the *New York* people were treating with d the *Illinois*. This was in the month of *October* 1698. The *English* ships stopt at *Carolina*; but two of them, one of twenty-four, and the other of twelve, guns, proceeded to the gulph of *Mexico*, and holding always towards the east, the smaller ship actually entered the *Mississippi*, and was that which had been met with by *Bienville*, while the other sailed westward to the province of *Panuco* in *New Spain*, there to concert measures for driving the *French* from the *Mississippi*.

It must be confessed that the interest of the *Spaniards* and the *French* with regard to this new settlement, were, at this time, strangely intangled. The *Spaniards* disliked the neighbourhood of the *French* on the gulph of *Mexico*; but they could get rid of them only by the *English*, whose neighbourhood was still more formidable to them. King *William*, on e the other hand, who, on all occasions, was, perhaps, too tender of the interests of *Spain* in *America*, had the settlement of the *French* protestants on the *Mississippi* greatly at heart. But though the *Spaniards* would willingly have joined him in driving away the *French*, they could not bear the thoughts of the *English* succeeding them, or rather the *French* under the *English* protection. King *William* became sensible of this, and gradually relented in his intention of the *French* protestant establishment. Great numbers of the latter had, by this time, transported themselves to *Carolina*, where their presence was not very agreeable to the colony; but they had heard so much of the beauty and fertility of their new settlement, that finding themselves in danger of being disappointed, they privately applied to the *French* king for leave to settle there under his protection, where they promised to live as loyal sub- f

^b System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 632.
performance.

^c It was republished in 1762, and is indeed a very curious

ceremony for fear of worse. We saw them throw three children into the fire, by way of sacrifice, upon occasion of thunder, and they would have sacrificed seven, according to custom, had we not given them to understand, that such a barbarous action rather provoked than appeased the great thunderer. They still preserve some remainders of ancient paganism, as to kill a great number of men and women upon the death of their principal sovereign, to bear him company; and it is a great favour to obtain leave to follow them into the other world. They knock their old people on the head, out of a principle of charity; and they careful-

ly preserve their bones in a temple like a *duomo*, where a sacred fire burns night and day in honour of their dead. I know not how the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* will like our neighbourhood. They shewed themselves some days after our arrival, with their fire-arms in their hands, doubtless to have given us a short summons to depart the country; but finding us more numerous than themselves, they pretended they came to pay us a visit, which occasioned a kind reception on our side. We had a great deal of discourse of the country, but all to no purpose. *Ditto*. *October*. 1700.

a jects, and without asking for any thing more than liberty of conscience, to repair thither in such numbers, as soon to render *Louisiana* a great and flourishing province.

b None but a thorough bigot, as *Lewis XIV.* was, could have rejected a proposal so evidently for the interest of his crown and people. But the jesuits touched upon his religion in suffering heretics to enjoy liberty of conscience; and this was the sole reason why their proposal was rejected; though it was supported by the ablest ministers he had, who were not under the same delusions. On the defeat of this application, the *Spaniards*, rather than call in the *English* to their assistance, very politickly took their measures for rendering the *French* weary of their new settlement. All the trade the latter carried on was between the bay of *Pensacola* and the east side of the *Mississippi*, where all the coast, as well as the isle of *Dauphin*, was barren sand; and upon the river *Mobile*, which was of very little consequence. *Iberville* has been blamed for not having forced a trade at this time. But it is to be considered that it was not in his power, and that had his force been triple what it was, he could not possibly have got the better of that innate aversion, which the *Spaniards* have ever expressed for all who pretend to interfere with them in *America*. *Iberville*, having finished his fort upon the *Mississippi*, sailed up the river as far as the country of the *Natches*, where he had intended to build a town under the name of *Rosalia*. It was probably on this occasion, though not taken notice of by *Charlevoix*, that he took an *Englishman*, whom he sent prisoner to *Quebec*, for trading with the natives; and indeed it appears as if the chief design of his voyage had been to clear the country of *Englishmen*, for we know of nothing he did till he returned back to the bay of *Biloxi*, where he had established the head-quarters of his new colony. *Charlevoix*, on this occasion, notwithstanding his prepossession in favour of *Iberville*, seems to think that he was outwitted by the *Spaniards*, who, without opposing him, confined him to a very insignificant compass of trade.

Mismanagement of the French ministry.

c In the mean while, it appears pretty plain, that the court of *France* itself, rather than *Iberville*, was outwitted by the *Spaniards*. At this time, the connexions between it and that of *Madrid* were very strong, on account of the *Spanish* succession; so that it was easy for the *Spaniards* by their agents to put the *French* ministry upon a wrong scent, in this new establishment. This cannot appear better than by transcribing the two capital articles of *d'Iberville's* instructions from his court, which ran as follows. "One of the great objects, say those instructions, which was presented to the king, when he engaged in the discovery of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, was the advantage arising from the wool of the beeves of that country; for which reason it is proper to tame those animals, to shut them up in parks, and to send them young to *France*. Though the pearls that had been presented to his majesty, are neither of a good water nor shape, yet the search for them must be continued, because more valuable ones may be discovered; and his majesty desires that Mr. *Iberville* will bring along with him as many as he can; that he will make sure of the places most proper for that fishery, and that it be performed in his own presence." As to the pearl fishing, all the world knows it to be good for nothing, and notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Iberville*, *Old France* never reaped any benefit from the wool, or, what is more extraordinary, from the hides of the buffaloes or beeves. Notwithstanding this, *Louisiana* is undoubtedly one of the finest countries in *America*, and the most capable of being improved for the purposes both of culture and commerce. The *Spaniards* knew this, and, therefore, took care to misrepresent it to the *French*; and *Iberville* was too little acquainted with it to be able to rectify the notions of his court.

Who are outwitted by the Spaniards.

d AFTER the return of *Iberville* to the bay of *Biloxi*, which *Charlevoix* thinks was the worst judged station on all that coast to be the head-quarters of the colony, the chevalier *de Surgeres* demanded liberty of the governor of *Pensacola* to enter that port. The *Spaniard*, in pursuance, no doubt, of his orders to admit as few *French* as possible, replied, that he was commanded not to suffer the *English*, or any trading company, to settle in the neighbourhood of the *Mississippi*, and that he was instructed to give admittance to the *French* king's ships; but he insisted upon *Surgeres* producing sufficient evidences to him, that he was in the service of his most Christian majesty, and not of any of his subjects. When *Iberville* gave an account of this interview to *Pontchartrain*, he told him that they who understood *American* affairs best were of opinion, that the settlement of *Louisiana* never could succeed, unless every merchant of *France* had a liberty of trading to it. But while the *French* king continued to be beset by jesuits and bigots, more care was taken for the propagation of popery than of commerce. *Iberville* had been obliged to introduce into the new colony two or three jesuits; but their admission being prohibited, unless they complied with certain terms, by the bishop of *Canada*, who claimed *Louisiana* as part of his diocese, the jesuits were ordered by their superiors to withdraw, and not to co-operate with the other *French* missionaries sent by the bishop.

e THIS is a fresh proof of the ambition and avarice of those jesuit superiors, as they could have no other reason for not co-operating with the other missionaries, but the fear lest their

Ambition and avarice of the Jesuits.

practices should be seen through, as they pretended that their ends, the conversion of the savages, were the same. The jesuits, however, still kept up their interest amongst the *Illinois*, where they exercised their missions, exclusive of all other ecclesiastics. They boasted that they had rendered the *Illinois*, from being the most worthless and irreclaimable of all the *New France* savages, the most tractable, docile, and the most attached to the interests of *France* of any but the *Abenakis*. By this time, the sieur *Jachereau*, a *Canada* gentleman, had begun a settlement at the entry of the river *Wabash*, the most convenient of any for the *French* in *North America*; because it discharges itself into the *Mississippi*, and forms the safest as well as shortest communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. Here a good number of the *Mascoutin* savages were settled, and one of the jesuit missionaries of the *Illinois* repaired thither to convert them. His success, however, was very indifferent: he found them entirely under the influence of their jugglers, and devoted to the worship of their manitous (C). A severe epidemical distemper, which swept off great numbers of the savages in the settlement, was of no service to the jesuit, farther than by giving him an opportunity of besprinkling the dying wretches with water, which the jesuits call converting and baptizing. The survivors redoubled their devotions to the manitous; but they came at last to be of opinion, that the manitous of the Christians were more powerful than their own; and one of their chiefs, making choice of the jesuit missionary himself for his manitou, went to the Christian quarter, and implored pardon from him. The jesuit promised to do all he could for him and his countrymen; but all was in vain, for the disease continued to spread, till it swept off half the settlement, and *Jachereau* was obliged to give over all farther thoughts of his project.

1700.

State of Louisiana in
1701.

THE public of *France* were still in expectation, that *Louisiana* contained mines; and this was owing to some discoveries, lately said to have been made by *la Sale* and *Tonti*. The *French*, before that notion prevailed, were as indifferent about the country of *Louisiana*, as the *Spaniards* had been, who neglected it, because they thought it contained no mines; so ignorant were both those people, that commerce and industry are the richest of mines. In April, 1700, when *Iberville* returned to *France*, all the buildings the *French* had in *Louisiana* consisted of a few straggling houses, belonging to some *French Canadians*, who had been settled amongst the *Illinois*; the fort at the mouth of the *Mississippi*; and another which was their head-quarters on the bay of *Biloxi*, and which was commanded by *de Sauvole*. *Iberville* had left the care of the fort at the mouth of the *Mississippi*, to his brother *Bienville*, *Jachereau*, and the sieur *de St. Denys*, his wife's uncle, who was a man of enterprize, understood many of the savage idioms, and seemed to inherit all the spirit of *la Sale*. About this time, one *le Sueur*, another relation of *Iberville*, discovered in the country of the *Sieux* a coppermine, which, by *Iberville*'s orders, he went to take possession of; but, though it was only the end of September when he set out, he found the weather so severe, that he was obliged to winter in a fort, which he built, upon the banks of a river which falls into that of *St. Peter*. Their provisions falling short, they were obliged to hunt buffaloes, and after they were killed, for want of salt, they hung up pieces of their flesh in the air, where it was soon tainted. This food was, at first, so disagreeable, that it threw them into fluxes and fevers; but by degrees, in six weeks time, they were so well reconciled to it, that their appetites returned to them even to voracity; so that there was not a sick person amongst them, and all of them grew fat and fleshy. They remained here till the beginning of April, during a most severe winter, and arriving at the mine, they worked it to such purpose, that in twenty-two days, they dug from it above 30,000 lb. weight of real copper, of which they sent about 4000 of the finest kind to *France*. This mine lay at the opening of a mountain, ten leagues long, on the side of a river, where not a tree grows, and which is continually surrounded with tempests, and thunder-showers. Notwithstanding those promising appearances, we perceive, that *le Sueur* was soon obliged to give over his undertaking. Next year, *Iberville* returned for a third time to *Louisiana*, and began a settlement upon the *Mobile*, of which *Bienville* was commandant, and he abandoned the post at *Biloxi*, carrying to the new settlement all its inhabitants.

and in 1702.

IN this languishing state were the affairs of *Louisiana*, during the remainder of the year 1702. It was in vain for *Iberville* to go backwards and forwards to *France*, which he did this year for the fourth time. The people, being as yet in no expectation of mines equal to those of *Peru* and *Mexico*, looked coldly upon his project; but he got some patrons at court, whom he convinced of its utility, so that, upon his return to *America*, he was enabled to build magazines on the isle of *Dauphin*, as being far more convenient than the fort at *Mobile* was for landing goods from *France*. Soon after, but gradually, a fort was built there with caserns and additional storehouses, till, at last, it became the head-quarters of the colony. All this while, no great general measure was taken, for rendering it either commercial or

(C) A manitou is any object, either animate or inanimate, from a mountain and a bull to a mouse and a bit of red cloth, that those whimsical savages worship as tutelary deities.

a territorial: so that it can be said only to have been local. No trade was carried on for the profit, no lands were cleared for the subsistence, of the inhabitants, who enjoyed only the small spot on which they dwelt. They subsisted upon precarious supplies from *France*; but the *Apalache* savages, fortunately for them, preferred their neighbourhood to that of the *Spaniards*, and cultivated some lands upon the *Mobile*, which contributed greatly to their subsistence. But no care was taken to associate them with the colony, or to convert them to christianity. Matters still continued in this languid state, owing undoubtedly to the distresses of *France* in *Europe*, till the year 1708, when M. *Diron d'Artaguette* arrived in quality of regulating commissary. His first care was the cultivation of the lands upon the *Mobile*, which rescued the settlers from the necessity of associating themselves with the savages in their hunting, when any accident retarded their supplies from *France*. The cares of this magistrate did not succeed. The lands upon the *Mobile* were unfavourable for grain, and the little which they produced was apt to be damaged by storms, which rendered it musty. To remedy this, the settlers applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, which, upon the *Mobile*, was found to be superior to that of *Virginia*.

HOWEVER inconsiderable this colony was, the rest of *Europe* at this time conceived the highest ideas of it, and perceiving it to be supported by the *French*, amidst all their distresses in *Europe*, many believed that the profits of it enabled them to carry on the war; so that an *English* privateer invaded the isle of *Dauphin*, and, as *d'Artaguette* pretended, committed great cruelties upon the inhabitants to oblige them to discover where they had concealed their riches. The damage on this occasion amounted to above 4000 francs. *D'Artaguette*, whose chief business in *Louisiana* was to inform himself of the nature of the country, and the situation of the settlement, upon his return to *France* gave the court great lights as to both, and notwithstanding the almost unheard-of miseries of *France* at that time, a resolution was taken to carry the settlement of *Louisiana* into a colony; a measure that in other countries has always required the most prosperous state to effect. A proud court, through all its poverty, preserves its forms and titles. *De Muys*, the *Canadian* officer we have already mentioned, was named governor of *Louisiana*, as was, upon his death, *la Motte Cadillac*. The sieur *Crozat*, by this time, had obtained his most Christian majesty's letters patent, for the exclusive privilege of the commerce of *Louisiana* for sixteen years, and the perpetual property, for him and his heirs, of all its mines and minerals; on condition of his sending, by every ship of his that arrived at the mouth of the *Mississippi*, six girls or boys for planting the colony. At the same time, to give it the greater credit with the public, the sieur *Duclos* was appointed regulating commissary, and the governor and he were placed at the head of a superior council, whose powers were to last for three years, and who were to be judges in all affairs civil and criminal. *La Motte Cadillac* had been recommended by *Crozat* for governor, on account of his great experience of the savages, the *Illinois* in particular, from whom great things were expected for the interest of the colony, particularly in the discovery of mines, which, after the most unbounded expectations of them had been raised, not only in *America*, but all over *Europe*, came to nothing. The other great object, which *Crozat*, who associated *Cadillac* in his patent, had in view, was a trade with *New Mexico*. It is true, that, by this time, *Spanish America* was in the hands of the house of *Bourbon*; but the *Spaniards* understood their own interest too well to forego its great palladium by suffering any foreign nation to interfere in their trade. When *Cadillac* came to the isle of *Dauphin*, he sent a ship commanded by *Joncaire* to trade at *Vera Cruz*, where the governor furnished him with some provisions, but, without suffering him to sell his cargo, obliged him instantly to depart. *Crozat* was as unsuccessful afterwards in attempting to carry on a trade by land; the history of which cannot fail to be acceptable to an *English* reader.

Crozat's exclusive patent.

THE famous sieur *de St. Denys* was employed in this commerce, and furnished with 10,000 francs worth of merchandizes; his instructions were to deal with the *Natchitoches*. Those were a people who lived upon the *Red River*; and, by means of one *Penicaut*, a ship-carpenter, who understood the savage languages, and had accompanied *le Sneur* to the copper-mines, had been prevailed upon to settle amongst the *Colapissas*, a race of savages in the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*. It was natural for *St. Denys*, when going to the country of the *Natchitoches*, to carry along with him those who had been settled amongst the *Colapissas*; and they were so very fond of attending him to their mother-country, that they set out on their march, without taking leave of their hospitable landlords, the *Colapissas*. The latter were so affronted at this, that they ran to arms, pursued their guests, killed seventeen of them, and brought back prisoners a number of their women. Those, who escaped, joined *St. Denis* at *Biloxi*; and, in passing by the village of the *Tonicas*, he engaged the head man of it, with fifteen of his best hunters, to attend him upon his journey. Arriving at the township of the *Natchitoches*, which lies in an isle of the *Red River*, about forty miles above the place where it discharges itself into the *Mississippi*, he built some houses for the *French* he intended to leave there, and prevailing with some savages to associate themselves with

Adventures of St. Denys.

the *Natchitoches*, he gave them all kinds of utensils proper for agriculture, and seed corn ^a to sow. He then left the *Red River*, which was navigable no higher, attended with twelve *French* and some savages, and, after travelling west, he arrived at the country of the *Cenis*; but he could find none of them who had the least idea of an *European*, excepting the *Spaniards*, whose manners and appearance are the same with their own. They furnished guides to *St. Denys*, who travelled to the south-west fifty leagues before he reached the first *Spanish* settlement, which was a fort situated on a large river, and called the *North Garrison*. He and his attendants here were very courteously received by don *Pedro de Vilescas*, who accommodated them all with lodgings; and, in a few days, *St. Denys* opened the purport of his journey, which was to establish a trade between the *Spaniards* and *Louisiana*, and informed don *Pedro*, that the terms should be of his own making. Don *Pedro* directly dispatched an ^b express to his superior, the governor of *Caouis*, which lay at the distance of sixty leagues. This governor sent twenty-five horsemen, who next year conducted *St. Denys*, and his surgeon *Jalot*, first to *Caouis*, from whence he wrote to the attendants he had left at the *North Garrison*, ordering them to return to the *Natchitoches*. *St. Denys* then travelled an hundred and fifty miles before he reached *Mexico*, where, without any examination, he was instantly committed to prison by the viceroy, where he lay for three months, when he was released at the intercession of some officers, who knew his family and connexions with the governor of *Louisiana*. Upon his deliverance, the viceroy of *Mexico* conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that he did all he could to engage him in the service of *Spain*; but, though poor, he was proof against all the tempting offers he could make him. According ^c to *St. Denys's* own report, the viceroy made him first a present of three hundred dollars, and offered to second him in his courtship of donna *Maria*, daughter to don *Pedro de Vilescas*, with whom he was in love; but, finding him immoveable, even by this temptation, his excellency made him a present of 1000 piastres, to defray, as he said, the expences of his nuptials: but told him he had nothing to hope for with regard to the trade proposed between *Louisiana* and *Mexico*. Next day, the viceroy made him a present of a fine horse, and appointed him a convoy to *Caouis*, which he reached. Here he found don *Pedro* in great perplexity, about four townships of savages who supplied his garrison with necessaries, but were ready to depart from it, on account of the insults they met with from the *Spaniards*. *St. Denys* undertook to bring them back, though they were already upon their journey, and ^d acted with so much address, that he returned with them to their ancient habitations, which were rendered inaccessible to the *Spaniards* upon pain of death.

who is married to a Spanish lady.

THIS important service immediately made *St. Denys* the husband of his mistress, and after six months cohabitation, he set out along with the uncle of his wife, whom he left with child, on his return to the *Mobile*. *Cadillac*, by this time, had dispatched the *fleur de la Loire* with some merchandizes to make a settlement amongst the *Natches*. Here he found some *English* traders from *Carolina*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had not only spirited up a war amongst the savages, but had entered into practices against the interest of the *French*. *La Loire* therefore was ordered to arrest the *English* officer, who remained alone amongst the *Natches*; which he did, and sent him prisoner to the *Mobile*, where *Bienville*, who com- ^e manded in the absence of *Cadillac*, treated him for three days with great civility, and then dismissed him. The officer, on his return, took *Pensacola* in his way, where he likewise met with a favourable reception from the governor; but travelling afterwards towards *Carolina*, by the *Alibamons*, he fell in with a hunting party of the *Tomez*, who murdered him; so inveterate had the *French* practices, at that time, rendered all the savages towards the *English*. The latter had a storehouse in a village of the *Chaetaws*, which those barbarians plundered, and murdered all that were in it. This cruelty was a kind of a watch-word for the *Alibamons*, and the neighbouring savages, to confederate against the *English*, and they made an irruption into *Carolina*, from whence they carried off great numbers of prisoners. *France*, at this time, was in peace with *Great Britain*, and her governors, therefore, durst not avow ^f the infamous practices made use of to excite those violences. The prisoners were carried to the *Mobile*, where, under the stale pretext of redeeming them, the *French* commandant gave them an intimation of what they were to expect, if they should continue to trade with the natives; and after this he dismissed them. *Cadillac* was at this time amongst the *Illinois*, and upon his return to the *Mobile*, it was given out, that he had discovered a silver mine in that country; a report that had a most wonderful effect all over *Europe*, and was undoubtedly encouraged for the purposes that were then hatching in the *French* councils. Upon his return to the *Mobile*, he was waited upon by a savage deputy of great credit and authority on the part of several savage nations round, particularly of the *Alibamons*, who, till that time, had always been declared enemies to the *French*, but now offered, at their own expence, to ^g build in their village a fort, that was to be garrisoned by *French*. This offer was accepted of, the fort was built, and a garrison placed in it under the command of M. *de la Tour*.

The English massacred by the French.

Confederacy
of the Natches
against the
French.

■ *LA LOIRE* was all this while continuing his negotiations with the *Natches*, but soon discovered amongst them symptoms that were extremely unfavourable to the *French* interest. Four *Frenchmen* were murdered, while they were travelling in their country, and *la Loire* with his brother were threatened with the same fate. The elder *la Loire* had set out for the country of the *Illinois*, attended by some of those savages, one of whom put him upon his guard. From the romantic manner, in which the *French* have related this conspiracy of the *Natches*, it is plain, that it was a conspiracy of their own inventing, to excuse their barbarous and bloody dealings towards that brave and humane people. They tell us, with what probability the reader may judge, that the elder *la Loire*, after being put upon his guard, lifted the savages, who were with him, separately, and that all of them confessed that they had an intention to murder him at a certain place. Upon this information, *la Loire*, who suspected that the conspiracy was general amongst all the *Natches*, returned to advertise his brother of his danger. The difficulty was how to get access to him; but *Penicaut* undertook to remove it. When the company came to the landing place of the *Natches*, *Penicaut* went ashore, but told *la Loire*, that, if he did not see him by midnight, he might conclude him dead, and that he must pursue his voyage. *Penicaut* then, armed only with his futee, made the best of his way towards young *la Loire's* habitation; and the latter, being adverted by some *Natches* of his approach, came out to meet him, and asked him news of his brother. *Penicaut* pretended that he was fallen ill; but afterwards desired him to send for the chief *Natche*, to whom he told, that c fix out of the eight *Natches* who had attended him, and *la Loire*, being sick, they had been obliged to put back to the landing-place, and he begged that, early next morning, the chief would send thirty of his savages to unload the grand canoe, and carry the merchandizes to the storehouse, which the chief accordingly promised should be complied with; expressing, at the same time, the great apprehensions he had been under, lest the elder *la Loire* should have fallen into the hands of the *Tasous*, a perfidious people, and enemies to the *French*. *Penicaut*, without making any answer, expressed his satisfaction with the chief's behaviour; but on his departure, he let *la Loire* into the real secret of his journey, and shewed him that he had not a single moment to lose in making his escape. In this there was some difficulty, as three of the natives slept in his room, but the exigency being pressing, they opened the d door while the savages were sound asleep, and made the best of their way to the landing-place, where they met with the elder *la Loire*, and having made handsome presents to the eight *Natches*, they discharged them, and proceeded on their voyage.

The first place they stopt at was a township belonging to the *Tonicas*, where they found three *Natches*. They had been dispatched by their grand chief, who finding that he had been outwitted, had sent them to persuade the chief of the *Tonicas* to murder all the *French* who should fall into his hands. This chief, who was a friend to the *French*, was so much offended by the inhumanity of this proposal, that he would have put the messengers to death, had he not been dissuaded from it by a messenger residing in his village. Upon the arrival of the two *la Loires* at *Mobile*, and relating their story to *Cadillac*, the latter e immediately raised a party of an hundred men, who set out to chastise the *Natches*. In their voyage, perceiving a pocket hanging at a tree, they searched, and found in it a letter from the *Tonica* missionary, informing them of a *French* trader, who had been robbed and murdered by the *Natches*. This letter cured *Bienville*, who commanded the party, of some doubts as to the reality of *la Loire's* danger, and not conceiving himself to be strong enough to proceed against the *Natches*, he stopt in the bay of the *Tonicas*, where he built a fort, and dispatched from thence an officer with twenty men to the grand chief of the *Natches*, desiring an interview with him at the fort. The officer returned, and said that the chief was following him; but this proved not to be true, for, without leaving his village, he only sent some of his subaltern chiefs, with about twenty five men. *Bienville* received them f with great state; but, upon their entering the fort, he demanded from them satisfaction for the death of five *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered by their nation, and that their murderers should be delivered up. The savages pleaded that their grand chief alone could give him the satisfaction he required; and some of them offered to wait upon him for that purpose, while the rest of them were to remain prisoners in the fort, till the grand chief's answer arrived. This proposal was accepted of, and, in a short time messengers returned with the head of a man, whom the grand chief had put to death, but who was innocent of the murders. *Bienville* expressed some resentment at this attempt to impose upon him, and demanded that the real murderer should be produced, and, particularly, a chief, whom he named. The messengers replied, that that chief was the nephew of the *Sun*, the bravest of all their countrymen, who would rather see their village destroyed than give him up. They added g that the four murderers were amongst the prisoners, whom they had left behind in the fort, and that they might inflict upon them what punishment he pleased. *Bienville* immediately ordered them to appear, and, tho' they denied the fact, the brains of all of them were beat out with clubs upon the spot. Amongst them was, as is pretended, a chief

They are disappointed.

so obnoxious for his cruelties, that his death had been long wished for by the neighbouring nations (D).

THIS catastrophe being over, the *French*, at the *Tonica* fort, reflecting that it was in the power of the *Natches* to interrupt all communication by water between the *Mobile* and the *Illinois* country, resolved to avail themselves of the panick struck into the *Natches* by the late executions, and proposed to them the following terms of peace. First, that they should build, at their own expence, and upon a certain spot to be pointed out to them in their largest township, a fort and storehouses, with proper accommodations for a garrison and a commissary, who were to be left there. Secondly, that they should restore all the effects they had taken from the *French*, and indemnify them for all the other losses they had suffered in their country. Thirdly, that the nephew of their grand chief, of whom the *French* complained, should not stir out of the village, on pain of having his brains beat out. The deputies approved of those articles, which were read to them, and *de Pailloux*, a *French* officer, was dispatched with twenty men, to get them ratified by the grand chief of the *Natches*. He entered their village with drums beating and colours flying, and was received with great cordiality by all the inhabitants, who were friends to the *French*. Being introduced to the cabin of the *Sun*, where the grand *Natche* resided, the latter approved of the terms, and said that he only waited for M. *de Bienville's* orders to set about the construction of the fort. *Bienville*, understanding this, immediately set out from the *Tonica* village, at the head of fifty men, and was received by the *Sun*, or grand chief of the *Natches*, with great ceremony. The spot on which the fort was to be erected was immediately marked out, and *de Pailloux* was appointed to superintend the building. It was completely finished in six weeks, and *Bienville*, who was returned to the *Tonica* village again, set out from thence, and took possession of it under the name of fort *Rosalie*. The *Natches* appearing to be quite reconciled to the *French*, *Bienville* passed all the year 1714 at this fort; and, upon his return to the *Mobile*, he left *de Pailloux* to command it, and one *du Tisné* for his lieutenant.

Wrong principles of the French colony at Louisiana.

LA MOTTE CADILLAC concluded from the answer sent him by *St. Denys* from the viceroy of *New Spain*, that it was in vain to hope to open a trade between *Mexico* and *Louisiana*; but, to prevent any interruption from the *Spaniards*, he charged *du Tisné* to build a fort in the isle of the *Natchitoches*. Scarcely was it finished, when *du Tisné* was informed that the *Spaniards* had made a settlement among the *Affiniais* or *Cenis*, which they were endeavouring to extend to the *Mississippi*; and this determined *Cadillac* to reinforce the garrison of the *Natchitoches* fort: but all the precautions of this governor were in vain, as the whole establishment of the colony was founded upon wrong principles, which were equally prejudicial to the patentee as to the province. In the year 1712, no more than twenty-four *French* families were settled in *Louisiana*; one half of whom were traders or workmen, who never minded the clearing or cultivating the lands. All the commerce of the province was then carried on about the *Mobile*, and the isle of *Dauphin*, and consisted only in timber, or what is called lumber and peltries. The *Canadian* rangers trafficked with the savages, by exchanging *French* commodities with their furs and slaves, by whom we are to understand their prisoners made in war, both which they sold to the *French* inhabitants of *Louisiana*. The latter disposed of the peltries, either to *French* ships, or to the *Spaniards* of *Pensacola*, but employed the slaves in clearing their lands or in sawing deals, which they sent sometimes to *Pensacola*, but oftener to the *French* islands; from whence they returned sugars, tobacco, cacao, and *French* commodities. They likewise carried to *Pensacola*, where the *Spaniards* were too idle and too lazy to cultivate the grounds, or to practise the habits of industry, pulse of all kinds, maiz, wild fowl, and other fruits of their own labour, all which were paid for in ready money, which enabled the *Louisianians* to live comfortably, though not affluently. They were not insensible, that their country was proper for producing tobacco, indigo, and silk; but they had not hands for rearing them, and not a person of the colony knew in what manner they were to be cultivated.

It is surprizing that *Crozat*, before he obtained his extensive exclusive patent, did not take measures for removing, at least, some of the inconveniencies to which his infant colony was exposed, by employing skilful persons, who might have found their interest in promoting it. But *Crozat* was the most unfit man that can be well conceived for undertaking a new settlement. His narrow notions kept him from perceiving that no project or that kind could ever succeed, unless those who were employed in it were in a condition to en-

(D) Though we have been obliged to give the story of this massacre, (for so we may call it) as related by *Charlevoix*, yet we cannot help thinking it to be full of inconsistencies. How could *Bienville* know who were the real murderers? Where is the evidence that such murders had been committed, or the proof that the persons

they barbarously put to death were the murderers? not to mention the improbability of the grand *Natche's* sending them upon such a deputation. In short, the whole credit of the story seems to depend upon the *Tonica* missionary, who might have his particular reasons for exterminating the *Natches*, as they soon after were.

- a rich themselves; to which his exclusive patent was an absolute bar. *Crozat* thought only of enriching himself, by begging all about him. No sooner did he take possession of his exclusive privilege, than all the *French* island ships disappeared at *Louisiana*. At the same time, he published an order to all the inhabitants there, prohibiting them from trading with *Pensacola*, by which they were cut off from all their ready money commerce; and another prohibition was published against the colonists trading with any one but the commissaries appointed by the patentee. This prohibition threw into the hands of the latter the power of putting a valuation upon all the commodities of the colony; the consequence of which was, that they allowed so poor a price for the peltry, that the hunters chose to dispose of their furs and hides to the *Canadians* and the *English*, rather than to the *Louisianians*. This
- b frantic conduct of *Crozat* and his creatures discouraged the colonists from cultivating their grounds; so that, in the year 1714, the colony was on the brink of ruin, and *Crozat* presented to his most Christian majesty certain propositions and complaints. The latter consisted of the following heads. First, that the weakness of the colony rendered it contemptible in the eyes of the savages, who were thereby encouraged to make continual war upon it, by which all inland commerce was rendered either unprofitable or impracticable. Secondly, that the *English* were making settlements upon the *Mississippi*, from whence they might trade with *Mexico* and *New Bascay*, while the *French* were confined to the barren spots upon the *Mobile* and the isle of *Dauphin*. Thirdly, *Crozat* complained of the indifference shown by his countrymen with regard to *Louisiana*; the preservation and improvement of which
- c colony he maintained ought to be the first object of the state. "The maritime commerce of *France*, (said he, in one of his memorials) is now next to nothing, and yet merchant ships are the nurseries from which his majesty is to draw the sailors, which he must employ in any future war. It is therefore of the utmost importance for *France* to encrease her navigation, which may be done by means of the different settlements, that may be made in *Louisiana*, which, if seriously thought of, would in a few years be sufficient to employ a considerable number of shipping. The *English* (continued he, very weakly) are so sensible of the importance of *Louisiana*, that we need but ask the marshal *D'Uxelles* what they said of it at *Utrecht*." The fourth complaint of *Crozat*, in answer to the objection that the colony was in a worse state than he found it in, was, that the council of *Louisiana* had refused to register his
- d letters patent, and that the universal opposition he met with amongst the colonists was fomented by officers, who carried on trade with the *Spaniards*.

Complaints of
Crozat,

- THOSE complaints not meeting with an easy remedy, *Crozat* actually surrendered his patent, in 1717, to his most Christian majesty. Upon this surrender was formed the famous western, or what is commonly called the *Mississippi* company, under the direction of Mr. *Law*, a *Scotch* fugitive, which was afterwards productive of so many calamities to *France*, and almost all *Europe*. The letters patent, erecting this establishment under the name of the Western Company for twenty-five years, were registered the 26th of *September*, that same year, and contained the following heads. First, a privilege of trading with *Canada*, provided the colonists took care to cultivate their grounds, and raise plantations. Secondly,
- e that for twenty-five years after the day of registration, the commerce of the province and government of *Louisiana* should be wholly invested in the company; and that they were to have in perpetuity all the property, superiority, and judicature, of the lands, ports, shores, harbours, and islands, of which the said province is composed; his majesty reserving to himself only the fealty and liege homage of the company; but, that upon each future coronation of a king of *France*, the company should be obliged to present him with a golden crown of thirty marks weight. At the same time, by an arret of the 27th of the same month, the country of the *Illinois* was separated from the government of *New France*, and annexed to that of *Louisiana*. By the third article, the company was impowered to form alliances, and conclude treaties, in his majesty's name, with all the neighbouring people,
- f who did not depend on any *European* power, and likewise to make truces, or declare war in cases of insult. By the fourth article, the company was invested in the property of all the mines and minerals, that should be discovered or worked during the term of its privilege. The fifth article gave them permission to sell or alienate lands within their grant, and to erect upon them such forts, castles, and edifices, as they should think proper for the defence of the settlement; together with a power to garrison the same, and, for that purpose, with his majesty's permission, to raise soldiers in *Old France*, and to nominate, for the command of their troops, such governors and officers as they pleased.

who surren-
ders his pa-
tent.

- By this time, the company had appointed *de l'Epinaï* to succeed *de la Motte Cadillac*, as *Hubert* did *Duclos*, and both of them arrived at the isle of *Dauphin* in *March*; but soon
- g after *Bienville* was appointed commandant-general of the province; though he did not enter upon the possession of his office till next year. *De l'Epinaï* carried with him three ships, with a number of officers, provisions, ammunition, and merchandizes of all kinds on board; all which were lodged in the store-houses in the isle of *Dauphin*, excepting the cargo

New establish-
ment of Loui-
siana.

of

of one ship, which was to trade with *Vera Cruz*. This vessel was commanded by one *de Golleville*, who, thinking it was in vain for him to attempt an open trade, cast anchor at *Villarica*, where, in a clandestine manner, he disposed of all his cargo to *Spanish* merchants for ready money. All this while, *L'Epenai* was busied in raising fortifications on the isle of *Dauphin*, for the security of the store-houses there; and no fewer than twenty-four savage nations sent deputies to him singing their calumets of peace, and to make him their compliments. Towards the month of *August*, a hurricane happened, which choaked up the entrance of the only harbour of the island, and laid the whole under water, to the destruction of great numbers of cattle. *L'Epinai*, by this accident, was obliged to look out for a new anchoring place for shipping, and pitched upon the isle of *Surgere*, since called the isle of *Vessels*; in which was a tolerable harbour, except when the wind was at the north, or north-west, which seldom happened. Here a little fort was built to protect the shipping, and the settlement at the isle of *Dauphin* was transferred to *Biloxi*, which lies to the northward of the isle of *Vessels*, though no ship can come nearer to it than the distance of four leagues. This removal was to facilitate the private traffick with the *Spaniards*, as the place was in every respect incommodious and inaccessible, its soil barren, and a dead land.

Original of
the Mississippi
company.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those discouragements, Mr. *Law*, and the members of the *Mississippi* company, published such prodigies concerning the benefits of *Louisiana*, that the people of *France* were fond to enthusiasm of the new settlement, and resolved at any rate to support it; so that this year the foundation of *New Orleans*, the capital of *Louisiana*, was begun. *Bienville* came from the country of the *Natches* to the *Mobile*, to pay his respects to the new governor, and informed him of his having observed on the banks of the *Mississippi*, a spot extremely proper for a new settlement. *L'Epinai* immediately gave him eighty masons, with a proportionable number of carpenters, for raising the buildings, and carrying the plan into execution; but *Charlevoix*, seemingly with great reason, finds fault with the situation. The undertaking was pursued with great spirit. *De Pailloux* was ordered to assist *Bienville* in the execution; and *Blondel* succeeded *de Pailloux* in his government among the *Natches*. All this while the settlement of *New Orleans* was pushed so inconsiderately, that it was not known whether a ship of any burthen could enter the *Mississippi*: but after founding, it was found that the bar was eighteen feet deep, upon which the *Neptune*, a ship just arrived from *France*, sailed up the river, as far as *New Orleans*. *Charlevoix* is justly surprized, that after the success of this experiment, the government of *Louisiana* should suffer thousands of people, who came from *Old France*, to perish of want, hunger, and thirst in the old settlements, when the very ships which brought them from their native country could have carried them to *New Orleans*, and even higher up the river to the very center of the colony. In the beginning of *March*, 1718, the first grantees arrived at *Louisiana*, attended by the sieur *Dugué de Boisbriand*, who brought a commission from the company, nominating him, with his majesty's approbation, to be commandant in the country of the *Illinois*; *Bienville* commandant-general of *Louisiana*, and director of the company; and *de Pailloux* major-general. *Boisbriand* set out directly for the country of the *Illinois*, and carried with him the two brothers *Diron*, and the chevalier *d'Artaquette*; the first of them in the quality of a captain, and inspector general of *Louisiana*, and the second in that of his lieutenant. Mean while, the *Ckitimachas*, and several savage nations, formerly no friends to the *French*, settled upon the *Mississippi*, where, by their industry in clearing the neighbouring grounds, they were very serviceable in furnishing *New Orleans*, in its infant state, with provisions. In a short time, the banks of the *Mississippi* were covered with inhabitants, who lived in perfect friendship with the savages, and without dread of any molestation from the *English*. In *June*, 1718, *Bienville* ordered his brother *Chateauguôé* to take possession of *St. Joseph's* bay, which lies fifty leagues to the east of the island of *Dauphin*, and meeting with no impediment, he there built a stone fort. This formerly had been a post belonging to the *Spaniards*, and, though they had abandoned it for eighteen years, their governor of *Pensacola*, understanding what the *French* were about, immediately informed *Bienville* by writing, that the bay of *St. Joseph* belonged to his Catholic majesty. It is difficult to account for the reasons, why this fort was built; for no sooner did the *Spanish* remonstrance come into *Bienville's* hands, than the *French* abandoned it, as being useless, untenable, and uninhabitable. In *February*, 1719, the *French* and *Spaniards* being then at war, M. *Serigny* came to *Louisiana* with three ships, and produced from his court an order to make himself master of *Pensacola*. This bay, according to the *Spaniards*, was first discovered by *Pamphile de Narvaez*, who landed there in his expedition to *Florida*. After that, *Diego de Maldonado*, another *Spaniard*, and an officer under *Ferdinand de Soto*, took possession of it anew, and called it the harbour of *Anchusi*. In 1558 don *Tristan de Luna* gave it the name of *St. Mary's* bay, which name afterwards received, in honour of the then viceroy of *Mexico*, the addition of *de Galve*. But, notwithstanding all those nominations, the Indian name of *Pensacola*.

1718.

1719.

a *cola*, still took place. In 1696, *Andres de Arriola* was named first governor of that province, and when he took possession of it, he built in the bay a fort, with four bastions, called fort *St. Charles*, with a church, and some houses.

b THE *French Mississippi* company, at the time of *Serigny's* landing in *Louisiana*, had no harbour on the northern coast of *Florida*; and therefore they were glad to lay hold of the rupture between the two crowns to make themselves masters of *Pensacola*. *Serigny*, upon his arrival, assembled a council of war, where it was resolved, that *Bienville* and *Chateaugué* should assemble, at the *Mobile*, all their *Indian* allies, and *French* inhabitants, and march them by land to *Pensacola*; and that in the mean time, three *French* vessels with one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, under *Serigny*, should enter the bay: all which was performed with punctuality and secrecy. No sooner was *Serigny* within the bay, on the 14th of *May*, than *Mutameros*, the *Spanish* governor of fort *St. Charles*, sent to the governor of *St. Joseph* for assistance. *Serigny*, in the mean while, began a brisk fire upon the fort, which continued five hours. After this, the governor, who had not heard of war being declared in *Europe*, sent a messenger to know the reason of this unexpected hostility; upon which, *Serigny* informed him of the truth, and summoned him to surrender the place. The governor had but an hundred and sixty men in garrison, and, understanding that the number of his besiegers, by sea and land, amounted to 1300, he agreed to capitulate, which he did, on condition of his being transported with his garrison, but without arms or ammunition, to the *Havannah*, in two ships, and a cessation of hostilities taking place for sixteen days. This capitulation being signed by both parties, *Chateaugué* took possession of the fort with three hundred men; and the garrison, sailed, in two *French* ships, for the *Havannah*. Before they reached that place, they were attacked by two *English* privateers, who perceiving the ships were *French*, made apologies for their mistake, and desisted from any farther attempt against them.

which capitulates.

c IN the mean while, don *Gregorio Gualco* had sent out a squadron, commanded by *de la Torre*, a *Spanish* sea officer, against *Carolina*, which he was in hopes of conquering from the *English*; but when he saw the *French* frigates, he immediately ordered don *Alphonso* to attack them. The *French*, being inferior in force, thought themselves safe under the capitulation; but they were carried prisoners into the *Havannah*. The governor there, understanding what had passed, stopped the *Carolina* expedition to retake *Pensacola*. For this purpose, he manned *de la Torre's* fleet with a large number of volunteers, who engaged in the expedition in hopes of conquering all *Louisiana*, and, in the mean while, he sent the *French* to *St. Domingo* and *Cumana*. He likewise dispatched a light ship to the marquis *de Valero*, viceroy of *Mexico*, with advice that he ought to order don *Francisco Cornejo*, the commodore of the *Barlavento* squadron, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, to join *la Torre*, as soon as he should hear of his arrival at *Pensacola*. The viceroy had by this time heard by the governor of *St. Joseph*, and by other accounts, of the loss of that fort. He was farther alarmed with the news, that the *French* had made themselves masters of *Pensacola*, only that they might penetrate into *New Mexico*; and he had sent couriers from all the ports of *New Spain*, to summon the *Spanish* marine to assemble at *Vera Cruz*. This done, he raised all the men he could, but was at a loss how to transport them, when *Cornejo* entered the harbour of *Vera Cruz*, with five ships of war, belonging to the *Barlavento* fleet. Upon his arrival, he received an order from the viceroy, to postpone his voyage to *Europe* for some time.

The capitulation broke.

d IN the mean while the change of the destination of the *Havannah* fleet from *Carolina* to *Pensacola* was so disagreeable to those who had embarked in it, that above four hundred deserted from that service, but were replaced with sixty grenadiers of the garrison by orders of the governor. On the 29th of *June*, *de la Torre* set sail with twelve ships, three frigates, and nine bylanders, with about eight hundred and fifty men on board. When he came in sight of *St. Joseph* he sent a lieutenant-colonel to the governor of that fort to learn some account of the situation of the *French* garrison at *Pensacola*; the answer was, that the place upon the whole was in so miserable a situation, that it must surrender upon the first summons. *La Torre*, upon this, sailed within half a league of *Pensacola* bay, and coming to an anchor in the night time, he sent ashore one hundred men, who, without any opposition, took possession of *Siguenza*, the westernmost point of the isle of *St. Rosa*. They had no sooner taken possession, than fifty of the garrison soldiers joined them, and assured them, that the moment they came before the place it would surrender, and that all the garrison were strongly disposed to enter into the service of his Catholic majesty. The truth is, the *French* had mistaken their measures in employing those of whom the garrison consisted, in a military capacity. Most, or all of them, were felons or profligates transported for their crimes from *Old France* to *Louisiana*. The *Spanish* commander, not trusting to this report, went into a chaloupe to examine the situation of things in the bay, and taking care to keep without cannon shot, he examined the situation of the fort, and of two frigates that lay near it. Upon his return to *Siguenza* he ordered the bylanders to enter the harbour, and to cannonade both

The Spaniards retake Pensacola.

The history of America.

the frigates and the fort. One of the former was boarded and taken ; the crew of the other a
set it on fire, and retired into the fort, which was soon after invested by all the bylanders.
The fire for some time continued very hot on both sides ; but in the evening the *Spanish*
commandant summoned *Chateaugué*, with all his garrison, to surrender themselves prisoners
of war, declaring, that if he held out till he mounted his batteries with cannon he would
give them no quarter. *Chateaugué* demanded till ten next morning to deliberate on what
answer he should return, which was granted him ; but the *Spaniards* in the mean while took b
possession of all the avenues by which the savages could throw themselves into the fort. *Cha-*
teaugué would have defended it, but his garrison unanimously declared that they would not
fight against a prince of the house of *Bourbon* (meaning his Catholic majesty) and he was
obliged to march out of the place with the honours of war, but to consent to be carried to b
Spain. As to the garrison all of them but a very few (who were for that reason maltreated)
entered into the *Spanish* service ; but the governor, his lieutenant, and the director of the
Mississippi company, with all the officers of the garrison, had their liberty upon their parole,
till they could get a ship to carry them to the *Havannah*. *La Torre* that same day took posses-
sion of the fort, which he found well provided and full of merchandises, and gave the com-
mand of it, with a proper garrison, to *don Juan Pedro Matamoros*.

ON the 25th of *August*, *la Torre* dispatched *don Francisco Mendez*, the captain of a vessel,
to the viceroy of *New Spain*, with an account of his success, and that officer found *Cornesjoy*
with a Squadron still at *Vera Cruz*. The viceroy was overjoyed that *Pensacola* was again c
reduced under the power of his master, and ordered *Cornejo* immediately to set sail, and tak-
ing with him some ships which had arrived from the *Havannah*, to drive the *French* entirely
out of the gulph of *Mexico*. While this was doing *la Torre's* men mutinied, upon their
having been debarred from plundering the *French*, the great object which they had in view,
when they embarked upon the expedition. The mutiny, at last, was quelled by making
the mutineers some presents, and giving them the profits of one hundred and sixty negroes
belonging to the *Mississippi* company, who had taken refuge in an *Indian* township. *La*
Torre then took his measures for making himself master of the isle of *Dauphin*. For this
purpose he gave to *don Antonio Mendieta* the command of three hundred picked men, with
orders to approach as near as he possibly could to the island to reconnoitre its force and situa-
tion. *Mendieta* found in its road the *Philip*, a ship of war, commanded by *Serigny*, under d
the protection of four strong batteries ; and visiting the other parts of the island, notwith-
standing a brisk fire, which poured upon them from all quarters, he judged that the *French*
and their allies upon it could not be fewer than 2000. He then entered the river *Mobile*,
and approaching fort *Louis*, he took four *French* ships as they came out of the harbour laden
with provisions. Great part of his detachment consisted of *Frenchmen*, who, having no par-
don to hope for, were bold and desperate, and going ashore they began to plunder a coun-
try-house which stood by itself. A *French* officer, *Villeville*, who had been sent by *Bienville*
with a party to the assistance of *Serigny*, perceiving the marauders, took his measures so well
that he killed, drowned, or took prisoners all but a few, who escaped to the ships. As
all of them were *French* deserters, such of them as were taken were put to death by *Buen-* e
ville and *Serigny*.

DURING those transactions on the *Mobile*, *don Estevan Berroa* sailed with two ships to attack
the *Philip*, and to carry *Mendieta's* detachment ashore on the isle of *Dauphin* with a reinforce-
ment, which he carried along with him. His orders were to burn the town, if possible,
to oblige the savages to leave the island, and, in general, to do whatever he thought most
proper for his master's service. He then sent a summons to the captain of the *Philip* in the
following very extraordinary terms, which we insert, that the reader may have some idea
how barbarously jealous the *Spaniards* are even of the *French*, when they interfere in their
American affairs. " Sir, I send you my canoe to summon you to surrender, and to save
any harm being done to your vessel : and if you do not comply I will treat you as incendiaries, f
without giving quarter to any person on board your ship. I will not spare even *Monf. Cha-*
teaugué, your brother, or your friend, who is in my power with all the garrison of *Pensacola*.
It is the pleasure of my master king *Philip*, that all who are taken with arms in their hands
should be treated with the utmost rigour, but that all who yield themselves should experience
the greatest tenderness, and meet with all the assistance they stand in need of." *Serigny*, in
answer to this summons, bad the *Spaniards* defiance. He had now received very consider-
able reinforcements of savages as well as *French* under *Villeville*, *St. Denys*, and the company.
Berroa soon perceived this by the resistance he met with ; and he told *Mendieta* when he
joined him, that the island being full of *French* and savages, all of them well armed, a
descent upon it was impracticable. Notwithstanding this, he attempted to land at the g
little island of *Guillory*, adjoining to the isle of *Dauphin* ; but the *Canadians* and savages
repulsed them with the loss of twenty *Spaniards*. Two days after *Berroa*, on board the
marechal de Villars, and attended by a large privateer that mounted ten guns, and seven
sloops;

- a sloops, anchored within cannon-shot of the *Philip*. The sloops, which were full of soldiers, and the privateer soon after, entered the harbour as if they intended to cannonade the town, and to land under the cover of their fire ; but finding the *French* and savages prepared to receive them they desisted, but renewed the same attempt for fourteen days successively, at fourteen different places. At last they retired, without doing any thing. It was remarkable, that *Serigny's* regulars did not amount to above eighty, and being of the same kind with the *Penfacola* deserters, he dreaded them as much as he did the enemy. His savages upon the island did not amount to above two hundred, and his *Canadians* and volunteers were not so many. At last the *Spaniards* weighed anchor, and returned to *Penfacola* with a considerable loss. Thus ended this ill concerted attempt, which was an evident proof of the degeneracy of the *Spaniards* in *America* ; for had they persisted with their superiority of force in blocking up the island but a few days longer, the *French* must have surrendered, so great was the distress to which they were reduced by diseases, and by lying for three weeks upon the strand.

- DE LATORE*, the governor of *Penfacola*, was all this while busy in fortifying that place to prevent its being surprized afresh, and built a fort upon the point of the isle of *St. Rosa*, which commands the entrance into the harbour, and on which he employed all his negroe prisoners. While this work was going on it was frequently interrupted by the *French* savages, whom the *Spaniards* repulsed, but were unable to follow them, so nimbly did they skip from one mountain to another. Those interruptions, with the impossibility of the *Spaniards* making a descent upon the isle of *Dauphin*, convinced the *Spanish* governor that he could do nothing without a larger force. He had been assured of an immediate reinforcement by a brigantine from *Vera Cruz* ; a fort upon *Siguenza* point was almost finished, and likewise a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon, which commanded the entrance into the harbour, and the fortifications of fort *St. Charles* were strengthened ; but sickness and famine had now swept off great numbers of his men. The assurance of speedy reinforcement kept up the spirits of the survivors for some time, but meeting with nothing but disappointments, they began to talk of abandoning a place which they must be obliged to surrender if they should be again attacked by the *French* ; and that their supplies of reinforcements must have been lost, as it was not to be supposed that the governors of *New Spain* and the *Havannah* would fail in their promises. As they had but provisions just sufficient to carry them to the *Havannah*, the governor had great difficulty in keeping them to their duty ; but at last he understood that five ships were seen off the isle of *Dauphin*. There being no doubt that these ships belonged to the *French*, and that they had been joined by the savages, who disappeared from that coast for some time, the governor of fort *St. Charles*, who expected to be attacked first, proposed to blow it up, to render it unserviceable for the *French*, and to carry over all its artillery and ammunition to *Point Siguenza* ; but being single in this opinion, that project was dropt. Next morning the *Spanish* general understood that the ships, which had been seen, were either merchantmen or transports ; but soon after six real ships of war appeared towards the south-east. The *Spaniards* flattered themselves at first, that they were the *Barlavento* fleet under *Cornejo*, but as they approached they soon appeared to be *French*. The *Spanish* governor upon this sent don *Bruno Cavallero* with one hundred men to the fort upon the point of *Siguenza*, while he stationed himself in his own frigate, with the *marechal de Villars*, and two other frigates, in order of battle in the middle of the canal. While those dispositions were making, the *French* tacked towards the harbour, and fort *St. Charles* was assaulted by a number of savages, and some *French*.

- The commodore of the *French* Squadron was the count *de Champmelin*, who, on the 31st of *August*, had arrived near the isle of *Dauphin*, with five ships of war and two frigates belonging to the company. He met with two *Spanish* bylanders in the road, who had been stationed there to cut off all communication between the island and the *Mobile* ; but on the appearance of his Squadron they made the best of their way for *Penfacola*. Upon the arrival of *Champmelin*, *Serigny* dispatched an express from *Bienville* to assemble all the savages and *French* he could, and to carry them to the isle of *Dauphin*. A council of war was then held on the 5th of *September*, where it was agreed that *Bienville* should invest fort *St. Charles* in *Penfacola*, with four or five hundred savages by land, while *Serigny* was to embark on board *Champmelin's* Squadron to pilot it along the coast into the harbour. On the 7th a *Canadian*, who had been sent to reconnoitre *Penfacola*, reported that eight vessels were at anchor at the isle of *St. Rosa*, where he could perceive a good number of tents and people walking about, and that in his opinion the fortifications, both on that island and upon *Penfacola*, were in a good condition, and well garrisoned. On the 10th the *Appalachian* savages brought in a *Spanish* prisoner, but he would discover nothing. On the 12th *Bienville* came on board the admiral ; and on the night between the 13th and 14th, the admiral made the signal for three ships of war, the two companies frigates, and a little bark, to weigh anchor, and to cover the landing. The *Mississippi* company had sent two hundred and fifty men to *Louisiana*, who were

which again falls into the hands of the French.

were distributed on board the ships of war ; and *Bienville*, with the soldiers and volunteers, ^a had been joined at *Rio Perdido* by the savages under the Chevalier *de la Longueville*. Thus he was in a condition to invest fort *St. Charles*, and to harraßs the *Spaniards* at *Pensacola*, which he did with great effect. On the 15th in the morning the *French* squadron weighed their anchors, and on the evening of the 16th they were within two cannon shot of the bar on the south of the fort. Here *Champmelin* came to anchor, that he might sound whether there was water sufficient to carry his large ships over the bar. The officers were divided on that point ; but *Serigny* offering to answer for the consequences with his head, and affirming that there was a sufficient depth, the squadron passed the bar, and a hot cannonading began for two hours and a half between them and the *Spaniards*, both from the ships and the forts, but at first to the advantage of the *Spaniards*, the *French* finding some difficulty ^b to bring their ships to bear upon their enemy. At last the *French* entirely demolished the fort and battery at *Point Siguenza*, and all the *Spanish* ships but two were disabled ; upon which *Champmelin* summoned *la Torre* to surrender, which he did, as did *Bruno*, who commanded at *Point Siguenza*. *Champmelin* then summoned *Matamoros*, who commanded at fort *St. Charles*, to surrender himself with his garrison prisoners of war, otherwise neither he nor they were to expect any quarter, as *Bienville* would be ordered to storm the place with five hundred savages and one hundred and fifty *Canadians*. *Matamoros* at first required two days to consider, and dismissed the *French* officer, who brought him the summons, without any other answer. But his garrison insisting that the place was no longer tenable, he surrendered it, and *Champmelin* treated all the *Spanish* officers with great politeness. Next day ^c *Champmelin* sent his long boat, with one of his officers, attended by a *Spanish* officer likewise, to order the commanders of the bylanders, which had run aground on the bottom of the bay, to bring them into the harbour : but they had saved themselves by sailing to fort *St. Joseph*. The same day the *Spanish* garrison evacuated fort *St. Charles*, and were sent on board the *French* ships with all their cloaths and effects, but without their arms. *Champmelin* accommodated on board his own ship the principal of the *Spanish* officers ; but was greatly puzzled how he should dispose of the other prisoners, who amounted to between twelve and fifteen hundred, and whose entertainment must have created a famine in his squadron, till at last he put six hundred of them on board the *St. Louis*, and sent them to the *Havannah*. The loss of the *French*, on this occasion, did not amount to above six or seven killed, ^d that of the *Spaniards* was unknown, for not above sixty of their dead and wounded were discovered.

Severities of
the Spaniards
to the French
prisoners.

On the 24th, early in the morning, a *Spanish* brigantine entered the harbour of *Pensacola* without any distrust, and was seized by *Champmelin*. It was commanded by one *Gonzalez*, and had sailed from the *Havannah*, with the provisions which the garrison of *Pensacola* had so long expected, and which came in good season to the half famished *French*. Amongst other letters brought by this ship, was one from *Chateaugué*, who was still prisoner at the *Havannah* to *Bienville*, informing him, that the *Spanish* governor there refused to furnish, the *French* prisoners, officers as well as soldiers and sailors, with any allowance of provisions and that the common men were obliged to saw stones, and to work on the fortifications ^e for their subsistence. *Champmelin* mentioned to the *Spaniards*, who were him, those inhumanities with great indignation, but he resented them in no other shape than by informing the governor of the *Havannah* by a letter, that he was no stranger to his cruelty. After this, he punished the *French* who had been found at the garrison of *Penjacola*, by ordering the most culpable, to be hanged, and the others to be sent to the galleys.

THE next subject of the *French* commodore's deliberation was, whether he should preserve or demolish the fort at *Pensacola*. The difficulty was, whether they could trust the soldiers who were on board the fleet to garrison it, they being a most worthless set of people, and either forced into the service, or deserters from the regulars. At last a middle way was resolved on to avoid what had happened before. The two bastions towards the land were demolished, and the two towards the sea preserved, with a garrison consisting of an ^f officer, two serjeants, twenty soldiers, and twelve savages. On the third of *October* the duke *de Noailles* frigate arrived at *Pensacola* bay with instructions for the count *de Champmelin* from his court, that he should winter with the squadron in *Louisiana*, intelligence having been received, that a strong fleet had sailed from *Old Spain* to the gulph of *Mexico*. But *Champmelin's* squadron, both ships and men, was in so miserable a plight that he could not comply with those orders. Some days after a *Spaniard*, who was the only man that had been saved out of the crew of a twenty-four gun frigate, that had been wrecked as she was sailing to revictual fort *St. Joseph*, gave an account that he had sailed sixteen days before from *la Vera Cruz*, where he had left six ships of war, each mounting from fifty to seventy guns, ^g with a large number of land forces, who were to be employed in dispossessing the *French* from all the posts they held in *Louisiana*. Soon after, another *French* ship, which had sailed thirty-five days from *Vera Cruz*, laden with provisions and recruits for the garrison at *Pensacola*, com-

- a commanded by *don Francisco de la Pera*, fell into *Champlain's* hands, and the dispatches which he found on board it confirmed all that the first *Spaniard* had reported. This intelligence did not alter *Champlain's* resolution to set sail for *France*, before the diseases, that every day increased amongst the sailors, should entirely ruin his squadron. He was, however, obliged to leave behind him the *Mars*, on account of a pestilential distemper, which prevailed amongst her crew, with the *maréchal de Villars*, and the count *de Toulouse*, both which ships were so shattered, that they could not put to sea. *Champlain's* next care was to order *St. Denys*, who was greatly beloved amongst the savages, to assemble in a body, that they might receive his thanks for their services, and the affection they had manifested towards the *French* nation. *St. Denys* performed his orders with great propriety. When he b convened them in a body he made them sing the calumet in praise of the general, who, with his officers, assisted at the ceremony. *St. Denys* then harangued them upon the manifested superiority which the *French* nation had over all their enemies; and having exhorted them to continue steadfast in their attachments, he distributed amongst them the presents of his most Christian majesty, and then he dismissed them, highly satisfied with their treatment.

Preparations of the Spaniards to retake Pensacola.

- ON the 21st of *October*, while the *French* squadron was getting under sail, another *Spanish* are laid aside. bylander was taken in the bay of *Pensacola*, the captain of which reported, that he had left *Vera Cruz* eighteen days before, in company with a ship carrying forty-four guns, and three others of thirty, eighteen and twelve, and another bylander, the whole under the command of general *Cornejo*, whose orders were to join the governor of *Pensacola*, and to assist c him in driving the *French* from all their posts in *Louisiana*. The same commander added, that he made no doubt that the isle of *Dauphin*, and the fort upon the *Mobile*, were already in the hands of the *Spaniards*; and that having separated from the squadron three days after he had left *Vera Cruz*, he knew not what had become of it. This account determined *Champlain* to remain for some days longer at *Pensacola*; but no *Spaniards* then appearing, he set sail for *France*. As to *Cornejo*, hearing on his voyage, that *Pensacola* had been taken by the *French*, and that their squadron was still in that bay, he returned to *Vera Cruz*. Upon the departure of *Champlain*, the chevalier *de Saujon*, another *French* commodore and general, arrived with a new squadron at *Louisiana*; and, by his presence, overawed the *Spaniards* from executing the designs we have mentioned. His intention, at first, was to have sailed to d fort *St. Joseph*, to drive from thence the *Spaniards*. But *Bienville*, who had taken and abandoned it the year before, convinced him of its inutility, the difficulty of maintaining it, the danger to which ships are there exposed; and, above all, the almost impossibility of subsisting in so barren a country. His remonstrances were backed by *Serigny*, who represented that the colony of *Louisiana* itself was in such imminent danger of being famished, that they must be obliged to send to *France* a great many of their mouths on board the company's ships. *Saujon* upon all those considerations laid aside his expedition against fort *St. Joseph*, and set sail for *France*. He was followed by *Serigny*, who, upon his arrival at *Brest*, was, in consideration of the services he had performed, appointed to the command of a king's ship. Three days after his departure, the *Toulouse* and the *Henry*, both of them from *Toulon*, the one commanded by *de Valette*, and the other by *de Casaro*, arrived in a very shattered condition, in the road of the isle of *Dauphin*. We shall but just mention, that before e this time the *Mississippi* company had attracted the eyes of all *Europe*.

- MR. *LAW* had prevailed in transferring all the privileges of the *East India* company to the *Mississippi*, or *West India* company, and in consolidating both under the more simple title of the *India* company; and to their capital, which already consisted of a hundred million of livres, they were allowed to add five and twenty millions. The treasurer of the royal bank at the same time was ordered to deliver them bank bills to the amount of twenty-five millions of livres, to be employed for the benefit of their trade in *Louisiana*. In *July* following, the company obtained the grant of all the profits for nine years, arising from the coinage f of gold and silver; in consideration of twenty-five millions in specie advanced to the government; and an arret, about the same time, was published, enabling the directors of the bank to issue two hundred and forty millions in bank bills, which rendered the stock of the company to consist of four hundred millions of livres. Posterity will have difficulty in believing to what a pitch the spirit of gaming prevailed at this time not only in *France*, but all over *Europe*. Though no dividend had been as yet made by the *Mississippi* company, yet, in *August* 1719, every share of it that had been purchased for one hundred livres sold for nine hundred. The romantic schemes which this infatuation produced, are incredible, and the madness prevailed so far, that the company at last offered to lend to the government one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and even that sum was found insufficient for discharging the public debt. g The court, however, availed themselves of the phrenzy to get in to their hands almost all the ready money in *France*, and, at last, the people came so far to their senses, that the bubble burst, but to the ruin of almost all the individuals in *France*, and of many in other parts of *Europe*. It was with difficulty that the *French* king's guards were able to protect *Law* from being torn in

Account of the Mississippi company.

pieces, and to convey him safe out of *France*. As to the *Mississippi* company, it was separated from that of the *East Indians*, and the trade of the *East* and *West Indians* returned to its former channels.

In the mean while, the directors of the *Mississippi* company had built no fewer than one hundred ships for carrying on the trade to *Louisiana*, and father *Laval*, a jesuit, professor royal of hydrography in *Toulon*, had embarked on board one of the last ships from *France*, in order to make observations with regard to *Louisiana*, but above all to fix the longitude on the mouth of the *Mississippi*. The pestilence, which then depopulated the south of *France* had got into the two ships to such a degree, that almost every sailor was infected, and *Casaro* dying of it, *Laval* remained on board without ever going to the *Mississippi*, from which he was distant but fourteen leagues, in order to take care of the sick. All this while the *French* fort, which had been built amongst the *Natches* and *Natchitoches*, supported itself; but some people of the company repaired thither, that they might have an opportunity of trading with the *Spaniards*; in which they were disappointed; and this attempt contributed greatly to their ruin. Towards the end of the year, *Bienville* received an order from his court to send thither *St. Dny*s, whom his most Christian majesty had, in consideration of his services, honoured with a captain's brevet, and the cross of *St. Lewis*; and accordingly he set out the beginning of next year with a recruit of provisions, and a reinforcement of men. At the same time *Chateaugué*, who, being freed from his imprisonment at the *Havannah*, had gone over to *France*, returned to *Louisiana* with a commission to be the king's lieutenant there, and resumed the command of fort *St. Lewis* upon the *Mobile*, while *Bienville* again established the head-quarters of the colony at *Biloxi*, and there fixed the residence of the greatest part of the troops, and the directors of the company, of whom he was the chief.

THE *Louisianians* were, at this time, under no apprehensions from the *Spaniards*; for *Valette*, while he was at the isle of *Dauphin*, had undoubted intelligence, that two *Spanish* ships of the line, who were to have assisted in the reduction of *Pensacola*, had received counter-orders from the *Havannah*, in consequence of a suspension of arms that had taken place between the two crowns in *Europe*; and one of the preliminaries being, that *Pensacola* should be restored to the *Spaniards*, the latter had given orders, that all hostilities on that account should be suspended likewise, to prevent fruitless expences. The late calamities that happened in *France* daily encreased the number of settlers in *Louisiana*; and had the affairs of the company been well managed, it was thought they might have peopled both sides of the *Mississippi*, from its mouth to the *Illinois* river. But the perpetual inclination which the directors of the company had to trade with the *Spaniards*, and yet to keep them at a distance from *Louisiana*, still led them into chimerical projects. *Bienville* this year formed a design of making a settlement in the bay *St. Lewis*, formerly that of *St. Bernard*; but he made a wrong choice of the person to whom he entrusted the execution of his project, and who sailed up the river *Magdalen* for five or six leagues. Wherever he came, he found the savages upon their guard, and they informed him, that they were determined to suffer no strangers to settle in their country. It was in vain he represented to them the advantages they would reap by their trading with the *French*, for their constant answer was, that they preferred their liberty to all other considerations. The officer, however, found means to trepan some of their chiefs on board his vessel, and to carry them to *Biloxi*, where *Bienville* severely reprimanded him for his treachery, and ordered the savages to be reconducted to their own country. This attempt put the *Spaniards* upon their guard, and next year it was understood that they had built a fort on *St. Bernard's* bay by way of precaution.

TOWARDS the end of *May* 1722, a *Spanish* frigate of twenty-two guns arrived at *Biloxi*, having on board an *Irishman*, one *Wanchop*, an officer in the *Spanish* service, who brought with him the articles of peace between the two crowns, one of which was the restitution of *Pensacola* to his Catholic majesty, and the peace was celebrated at *Biloxi*, according to *Charlevoix*, who was present, with great appearances of sincerity on both sides. Every thing being then restored to a state of tranquility, as soon as the *Spanish* frigate was sailed, the head-quarters of the colony of *Louisiana* was transferred to *New Orleans* from *Biloxi*, with all the magazines, nothing being left there but a small detachment with an officer. But though this removal was made by order of the company, it was executed with some reluctance; and a company of *Swisses*, with their captain at their head, carried the transports, in which they were embarked, to *Carolina*, leaving behind them only two officers, a serjeant, and some women, whose cloaths they carried along with them. This, and many other checks, which the company received about this time, reduced the colony to such straits, that the company was obliged to apply to the mother-country for fresh supplies. The *English* took advantage of their weakness to depreciate them in the esteem of the savages, and particularly of the *Chastaws*, to whom they represented the friendship of the *French* as being insignificant and useless, advising them to renounce it. The *Chastaws* were at that time the most numerous

projects of the
French in
Louisiana de-
feated.

a nation of all the savages in *Louisiana*, and they were not insensible from their own experience, that great part of what the *English* said was true. Had they deserted the friendship of the *French*, their example would have been followed by all the other nations, and the colony of *Louisiana* must soon have been ruined: nor indeed could any thing have prevented it, but the close connexion at that time subsisting between the courts of *France* and *Great Britain*.

The colonists of *Louisiana* perceiving the security and affluence in which the people of *Carolina* lived, deserted to them in such numbers as put the *English* governor under some difficulties as to their reception. At last he sent notice to *Bienville* of the arrival of the *Swiss* company in *Carolina*, and advised him to take measures for preventing the farther desertion of his people, otherwise his colony must be irretrievably ruined. It was not in *Bienville's* power to follow this advice. His colony was made up of people who had been either impressed or banished to it, or of adventurers, who had repaired thither from the hopes of gain, in which they now found themselves disappointed, and all of them sought the first opportunity to leave it. Add to this, that multitudes were daily perishing through hunger and sickness. Thus, invincible necessity was the plea of the deserters, who complained that they were forced to abandon *Louisiana*, that they might obtain the necessaries of life elsewhere. Many of them testified the strongest reluctance at what they did, as appeared by their behaviour towards a *French* ship very richly laden, which fell into their hands, and which they robbed only of some victuals and drink, leaving the cargo untouched. When the captain, whose name was *Duclos*, seemed to be surprised at their moderation, they told him that they were not robbers, but brave unhappy people, who were compelled in that manner to satisfy the calls of nature.

Many of them
sever to the
English.

To complete the misfortunes of the colony, on the 12th of *September* 1722, a most dreadful hurricane arose upon the *Mississippi*, which lasted from ten at night till noon next day, and was felt from *Biloxi* to the country of the *Natches*. It overthrew the church, the hospital, and thirty of the houses and barracks of *New Orleans*, but without any person being killed, though some patients were wounded in the hospital: a vast number of boats, canoes, and other small craft, were beat in pieces in the harbour, and three vessels were run ashore on the banks of the harbour, where the water had risen eight feet. All the houses above and below town were overthrown. At *Biloxi* the damage was still greater; for there all the houses and magazines were beat down, and great part of the fortifications were overflowed. The transports, which were in the road, were run ashore on the neighbouring islands and banks, and a great number of perugas, bound to *New Orleans* with provisions, were shipwrecked. All the vegetables that were fully ripe were destroyed, and the continual rains, that succeeded, spoiled the greatest part of the younger growth.

A dreadful
hurricane.

The *French* all this while had a skirmishing kind of a war with the *Chicachas*, which was very troublesome to the colony traders, and it was feared that the effects of the hurricane would have given those savages vast advantages; but this apprehension soon blew over. Two *Canadians*, father and son, had fallen into the hands of the *Chicachas*, whose chiefs, far from treating them ill, employed them to write to *Bienville*, to acquaint him, that if he would pardon them they should be released. They applied, at the same time, to *de Grave*, a *French* officer, who commanded amongst the *Tasous*, presented him with a calumet, and begged to live with him in peace, which he thought proper to agree to. The *French* thought they had gained a great point in bringing over to their interest the *Chicachas*, who, on account of their connexions with the *English*, were most to be dreaded of all the *Louisianian* savages; but were not so fortunate with regard to the *Natches*, who considered them as so many invaders and plunderers of their natural freedom and rights; and that the terms they were obliged to submit to were imposed upon them by force and violence, and therefore not binding upon them. The *French*, on the other hand, thinking they had done sufficient to bridle those savages, were at very little pains to manage them, and took few or no precautions to prevent a future rupture; for which the barbarians watched their opportunity. The *Illinois* was the next nation which the *Louisianians*, at this time, had upon their hands; and the government, both of *Old* and *New France*, had always courted their friendship, on account of the conveniency which their territory and river afforded, for their retrieving all they had ceded in *America* in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by their forming a communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. *Monf. de Boisbriand*, who commanded in that country, understanding that the *Illinois* of *Rocher* and *Pimiteouy* were besieged by the *Outagamis*, set out to deliver them with a detachment of one hundred men, besides several officers of distinction, and, at the same time, he ordered forty *French* and four hundred savages to join him at *Pimiteouy*; but before those reinforcements proceeded half-way, they understood that the *Outagamis* had been obliged to retreat with the loss of above sixscore men. Notwithstanding this, the *Illinois*, though they had not lost above twenty men, with a few women and children, resolved to abandon *Rocher* and *Pimiteouy*, and to settle with their brethren living in *Louisiana* upon the *Mississippi*; a junction, by no means unfavourable for the *French* jesuits,

Transactions
between the
French and
the savages
of Louisiana.

who

who were thereby relieved from great fatigues: but it almost proved fatal to the interests of the two colonies of *New France* and *Louisiana*, by the *Outagamis* cutting off the communication between them, and extending their incursions all along the river of the *Illinois*.

The French
massacred by
the latter.

A *FRENCH* officer, one *St. Ange*, at that time, commanded in fort *du Chartres*, lying within the country of the *Illinois*, and by decoying a considerable number of the *Outagamis* into an ambuscade, he put almost all of them to the sword, and other parties met with the like fate. Such, however, was the nature of those savages, that their enmity with the *French* seemed to encrease with their losses; and they found means to make other nations parties in their quarrel, who had before lived in good correspondence with the *French*. In a short time, all the neighbourhood of the *Mississippi* was so much infested by those nations, that no *Frenchman* could come near it; they never giving any quarter, and always cutting them off, when an occasion presented. The *Natches*, who were enemies to the *French*, took this opportunity to declare openly against them, and put the brother of their grand chief at their head. This was an embarrassing circumstance to *Bienville*, who had no means of making head against so powerful a confederacy; but he was delivered from part of his distress by *Deliette*, who commanded in the *Natches* post, for he managed them with so much address, that he persuaded the grand chief of the *Natches* to deliver his brother into the hands of *Bienville*, who, on his part, generously pardoned him, and took him into his friendship; and so great were the marks of reciprocal confidence that passed between them, that their good understanding seemed to be perfectly re-established.

Religious state
of the colony.

FATHER *Charlevoix*, the historian of *New France*, was in the year 1722 in *Louisiana*, and when he left it on his return to *Old France*, matters were there as we have described them. As this father's profession and employment led him to report the fruits of his labours to the court who had sent him on his travels, he represented, that *Louisiana* was destitute of spiritual instructors (E); upon which, a number of *Capuchins* were sent over, and distributed amongst the *French* settlers there. The missions amongst the savages were supplied by the *Jesuits*, who offered themselves voluntarily for that purpose. It happened, however, that no missionary was sent amongst the *Natches*, whose friendship was so valuable to the *French* in *Louisiana*, and to this omission *Charlevoix* attributes all the misfortunes that followed amongst that people. About the same time, a number of *Ursulin* nuns went from *Old France* to *New Orleans*, where they undertook the education of their young countrywomen. Nothing more remarkable happened, with regard to this colony, till the year 1726, when *Perrier* was named commandant-general in *Louisiana*, in the room of *de Bienville*, who returned to *France*.

1726.

De Perrier
governor.

EVERY thing was then in a state of seeming tranquillity; but the new governor soon perceived the necessity he was under of applying to his court for an additional number of troops, for the protection of the colony. He plainly saw, that nothing but terror could continue the savages in their friendship with the *French*, and that the defenceless condition of the outposts gave opportunities, both to the *Spaniards* and the *English*, of exciting the natives against the colonists. His apprehensions, however, appear to have been groundless; nor do we know of any attempt made against the tranquillity of his government, during the first two years of it. His first application for an additional force seems to have been in 1759, when he demanded a reinforcement of three hundred good troops. It appears from the correspondence, that passed between him and the company, that he was secretly thwarted in this solicitation by some people in *Louisiana*; for the company's answer was, that he wanted more troops only that he might encrease the number of those under him, or to make a war of parade at the company's expence. In return, he complained bitterly of those who had advised the company not only to refuse him his request, but likewise the usual presents made to the savages to keep them in good humour. In another letter, he gives the following real, but new, character of those barbarians. "We are, said he, sure of being good friends with them as long as we give them all they ask for; but no sooner are they sensible that we stand in need of them, than they multiply their necessities in such a manner, that both the *English* and we become the dupes of those savages, who are far less so than we are." *Charlevoix*, however, thinks *Perrier* was mistaken, in adding that they never become what they ought to be, till after a good beating; for the father, whose order pretends to have the key to the characters of all those *Indians*, is of opinion, that they never grow better after a beating, but when they know themselves to be in the wrong; and that nothing renders them so

(E) *Charlevoix*, on this occasion, said a great deal more, which may be expected from a *Jesuit*, upon the vast utility of his order, when acting as missionaries amongst the savages. We are far from doubting either their zeal or address; but we think it is plain from the course of this history, that those fathers encouraged

the savages in all their idle habits, and were even at pains to dissuade them from the arts of industry, and that the vast interest they had at the court of *France* was, in fact, the great obstacle to the prosperity of *Canada*.

irre-

reclaimable, as when they are attacked and punished without just grounds of provocation. *Perrier*, in another letter, tells the company, upon having farther experience of their dispositions, that the best way of dealing with them, when their assistance is wanted, and when they are importunate for presents, is to slight their help and tell them, that their assistance, is of very little consequence. "Then, continues he. they will follow you to a man. After that, if they grow importunate for their reward, tell them you did not invite them to join you: but whatever presents become necessary, either to engage them on your side, or for buying them into peace, you ought never then so far to depend upon their fidelity as to think yourself safe from being insulted." Upon the whole, *Charlevoix*^m is of opinion, that both *Perrier* and his opponents were mistaken in their opinion of those savages: and that the only method to have rendered them peaceable allies was to have made them good catholics.

BUT a storm was now hanging over the *French* in *Louisiana* that, had it not been for a mere accident, must have proved fatal to the whole colony. The *Chicacas*, instigated (as the *French* writers, with no great probability, pretend) by the *English*, had or some years been hatching a conspiracy for exterminating the *French* out of *Louisiana*. They had conducted their intrigues with so much secrecy, that none of the *French* savages, the *Illinois*, the *Akansas*, or the *Tonikas*, had the least suspicion of their design. Notwithstanding this, they brought into it all the nations who were not attached to the *French*, and it was agreed amongst them, that, on a certain hour of the same day, all of them should rise at once, and each murder the *French* and their allies; and each was allotted to his share of slaughter. The eastern *Chattaws*, the most numerous nation on all the continent, and, at all times, the allies of the *French*, were gained over to the conspiracy, and endeavours were used to bring the western *Chattaws* over likewise: but tho' they refused to consent, they never discovered to the *French* their danger, till it was too late wholly to prevent it. *Perrier*, understanding that some of the *Chattaws* had quarrelled with *M. Dircn d' Artaguet*, the commander of the fort upon the *Mobile*, invited the chiefs of their nation to meet him at *New Orleans*, to receive satisfaction for their complaints. They accordingly came, and after some parley, in which they expressed great satisfaction with *Perrier*, they departed with a resolution to fail in their promises, which they had made to the *Chicachas*, of destroying all the *French* habitations upon the *Mobile*, and to manage so, that it should be done by the *Natches*. This wicked project arose from an avaricious principle; for they thought that the *French* would be obliged to call them in, and pay them for their assistance, against the *Natches*, from whom they might be able to make a large booty besides. The state of the colony facilitated the execution of the conspiracy. The governor had no suspicion of the *Chicachas*; and he even depended upon the assistance of the *Natches*, in case of danger. The houses of the colonists were mean and unsecure, and could make but little defence against a sudden attack of the barbarians. Though *Louisiana* contained several *French* forts, yet all of them, excepting that upon the *Mobile*, were built of palisadoes, two thirds of which were rotten; and, though they had been stronger, they could have been of very little service for protecting the houses in the neighbourhood against the savages. Add to all this, the loose secure manner in which the *French* lived with regard to the barbarians.

ONE *de Chepar* was the commandant of the *French* fort amongst the *Natches*. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the *French* to disguise the matter, it appears plainly, even from their own relations, that the *French* commandants there were extremely oppressive to the inhabitants; and that the latter often complained, but without any redress. It was no wonder, therefore, if they dissembled their resentment, as their representations served but to heighten their miseries; and they acted so artfully that their tyrants had no suspicion of their intentions. On the 27th of *November*, 1729, a dark report was spread, as if the *Natches* intended to strike some blow against the *French*. *Chepar* was so far from believing this surmise, that he threw into irons seven of the neighbouring *French* inhabitants, who had come into the fort to obtain his leave for putting themselves under arms to prevent their being surprized. His security was such, that he received thirty of the natives into the fort, and as many into his own house, and the *French* houses in the neighbourhood; while others were lodged promiscuously amongst the other colonists, and in the carriages of the workmen, about two or three leagues distant from their village. The day pitched upon for the execution of the general massacre was not yet arrived: but the *Natches* had two reasons for anticipating the same; the first was the arrival of some boats richly laden with merchandize for the use of the *French* garrison there, and that amongst the *Tasous*, as well as other traders, and which they resolved to seize before they were delivered; their second reason was, because some strangers of rank were then upon a visit to *Chepar*, and they could have an opportunity of arming themselves without suspicion, on pretext of going a hunting for the entertainment of the guests. They made this proposal to the commandant, who ac-

General conspiracy of the Natches against the French.

^m CHARLEVOIX, Tom. IV. p. 241.

Account of the
Natches mas-
sacre.

cepted of it with great joy, and immediately they bought up from the inhabitants, guns, a powder, and ball. On the 28th, they spread themselves all about the *French* houses in great numbers, giving out that they were going a hunting, and singing the calumet to the praises of the commandant and his company: but each returned to the post assigned him. Soon after the signal for execution was given by three distinct musket shots discharged from the commandant's door; and then the general massacre began by the murders of the commandant himself, and his two guests, *Koli*, father and son. The only resistance the savages met with was from M. *de la Loire des Ursins*, principal commissary of the *India* company, who had in his house eight *Frenchmen*. Here eight *Natches* were killed, and six *Frenchmen*; *la Loire* himself was surrounded by a party of the savages, of whom he killed four, and made a vigorous defence; but, at last, he was shot dead. Those twelve were all the *Natches* that were killed on this melancholy occasion. The barbarians, before entering upon their massacre, had tampered with the negroes of the colony, who had amongst them two heads. These persuaded the others, that they would live free under the savages, and that all the *French* women and children saved would be their slaves; and that they had nothing to apprehend from the *French* in other quarters of the colony, because all of them would be massacred at the same time. Notwithstanding this, the barbarians had been so fearful of a discovery, that they had entrusted the secret to but a few. Two hundred *Frenchmen*, however, were murdered in an instant, and of all that post, which was the most populous of any in *Louisiana*, not above twenty *French*, and five or six negroes escaped, and most of them wounded. A hundred and fifty children, and eighty women, with about as many negroes, were made prisoners. Amongst the murdered was *du Poisson*, the jesuit missionary amongst the *Akanfas*, who had stopt there in his journey to *New Orleans*, and *du Codere*, the *French* commandant amongst the *Yasous*, who happened to be there upon business.

DURING the massacre, the *Sun*, for so the grand chief of the *Natches* was called, was very tranquilly seated under a tobacco-penhouse, belonging to the *West India* company. He was presented, at first, with the commandant's head, and then with those of the chief *French* who had been massacred, which he ordered to be arranged round that of the commandant; and the heads of all the other *Frenchmen* that had been brought him were piled up in a heap. As to the bodies, they were devoured by dogs and birds of prey. Of all the *French* in the post, the savages spared only two workmen, a taylor and a carpenter, because they could be of use to them. They did no hurt to the negro or *Indian* slaves, who submitted to them without resistance; but they murdered all the women who were big with child, or had children at their breast, because they disturbed them by their importunities. As to the others, they treated them as slaves, and with the greatest cruelties. As soon as the *Natches* perceived that all the *French* were exterminated from amongst them, they fell upon their houses, store houses, and the boats in the harbour, all which they plundered. As to the negroes, they treated them well, that they might sell them to the more advantage to the *English* at *Carolina*; and, they assured the *French* female slaves, that there was not a *Frenchman* in all *Louisiana* left alive, and that the *English* were on their march to take possession of the country.

Of the few *French* who escaped, some ran into the woods, where they suffered vast misery from cold and hunger. One, preferring a quick to a lingering death, entered a hut, which he perceived belonged to the savages, whom, to his great joy, he found to be *Yasous*. They entertained him in the most friendly manner, by giving him not only meat and cloathing, but a peruaga to carry him to *New Orleans*. Their chief father desired him to acquaint M. *de Perrier*, that he and his nation had nothing to apprehend from the *Yasous*; for that his nation would always remain faithfully attached to the *French*, and that he himself was going with his party to put all the *French* who were coming down the river upon their guard. This savage, probably, was not in the secret of his countrymen, who were involved in the conspiracy. The *Frenchman* reached *New Orleans* soon after the news of the *Natches* massacre arrived, and found the inhabitants in the greatest consternation and concern for their countrymen amongst the *Yasous*: but they were comforted by the news their guest brought them. Their hope were of short continuance. On the 11th of *December*, father *Gouel*, the jesuit missionary amongst the *Yasous*; who lived in the same village with the *Corrois* and *Offogoulas*, as he was returning in the evening from visiting the chief of the *Yasous*, was killed, in passing the river, by several musket shots; as was a christian negro, his servant, as he was endeavouring to save his master's cabin from being pillaged by the murderers. *Charlevoix* says, that this missionary was greatly beloved by the savages, and that they murdered him because of the freedom he made use of in reproving them for a detestable crime, to which they were addicted. At first, they seemed to be sorry for what they had done; but the *Yasous* and the *Corrois*, who were in the same conspiracy, soon returned to their murderous intention, calling out, "that now they had killed the chief of the prayer, they ought to exterminate all the rest of the *French*."

and that of the
Yasous.

- a** NEXT morning early, the savages appeared before the fort, which stood but a league from their village. At first it was believed that they came to sing a calumet to the *chevalier des Roches*, who commanded in the absence of *Codere*. It is remarkable, that, though the *Natches* massacre had happened fifteen days before, and though the distance between them and the *Tasous* is but forty leagues by water, and fifteen by land, an inconsiderable space in those countries, yet the *French* amongst the *Tasous* had heard nothing of it. The savages, therefore, without any scruple, were admitted into the fort, where all at once they murdered the whole garrison, consisting only of seventeen men. All they spared were four women and five children, whom they made slaves. One of the murderers of *Souel* then dressed himself in that missionary's cassock, and went to inform the *Natches* of the destruction
- b** of all the *French* upon the river. This massacre was performed by the *Tasous* and the *Corrois* jointly. The *Offegoulas* were then hunting, and, upon their return home, they were strongly solicited to join in the conspiracy : they expressed, however so great a detestation of it, that they immediately removed from the village of the *Tasous* to that of the *Tonicas*, whom they knew to be the most inviolably attached of all the savages in *Louisiana* to the *French* interest. The inhabitants of *New Orleans* began to suspect what had happened amongst the *Tasous*, when the arrival of father *Doutreleau*, a missionary amongst the *Illinois*, put them out of all doubt of it. This jesuit, having business to transact at *New Orleans*, took the opportunity of the *Illinois* winter-huntings to set out for that capital ; and, the 1st of *January*, 1730, he
- c** stopt with his attendants to celebrate mass at the mouth of the river *Tasous*. While he was in his habits, a peragua of *Tasous* arrived, and informed him and his company, that they were *Tasous*, and good friends to the *French*, presenting them at the same time with some vic-
- d** tuals. By accident, a flock of bustards flew by, and the *Canadians* shot at them without thinking of recharging their guns. The savages, perceiving this, mingled with the *French*, though they were not christians, in the service ; and, watching their opportunity, they wounded *Doutreleau* in the arm, and shot dead one of his companions by his side. Two other *Frenchmen* who were with him, seeing this, ran towards their peragua, not doubting but the jesuit was killed, but, putting off from land, they saw the father, in his vestments, making the best of his way thither also. On their putting back to take him in, he was again wounded by the savages, who pursued him ; but, at last, the peragua escaped, chiefly

1730.

Adventures of a jesuit.

- through the resolution and good conduct of the missionary.
- e** WHEN they came opposite to the *Natches* village, where they designed to come ashore at the landing-place, perceiving all the houses within sight to be burnt, or overturned, they changed their resolution, and made the best of their way onwards. The savages did all they could to entice them ashore ; but, finding it to no purpose, they discharged a great number of shot against their peragua, but it was soon without their reach. Proceeding to the bay of the *Tonicas*, where they likewise intended to make no stop, a peragua, notwithstanding all their haste, overtook them. The father and his companions thought themselves now irretrievably ruined ; but were joyfully undeceived at hearing *French* spoke in the peragua, and seeing it full of their countrymen. Being carried ashore, they there found a body of *French* troops, who were upon their march to chastise the *Natches*. *Doutreleau* and his companions, having had their wounds carefully dressed, were put on board a peragua, which was going express to *New Orleans* ; and he promised, that as soon as he was perfectly cured, he would return and serve them in quality of almoner, during their expedition. But we are now to return to the quarters of the governor-general.

- f** IT was the 2d of *December*, before *Perrier* received the certain news of the *Natches* massacre ; and he immediately dispatched a *Swiss* captain, with a detachment to put the *French* settlers on both sides the river upon their guard, with orders that they should raise redoubts at certain distances for the safety of their slaves and cattle, which was done with great readiness. He next ordered the captain to take a narrow inspection of the little tribes of savages, who live on the banks of the *Mississippi*, and that none of them should be furnished with arms, but as he should appoint. He then dispatched a courier to the two heads of the *Chataws*, who were then hunting near *Pontchartrain* to repair to him. Next day, there arrived at *New Orleans* a peragua from the *Illinois* country, on board of which was a *Chactaw*, who desired a private audience of him, which was immediately granted. He then told *Perrier*, that he was sorry for the massacre of the *French*, which he would have prevented, had he not looked upon the report spread by the *Chicachas*, that they would massacre all the *French*, and destroy their houses, to be false. “ My reason, added the savage, for disbelieving this report was, their mentioning my nation amongst the others, who were engaged in the conspiracy ; but, my father, if you will suffer me to proceed to my own coun-
- g** try, I will soon return, and give you a satisfactory account of what I have done.” *Perrier* having left this savage, others came from the petty tribes round, advising him to be upon his guard against the *Chataws*. He, in the mean time, understood that two *Frenchmen* had

Precautions of Perrier.

been killed upon the *Mobile*, without the authors of the murders being discovered ; but that the publick report was, the *Chaftaws* intended to attack the fort, and all the *French* dwellings there. *Perrier* would gladly have concealed those discouraging tidings from the settlers ; but they gained ground every day, till the consternation became so general, that the whole colony was struck with terror at the appearance of thirty *Chaouachas*, who lived below *New Orleans*, and whom, for that reason, *de Perrier* ordered his negroes to destroy.

ON the 5th of *December*, *Perrier* dispatched a vessel for *France*, to inform that court, and the *West India* company of the colony's situation and distresses ; and desiring them to send him succours proportioned to his necessities. Two days after this, one of the *Chaftaw* chiefs, whom he had sent for, came to *New Orleans*, and informed him, that he had sent his letter to his countrymen, and that he had invited all of them who were enemies to the *Natches* to march against them. The chief, at the same time, advised *Perrier* to be upon his guard against the smaller tribes. *Perrier's* answer was, that he suspected them also ; but that, if they were in the conspiracy against the *French*, it was because they thought the *Chaftaws* were so likewise ; that, in all events he had provided against danger, and that he was not at all displeased, should the *Chaftaws* be informed that the conspiracy was discovered. A *French* officer, one *Regis*, was then residing amongst the *Chaftaws*, to observe their dispositions and motions ; and *Perrier*, having had no tidings of him for some time, dispatched *de Lussier*, another *Swiss* captain, to supply his place, and to make his report, as to the disposition of the *Chaftaws*. A day or two after, being the 4th of *January*, *Perrier* understood that the *Natches* had visited the *Chaftaws*, and sung them the calumet, and this added to his inquietudes ; but on the 16th, he received a letter from *Regis*, informing him, that he had no sooner communicated the contents of his commission to the *Chaftaws*, than they set up the death-song ; that seven hundred warriors were actually on their march against the *Natches*, as an hundred and fifty more were towards the country of the *Yafcus*, in order to deliver the negro and *French* prisoners, whom the *Natches* were conducting to the country of the *Chicachas*. Next day, *Perrier* received a letter from *St. Denys*, who commanded at the *Natchitoches* post, which gave him great pleasure, as he understood that several *Natchitoches* assisted the *Natches* in their massacre ; but, by this letter, he found that *St. Denys* post was in no danger.

Despondency of
the French
colony.

THE *French* colonists were at this time under more apprehensions than in danger ; from an unbounded confidence they had put in *Perrier*, they fell, all at once, into despondency, from which *Perrier* himself was in no condition to relieve them. He had by this time received full proofs, that the petty tribes had been gained over by the *Chicachas* to enter into a conspiracy against the *French*, and that the massacre must have been general, had not the *Natches* anticipated the day appointed for its execution. He farther learned, that an additional motive for this anticipation was that the *Natches* understanding the two *Chaftaw* chiefs, who were repairing to *New Orleans*, did it only to amuse the *French*, that they might more fully enjoy the lading of sixscore horses with *English* goods, that had entered the *Chaftaw* country ; that they would be the more eager to destroy the *French* settlements upon the river *Mobile*, in order, by means of the *English*, to introduce plenty into their country. It does not clearly appear, from what motive the *Chaftaws* changed their plan of politics with regard to the *French* ; but, most probably, it arose from the preparations the *French* were making against the *Natches*, and which daunted them. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the moment *Regis* communicated to them *Perrier's* invitation to join him, they declared, they would not receive into their country the *English* goods, and that, upon the return of their deputies, they would pursue their first plan, from which the *English* had persuaded them to deviate, which was that of exterminating the *Natches*, and they frankly acknowledged their having encouraged them in their conspiracy, that the *French*, finding how numerous their enemies were, might have recourse to them for assistance. *Perrier*, having duly weighed all circumstances, resolved in all events to trust the *Chaftaws*, and to employ them against the *Natches*. At this time, it fortunately happened, that two of the company's vessels arrived at *New Orleans*, which determined *Perrier* to lose no time, in marching against the *Natches* ; in engaging the *Chaftaws* to bring the lesser tribes to enter into his party, or, at least, to restrain them from joining in the conspiracy ; and to raise the inhabitants from their despondency. His forces, however, were inadequate to the numerous armies he had to encounter, as may appear from the following extract of one of his letters, written by him to the *French* minister, dated *March* 18, 1730.

“ You are not, said he, to judge of my undertaking by the small number of forces I have for attacking our enemies. I see consternation spreading every where, and that fear prevails every day. In this situation, I have concealed the numbers of our enemies, and given out, that the general conspiracy is but a chimera, invented by the *Natches* to prevent our acting against them. Had it been in my power to pursue the most prudent plan, I should have kept upon the defensive, and have waited for troops from *France*, to prevent my being reproached for having sacrificed two hundred *Frenchmen*, out of five or six hundred,

a dred, which, perhaps, I have, for the defence of the mouth of the river. The event has shewn, that the most prudent part is not that which we ought always to follow. We were in a situation, that required violent remedies, and, if we cannot do hurt to our enemies, we ought, at least, to strike them with terror. By accident, we have done both, and we have acquitted ourselves with honour in an expedition, the success of which now gives us some time for reflexion. We have recovered above two hundred women and children, with all our negroes, and have obliged our enemies to abandon their forts, and their lands. If we could have retained our savages two or three days longer, not a *Natche* could have escaped; but such are the measures I have taken, that their destruction is only postponed. I do not look upon them as our most cruel enemies, but upon the *Chicasas*, who are entirely devoted to the *English*, and, though in peace with us, have intirely conducted the plan of this general conspiracy. I have not thought proper to engage the *Chataws* to make war upon them, which they earnestly desire to do, because I have received neither orders, nor supplies from *France*; but they are so selfish a people, that it would cost us a great deal to make a step, which I am persuaded they will do of themselves, for very particular reasons of resentment."

b

THE bringing over the *Chataws* to the *French* interest was now the great object which *Perrier* had in view, together with the other savages in the neighbourhood of *Mobile* fort. He, therefore, as soon as he received the news of the *Natches* massacre, communicated the same to *Diron*, who commanded at that post; and afterwards ordered him to sound the dispositions of the *Chataws*, that he might know how far he could depend upon them. But a great difficulty now presented itself; for none could be found hardy enough to undertake a journey into the country of those barbarians, whose friendship for the *French* remained still so doubtful. One *le Sueur*, a native of *Canada*, who had been carried when he was very young to *Louisiana*, and had lived mostly amongst the *Chataws*, undertook the arduous task, and set out for fort *Mobile*. With infinite fatigue, he travelled through all their villages, where he was every where well received; and to him was owing the raising the seven hundred warriors, already mentioned, who had marched against the *Natches*. *Perrier*, in the mean while, ordered two of the company's ships to proceed as far up the river as the country of the *Tonicas*; and sent expresses by land as far as the country of the *Illinois*, to inform the natives of what had happened, and of what he intended to do. He ordered a ditch to be dug round *New Orleans*, and guards to mount at the four corners of the city; forming the inhabitants into four companies of militia for its defence.

d

HAVING more to apprehend as to the out settlements and houses, than for the capital, he ordered entrenchments to be every where cast up, and forts to be built in the places that were the most exposed. After that, he went to put himself at the head of his little army, which rendezvoused at the bay of the *Tonicas*. He soon understood that his present was more necessary at *New Orleans*, where, if the *Chataws* should declare against the *French*, the negroes would certainly join them, as some of them had done the *Natches*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, and sharing in the plunder. *Perrier*, reflecting upon all those circumstances, committed the conduct of his expedition against the *Natches* to the chevalier *de Loubois*, who was major of *New Orleans*, an officer of great experience and approved valour. The first effect of *Perrier*'s dispositions was, that the petty tribes living along the *Mississippi* entered into the interests of the *French*, and *le Sueur* persuaded the savages near the *Mobile* to do the same. *Perrier* was assured of the fidelity and friendship of the *Illinois*, the *Akanasas*, the *Offogoulas*, the *Tonicas*, and, by what soon after happened, of the *Natchitoches*, and all those people gave evident proofs of their attachment to the *French*, during the whole course of the war.

e

ON the other hand, the *Natches* seemed no way dismayed at the storm that was gathering against them. At first, they were in hopes of gaining to their side the *Tonicas*, and for that purpose, sent to them the *Tieux*, a petty tribe, which had lived for a long time in their country, to offer them part of the *French* spoils to induce them to join them. But this project was unsuccessful, though they killed two straggling *Frenchman*. The sieur *Merveilleux*, by this time, had arrived at the bay of the *Tonicas* with his detachment and some *French* soldiers, and entrenched himself to prevent surprizes. Eight days after, *Loubois* arrived with a reinforcement of five and twenty men, and found all the army properly secured, and in good condition. He had, before this, sent off an officer, one *Mexplex*, with five men to obtain some knowledge of the enemies force and situation; and the better to succeed, he was ordered to amule them with certain propositions of peace. But the moment he landed his men, they were saluted with a discharge of musquetry, which killed three of them, and he with the remaining two were made prisoners.

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NEXT morning, the *Natches* sent one of their *French* prisoners to *Loubois*, to make him some proposals on their part; and the *French* historian observes that their offers were such as testified great contempt for the *French*, and a vast haughtiness on their own part. At first,

His preparations at New Orleans.

Loubois commander of the expedition.

Courage of the Natches, and account of the war against them.

they demanded that the *sieur Broutin*, who had been commandant in their country, and the grand chief of the *Tonicas*, should be delivered into their hands as hostages. They then mentioned a great number of particular merchandizes, which they demanded in ransom for the women, children, and slaves, who were prisoners in their hands; and all this with an air, as if they had been doing a favour to the *French* in making their demands so very moderate. The *French* historian says, but with no great colour of truth, that, had those demands been complied with, their intention was to have cut the throats of all the *French* who were to have delivered the merchandizes, and then to have sold all their prisoners to the *English*. Be this as it will, the *French* certainly detained the soldier, which the *Natches* looked upon as so great a breach of faith, that they burned the *sieur Mexplex*, and the other prisoner. b

While matters were in this situation, *le Sueur*, on the 27th of *January*, arrived in the country of the *Natches*, with the *Chaetaws*, and immediately formed an attack upon the enemy. This impetuosity was probably owing to his being ignorant that the *French* army was then lying in the bay of the *Tonicas*, or to his being unable to restrain the ardor of the savages, who wanted to have all the plunder and prisoners to themselves, and likewise to have an allowance for the *French* prisoners, whom they should set free. Their attack was so furious, that they killed fourscore men, took sixteen women prisoners, and retook fifty-one *French* women and children, the two workmen whom the *Natches* had saved, and one hundred and fifty negroes, male and female. This victory would have been compleat, if the *French* negroes, who had been gained over by the *Natches*, had not taken arms against the *Chaetaws*, and prevented them from coming at their powder. *Du Pratz* omits this action. Both *Perrier* and *Loubois* were greatly blamed for keeping the army so long inactive in the bay of the *Tonicas*; perhaps they had motives of interest or resentment, but it certainly was shameful for *Loubois* to suffer the barbarians to carry away the greatest honour of the expedition. c

Thus far we have followed the relation of father *Charlevoix*, who wrote from information; but *M. le Page du Pratz*, who was upon the spot, gives us a different idea of this war, and, in the remaining part of it, we shall chiefly follow his authority. According to him, *Loubois*, not thinking himself strong enough to attack the *Natches* without the *Chaetaws*, built a fort among the *Tonicas*, where he enlisted some *French* who had escaped the massacre, and had been hospitably entertained by the *Tonicas*. Being unacquainted with the country between the *Tonicas* and the *Chaetaws*, he had neglected to keep up a proper correspondence with *le Sueur*, and impatient to know what was passing amongst the *Natches*, he had employed *Mexplex*, with four other *Frenchmen*, to go as spies amongst the enemy, though the *Tonicas* would have been infinitely more proper for that purpose. In the mean while, soon after the massacre of the *French*, the *Natches* had projected that of the *Natchitoches*, for their inviolable attachment to the *French*; but they were awed by *St. Denys*, the commandant of the *Natchitoches* post. They therefore took along with them a *French* female slave, and marched, to the number of an hundred and fifty warriors, in hopes that, under pretence of selling the slave, they should get admittance into the fort, and surprize it. Stopping at a little distance from the post, they sent *St. Denys* a calumet of peace, informing him at the same time, that they were to make him the arbiter of their differences between them and the *French*; and that they had brought with them a slave to confirm what they had said. *St. Denys* answered the deputies, that he would admit ten of them with the slave into the fort, and would then receive their calumet of peace, and pay for the slave; that he saw their intention by their numbers, but that he would suffer them to return home, provided they brought him the *French* slave, whom he was willing to purchase. *St. Denys*, had at this time, in his fort about forty soldiers, and, at most, twenty *French* inhabitants; but, at his request, the grand chief of the *Natchitoches* reinforced him with forty of his best warriors. Upon the return of the deputies to their countrymen, they were so exasperated at their disappointment, that they burnt the poor *Frenchwoman* within an intrenchment, which they had hastily thrown up, that they might not be interrupted in the exercise of their diabolical cruelty. *St. Denys*, knowing what had been done, put arms into the hands of the forty *Natchitoches*, and leaving only twenty men in the fort, he attacked the *Natches* before day-break so bravely that he killed sixty of them upon the spot, besides a great number in the pursuit. d
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As to the affair of *Mexplex* and the other spies, *du Pratz* differs from *Charlevoix* in many particulars. He says, that the spies took no precautions to conceal themselves, but drank brandy, and, marching through the open country, were within half a league of the grand *Natche's* village, when they found they were surrounded. That they then threw themselves into a ravine, from whence they fired upon the *Natches*, who called out for them to surrender, which they did not do, till a drunken *Navarrois* soldier, who understood the language and had abused them with his tongue, was shot dead. The other four then threw down their arms g

The Natchitoches chastised by the French.

Three French spies put to death.

a arms, and were carried before the grand *Sun*, who was a young man. They pretended their business was to offer him peace; "then why, replied the savage, did you, without provocation, fire upon my people?" The grand *Sun*, however, told them, that he was willing to treat of peace, and ordered that they should walk about at liberty, but to be strictly watched. His letter to *Loubois* was penned by his order by a *French* lady, who was a prisoner, one madame *des Noyers*, and his demands amounted to more than all the company was worth. The two soldiers who had been left were put to death without any torments but *Mexplex*, having been a commander in the first *Natches* war, he underwent the most horrible torments before his death; so magnanimously, according to *du Pratz*, that he did not gratify the barbarous curiosity of the savages, who wanted to know whether it was possible for
b pain to make a *French* commander roar out, or shed tears.

As soon as the *Natches* understood that the *French* were amongst the *Tonikas*, they lost all conduct and resolution. The grand *Sun* seems to have been the only man of sense and spirit amongst them. He assembled a council of war, and ordered that the woman prisoner, who could speak the *Natches* language the best, should be introduced into it; which was accordingly done. At first, she had no power to make any answer upon seeing herself surrounded by so many armed men; but they talked to her so gently, that she recovered her spirits, and the grand *Sun* asked her, whether it was ever known amongst her warriors, after killing one another, that they could make peace in good earnest. She satisfied him and the assembly, that nothing was more common; at which they seemed to be well pleased, and said that *Mexplex's* death should stand for that of one of their own chiefs, who had been killed by *Bienville's* order. She seemed to approve of this, and, after a few other questions, she was dismissed.

In the month of *February*, the *Chaftaws* arrived in the *Natches* country, to the number of 15 or 1600, with *le Sueur* at their head. Their reason for coming in such numbers, next to that of their being great cowards, was, that they might not be attacked by the *Natches*; all whose warriors together did not amount to that number. That they might be the more sure of this, they fired upon their approach, several guns to advertise the *Natches* of their arrival, that they might retire to their fort. The *Natches* had a contempt for the courage of the *Chaftaws*, and would have readily attacked them; but they were afraid of their having amongst them *French* troops, and were likewise ignorant of their numbers; and therefore they remained on the defensive. Many of the *Natches* all this while, not imagining that the
d *French* would be so unadvised as to attack them, lived at their ease in their country houses; nor did the *Chaftaws* disturb them, though, had they been a little active, they might have taken the fair *Sun*, the grand *Sun's* wife, who with difficulty escaped to the fort. They, however, entered her cabin, where they found several *Frenchwomen*, who, having pretended that they were unable to follow her in her flight, had remained, as thinking themselves entirely safe amongst the *Chaftaws*, the allies of their countrymen. The *Chaftaws*, upon entering the cabin, finding nothing, they asked for the plunder of the fair *Sun*. The *Frenchwomen* replied, that it had been carried off with herself by her domestics, and explained the reasons why they had remained behind. They soon found their confidence had been misplaced; for they were all carried off as slaves, and one of them was wounded in the leg by
c a discharge of musquetry, as they passed near the *Natches* fort. They likewise carried off an old *Natche* woman, whom they scalped and burnt at a slow fire. All the *Frenchwomen* were by them stript of the little the *Natches* had left them, so villainous was the nature of those cowardly savages.

ALL this while, the *Chaftaws* and the *Natches* were firing at one another, but at too great a distance for either of them to do any harm; so that, during a whole month, while they resided at *St. Catherine* in expectation of *Loubois*, not a man was killed on either side, though great quantities of powder and ball were expended. At last, in the month of *March*, *Loubois* arrived at the ancient *French* settlement amongst the *Natches*. *Du Pratz* accounts for the late arrival of both armies by the *Chaftaws* having their provisions to prepare; their
f being loaded with their beds, their arms, and ammunition; and their being obliged to hunt for subsistence, during a march of three hundred miles, which many of them performed unwillingly, and therefore slowly. *Loubois*, on the other hand, though he had but a march of ten leagues to make, could not carry his heavy artillery by land, and the distance by water was almost twenty leagues; and he found great difficulty to transport his field pieces, even in that manner. The *French* army remained encamped under the ruins of their old settlement for five days, and were three days in marching from that to the *Natches* fort, though the distance was but one league, because they were obliged by force of arms to drag their artillery along with them; but, at last, the trenches were opened. Some days after, the *Natches* made so sudden and so brisk a sally, that they drove the *French*
g out of their trenches¹. It is somewhat surprizing, that, when four pieces of cannon were

They are besieged in their fort by the French and Chaftaws.

¹ DU PRATZ *histoire de la Louisiane*. Tom. III. p. 287. CHARLEVOIX, Tom. IV. p. 265.

mounted on their batteries, the *French* could make no impression upon the *Natches* fort. ^a *Charlevoix* attributes this to the unskilful management of their artillery; but *du Pratz*, to the construction of the fort, which seems to have been formed of large massy piles or rafters of wood. The *Natches*, on the other hand, had drawn four cannons from the ruined fort of *Rosalia*, but not knowing how to use them, they did them little or no service. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *French* offered terms to the barbarians, if they would surrender, and they had upon their batteries seven pieces of cannon. Be this as it will, they certainly were but poorly provided with cannoneers, not a soul in their army knowing any thing of gunnery, excepting a serjeant. This fellow, perceiving that the cannon had not beat down a single beam of the fort, filled his own pockets, and those of another soldier, with hand-grenades, which they proposed to throw over the pallisades; but *Loubois*, hearing of their intention, countermanded them, for fear of bad consequences (F) to the *French* women-prisoners. ^b

ALL this while the *Chañaws* proved extremely troublesome to the *French*, and behaved rather like tyrants than allies. They had been made to believe that the siege could not last eight hours, after the heavy artillery was brought up; but seeing the small progress made in it, they were greatly chagrined, and took every opportunity of gratifying their insolence and avarice, without contributing in the least to the advantage of the siege, though arms and ammunition had been distributed amongst them for that purpose. On the 15th of February the *French* interpreter, one *du Parc*, had orders to advance with a pair of *French* colours, in his hand, and again to summon the fort to surrender. Coming near enough to ^c be heard, he began his speech, telling them that they might yet purchase their peace by giving liberty to their slaves and negroes. All the answer he received was a discharge of musketry, which made him drop his colours, and trust to his heels. The taking a pair of *French* colours would have been more than a triumph to the savages, and they resolved, at all events, to attempt it under the favour of a sally from the opposite side of the fort. Some *French* slaves happening to be near one of the gates of the fort, which was thereby left unguarded, took that opportunity of making their escape to the *French* camp, which they reached, notwithstanding a shower of bullets was sent after them. This incident somewhat retarded the sally; but the colours must have fallen into the hands of the barbarians, had it not been for the courage and activity of a *French* soldier, nicknamed, for his diminutive size, the little *Parisian*, who brought them off; and, upon presenting them to *Loubois*, was rewarded with a serjeant's halbert. This languid state of the siege against a barbarous enemy, evinces that some of the *French* officers, who were in the secret of their commander's murderous instructions, and the *French* soldiers, in general, were shocked in prosecuting their bloody orders. The following extract of a letter, which *de Perrier* sent to his court, is a full proof of this. "If the opening the trenches, says he, has been along deferred, the delay has been occasioned by the untowardly disposition of the soldiers, and some other *Frenchmen*, who have thereby prevented the utter destruction of the *Natches*." ^d

THE infernal fury with which the *Natches* continued to defend themselves, is scarcely to ^e be paralleled in history. The *French* slave women, who made their escape, declared that they would not have attempted it had they not observed the enthusiastic resolution of the enemy, who left them nothing in view but a tragical death, which to them appeared inevitable. As to the *Natches*, they were so enraged at the escape of the women, that they murdered all their children with the most exquisite torments, and exposed their limbs upon the pallisades of the fort. This horrid spectacle contributed more than any other cause to their reduction; because it took from those *French*, who were their friends, all kind of tenderness towards them. On the 22^d the savages, to the number of three hundred, made a second sally by three different places on a post of the trenches, guarded by thirty men and two officers, who all of them took flight, not doubting of their enemy being joined ^f by the *Chañaws*. The savages would have carried off the artillery of the post, had it not been for the valour of the chevalier *d'Artaquette*, who, attended by no more than five men, drove away the barbarians and re-established the post. By this time the trenches were advanced so near the fort that the enemy began to be daunted. *Charlevoix* tell us, though *du Pratz* is silent as to that particular, that when the battery was finished, the *French* general threatened to reduce the fort, and all within it to ashes, if the *Natches* did not set at liberty their prisoners; upon which the besieged immediately sent out madame *des Noyers* with their terms, to which no answer was given, and she remained with the *French*. *Du Pratz* only says, that upon advancing the trenches, the *Natches* gave over firing, and hoisted

They capitulate and cut-wit the French.

^m CHARLEVOIX, Tom. IV. p. 266.

(F) We can by no means see the propriety of this reason, which is given by *du Pratz*, while the *French* were battering the fort with their great guns.

a flag

- a a flag as a sign that they wanted to parley. The *French* stopt their fire likewise; and soon after one *Ette Aïal*, who had lived with *Bienville*, appeared from the fort. Coming before the general, he informed him, that the *Natches*, after holding many councils, had agreed to give up the *French* women and children, who were in their hands, on condition they were granted a durable peace, and were left in tranquillity in their own country, without being again molested or invaded. *Loubois's* reply was, that he could promise them in the name of all his nations a lasting peace as they desired; but that they must not only perform the conditions they had offered, but likewise release all the *Frenchmen*, whom they kept in slavery in the fort, together with all the negroes and negroesses, with their children of both sexes, who had belonged to the *French*; that they should reduce their fort to ashes, and that as soon
- b as the peace was concluded, and its conditions performed, the *French* and the *Chaftaws* would separate and return home; with which answer *Ette Aïal* returned to the fort. In the mean while, the chief of the *Chaftaws* had a conference with the grand *Sun*, in which he earnestly exhorted him to surrender, his nation being so resolved upon continuing the siege, that rather than abandon it they would sow the lands round the fort for their maintenance. The *Natches*, on the other hand, reproached the *Chaftaws* with their being as forward as they themselves were, in entering into the conspiracy against the *French*; nor could the *Chaftaws* deny the charge. *Ette Aïal*, upon his return, laid before the great *Sun* the *French* proposals; but (if we are to believe *Charlevoix*) they met with great difficulties; and the *Natches* stuck to their first proposition of delivering up the prisoners only, and that into the hands of
- c the *Chaftaws*; and that in the mean while the army and artillery should be drawn off to the banks of the river, otherwise they threatened to burn all their prisoners. *Loubois* knew them, or pretended to know them, too well to doubt the performance of their threats, and drew off accordingly; upon which, on the 25th, the prisoners were put into the hands of the *Chaftaws*.

- DU PRATZ* says, that all the *French* conditions were accepted of, provided the *French* general promised not to enter the fort with his troops. Both historians are agreed, that it was not the intention of *Loubois* to suffer the *Natches* to escape; but when he came before it next morning he found it abandoned by every living creature, nothing left in it, but some bullets, old iron, and rags: a report which *du Pratz* ridicules, it being, he says, impossible
- d for those savages to have removed in one night all the women, children, household furniture, bedding, arms, provisions, and the rich *French* merchandizes they were possessed of. We cannot, however, help thinking, that this removal might have been executing for several days by the assistance of some of the *Chaftaws*, and even the *French* soldiers; but be that as it will, the fact is undoubted. *Loubois*, finding how matters were, seemed to be petrified with astonishment; and all he could do was to raise another fort on the banks of the river. Thus ended the military operations in this expedition; the relation of which contains many inconsistencies, the *French* not chusing to avow the real intention, which plainly appears to have been to have butchered the *Natches*, notwithstanding the capitulation. The reasons
- e alledged publicly by *Perrier*, why *Loubois* finished an expedition of so great expectation and expence, by obtaining so poor an advantage as the release of a few prisoners, are, First, that he could not trust to his troops after the several proofs he had of their cowardice. Secondly, there was reason to believe that the *Chaftaws* would betray the *French*. Thirdly, that the *Natches* had given out, that the *English* and *Chicachas* were on their march to deliver them. The *French*, during the siege, lost about fifteen men. About fifteen negroes fought very bravely, as did all the *Creoles* of the country, whose valour *Perrier* greatly extolled. Perhaps the cowardice attributed to the soldiers in this expedition arose from their humanity, and their detestation of their general's orders. Upon the whole, the *French* *Louisianans* seem, on this occasion, to have been the dupes (in more senses than one) of the *Chaftaws*, who were unwilling to diminish their own importance with them, by exterminating the *Natches*.

- f THE *French* prisoners were all this while in the hands of the *Chaftaws*, who, when required, refused to deliver them up without an exorbitant ransom. *Loubois* found it in vain to reason with a people so insatiably avaritious as they were, and offered them a reasonable sum. This was refused; and a battle must have ensued had it not been for the interposition of the chief of the *Tonicas*, who was greatly respected by all the savages, and persuaded the *Chaftaws* to accept of the sum offered them, and to deliver up the prisoners, which at last they did. When the payment came to be made, the *French* found means to put it off till next day, but during the night sent off all the women by water. Next morning, the *Chaftaws* were given to understand, that it was impossible to raise the money and goods for their payment there, and that they must wait for it till the army returned to *New Orleans*. The
- g savages returned no answer, but would have forced the women from the *French*, had they not been gone, and they detained a young *Frenchman*, and some negro slaves, who had been put into their hands by way of hostages. This affair being finished, *Loubois* began to build his new fort, the command of which, according to *Charlevoix*, was given to the

who vary in their accounts.

The *Chaftaws* oblige the *French* to redeem their own prisoners,

chevalier d'Artaguelte, but, according to *du Pratz*, to the baron *du Crozet*, with a garrison of one hundred and twenty men, cannon and ammunition. After this, the army returned to *New Orleans*, as did the *Chactaws*, the *Tonicas*, and the other savages in alliance with the *French* to their several countries.

Charlevoix
an enemy to the
Natches and
Chactaws,

for what.

WHEN the *French* women, who had been released, arrived at *New Orleans*, they were in a deplorable condition. They had been stript of their all, and fatigue and famine were painted in their countenances; but great care was taken to cloath and recover them by M. *de la Chaise*, the commissary, of *New Orleans*. Mean while the old fort of the *Natches* was demolished, and all its pallisades burnt. *Du Pratz* is of opinion, that the dread of the *Chactaws* was the true reason which induced the *Natches* to march out of their fort in the clandestine manner they did: but it appears sufficiently from his own testimony, that without the assistance of some of the *Chactaws* they could not have carried their design into effect; though, according to all accounts, the *Chactaws* were the most detestable of all the *American* savages. The hatred which *Charlevoix* discovers towards the *Natches* is easily accounted for by the following story he relates. Some time before the *Chactaws* openly declared themselves for the *French*, they sent a deputation to the *Natches* to endeavour to bring them into some accommodation with the *French*, and the deputies were received in the following manner. They themselves and their horses were adorned with the chaufibles, and the other ornaments of the altar of the *French* chapel that had been destroyed, many of them carried the pattens, depending from their necks, while others were drinking brandy out of the consecrated cups and chalices. In short, they put every thing they found in the chapel to the most profane and sacrilegious uses. This gave great pleasure to the *Chactaws*, who afterwards became masters of the same utensils, and employed them to the like impious purposes. In short, the *Chactaws*, as well as the *Natches*, were always detestable in the eyes of the *French*, notwithstanding all the services they did them; and the character they bear from a missionary in one of his letters, is in the following terms. "Never in *America* have yet been seen savages more insolent, fierce, disgusting, importunate and insatiable than the *Chactaws*."

Negroes tor-
tured.

NOTWITHSTANDING this character, which perhaps was a very true one, the *French* found themselves under a necessity of keeping fair with those monsters of nature. The *Natches*, far from being destroyed, lived to be more irreconcilable enemies to them than ever; and there was no room to doubt, that, desperate as their condition was, they would leave nothing unattempted by themselves or their allies to be revenged for the loss of their country. Add to this, that the *Chicachas* had not yet declared themselves: but it was well known they were the authors of the conspiracy, and that they would be supported powerfully by the *English*, whenever they should avow their enmity to the *French*. Such is the opinion of *Charlevoix*: but it seems to be founded only on the unfavourable prepossessions he all along discovers against the *English*; for the connections at this time between the two courts in *Europe* were so great, that no governor nor subject belonging to the *English* in *America* durst have ventured to have abetted the *Chicachas*, or any other savage nation, against the *French*. Amongst the negroes, recovered from the *Natches*, were some who had fought against the *French*, who were immediately executed; but the three who were most guilty, were delivered over to the *Chactaws*, who burnt them with such exquisite torments, as to encrease the horrors of the other negroes at the savages, and to render them more docile to the *French*. As to the *Yasous*, the *Corrois*, and the *Tioux*, they were still more unfortunate than the *Natches*; for the *Akansas* fell upon them; and massacred them in such a manner, that of the two first nations only fifteen remained alive, and they joined with the *Natches*; but every living soul of the *Tioux* was murdered.

Practices of
the Chica-
chas.

ABOUT this time the secret practices of the *Chicachas* began to appear. They had in vain solicited the *Akansas*, the *Tonicas*, and the *Illinois*, to join them in their conspiracy, and no sooner did the *Illinois* hear of the *Natches* and *Yasous* massacres, than two companies of the *Mitchigamias* and *Kaskaskias*, both of them *Illinois* tribes, headed by two of their chiefs, arrived at *New Orleans* to bewail the missionaries, who had been massacred, and to offer to the *French* governor all the assistance that was in their power to give him. *Perrier* gave them audience with great state, and their behaviour at *New Orleans* is said to have been remarkably sober and regular, an uncommon circumstance, even amongst Christian savages, as the *Illinois* pretended to be. Upon taking leave of *Perrier* they promised him that they would take care of their own country, and all the upper part of the *Mississippi*. After this, *Perrier* pretended he had advice, that the *English* had solicited the *Chactaws* with considerable presents to declare against the *French*, and he informed his court that he could not stand his ground without new reinforcements: he added, that it cost more to keep these savages in employment than would maintain all his troops. That they were so capricious, inconsistent, and whimsical, it was unsafe to have any dependence upon them; that, persuaded as they were of their being necessary to the *French*, the most petty nation amongst them believed

ed themselves to be the safeguards and bulwarks of the colony. That the forces necessary to be sent for its support might be gradually diminished, as the *Creoles* grew up, and were trained; and that, in process of time, great numbers of the savages, seeing that the *French* had no farther occasion for them, would declare in their favour. *Perrier* had but too just grounds for those representations. The *Natches* still continued their incursions and massacres, and six of them, pretending to be *Chaflaws*, from whom they could not be distinguished, were admitted into the new fort. For some time they walked about; but perceiving the entry to be guarded by a single centinel, and that no more than four soldiers, and those asleep, were upon guard, they instantly killed the centinel, and they attacked the main-guard. The soldiers were alarmed, and taking to their arms, they killed five of the *Natches*, and made a prisoner of the sixth, whom they put to death by burning upon the frame. Of the *French* five were killed. About the same time, a party of the *Tonikas* having taken captive a female *Natche*, whom they brought to *New Orleans*, she was put into their hands by order of *Perrier*, and they burnt her upon the frame (G), in order, as they said, to shew the *French* how they put their enemies to death. It is almost incredible that this wretch suffered her torments, the most excruciating that can be conceived, without venting a groan, or shedding a tear, nothing escaping from her, but predictions of the punishment of her tormentors, which afterwards happened, as will appear, by the sequel.

Soon after a *French* woman, who heard some discharges of musketry in a wood, alarmed the whole colony, as if it had been on the point of being invaded by the savages, and *Perrier* ordered his troops under arms, while a strong detachment was sent out to reconnoitre the enemy. The women of the colony took refuge, some in the church, and others on board a vessel that lay in the road; and all the *French* had notice to be upon their guard; but the detachment, after the strictest search, returned without discovering any enemy, and dissipated the fears of the settlers. Notwithstanding this, the *Natches* murdered nine *Frenchmen* and eighteen negroes; so that *Perrier* began to consider, that the *French* must either abandon the colony, or the *Natches* be exterminated. Before he proceeded farther he found himself under a necessity to detach the *Chaflaws* from the *English*, and he appointed their chiefs to give him the meeting at the *Mobile* fort, to which he repaired. On his landing there he found the *Chaflaw* chiefs waiting for him, and was agreeably surprized to meet amongst them the grand chief of the *Caouitas*, a nation in great friendship with the *English*, and a *Chicacha* chief. By this time reinforcements had come from *France* to *New Orleans*, and *Perrier*'s first care was to inform himself minutely as to the effect which that news had upon the savages. He was told, that at first being conscious that they had merited the resentment of the *French*, they had refused to meet in a general assembly; but that they had been persuaded to it by the chiefs of the western *Chaflaws*. It was the 27th of *October* before *Perrier* came to the *Mobile* fort, and on the 28th his negotiation opened with a vast number of speeches on the part of the *Chaflaws*, who professed the most inviolable attachment to the *French* king, and very artfully insinuated, that the wisest course the *French* could pursue would be to forget all that had passed, and to live in good correspondence together for the time to come. *Perrier* agreed to this; but talked seriously with them upon the negroes, whom they had taken from the *Natches*, and still detained without sending them, according to promise, to the colony. Their answer was, that they always had intended to send them, but that their masters must send for them, because several of them had been murdered in attempting to return.

Negotiations of
Perrier with
the savages.

NOTWITHSTANDING the differences between the eastern and the western *Chaflaws* seemed now to be made up, yet *Perrier* perceiving still some jealousies lurking amongst them, he suggested to the western part, who were friends to the *French*, the necessity of their having a chief as well as the eastern; adding, that he had cast his eye for that purpose upon the head of the *Castachas*, who was a man of family, wisdom, and courage (H). The savages unanimously accepted of this nomination, and *Perrier* dignified the work of his own hands with the superb title of emperor of the *Caouitas*, besides making him handsome presents. The new made emperor, on his part, devoted his life to the service of the *French*, and acknowledged their friendship, protesting, that if the *English* thought as they, all the nations would be more happy. But before we proceed farther, it is absolutely necessary to give our readers some idea of the *Louisianian* savages; especially as they are now become subjects of *Great Britain*, which we shall do from *au Pratz*, who is incomparably the best authority on that subject.

Account of the
natives.

At the time *America* was discovered by *Columbus*, its continent probably, as well as its

(G) The original has it, *ils la mirent au cadre*. This cadre was four sticks tied together at right angles; two of which the sufferers hands were extended, and to the other his feet, and in this condition they were consumed by a slow fire.

(H) We have given this fact from *Charlevoix*, though the reader will soon find great reason to doubt of its truth.

islands, was as well peopled as any part of the globe. That discovery was the epocha of destruction to the *Americans* in general. Besides the infernal cruelty of the *Spaniards*, millions of the natives, unwilling to survive the liberties of their country, or the deaths of their sovereigns, devoted themselves to death. As to the northern savages, two or three warlike nations amongst them spread the like desolation over their neighbours about the same fatal period. The *Chicachas* not only destroyed their neighbours, but carried their ravages, about five hundred and forty miles from their own country, into *New Mexico*, where they exterminated the natives. The *Iroquois* did the same towards the east of *Louisiana*, and their example was followed by the *Pedoucas*, and other people towards the west, to the mutual depopulation of the conquering, as well as the vanquished, countries. Besides the sword, two diseases swept off infinite numbers of the natives, the small-pox, and what we generally call coughs or defluxions, for both which the natives have scarce any remedy, though they have for almost all other disorders. Their manner of living, a whole family being stewed up all together in one cabin, communicates the disease to the whole; and many of the savages chuse rather to die than to outlive the beauty of their faces, which the small-pox destroys. Their colds become fatal, for the same reason, as the smallest air affects them, after living for some time shut up within a close cabin with a fire.

The Apalaches,

Alibamons,

Caouitas.

Abeikas.
Conchacs.

Cherokees.

THE savages, who lie to the east of *Louisiana*, were the first that were known to the *Europeans*, and their nations are but few in number, compared to what they once were. The *Apalaches*, the most easterly of all the *Louisianian* savages, are no other than a portion of the great nation of *Apalaches*, inhabiting the *Apalachean* mountains, which the *French* absurdly pretended ought to be the boundaries between their possessions, and that of the *English* in *North America*. How they came to stray to such a distance as to come into the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*, is not easily accounted for; but they are only few in number, and many of them are catholics. Towards the north of the *Apalaches* are the *Alibamons*, a nation which, according to *du Pratz*, inclines rather to the *French* than the *English*, but were neglected by the former on account of their distance, when they settled upon the borders of the *Mississippi*. It is therefore probable, that a small degree of management and good usage may bring them entirely over to the *English*. Towards the east of the *Alibamons* lie the *Caouitas*. *M. du Pratz* informs us, that *Bienville*, before *Perrier*, created an emperor of the *Caouitas*; but that they nobly rejected his nomination, saying that they had no idea of an emperor who was created by, and depended on, another people; and that they would rather be destroyed by a great nation than obey it. How they came to fall from those generous sentiments, by recognizing the emperor whom *Perrier* gave them, cannot be easily accounted for. The *Caouitas* and the *English*, even when the *French* were most powerful in *Louisiana*, traded together. To the north of the *Alibamons* are the *Abeikas* and the *Conchacs*, who probably are the same people. They lie at a distance from the large rivers, and therefore few great reeds or canes grow upon their lands; but they have a small cane of a finger's thickness, which is so hard, that when split it cuts like a knife, and it is therefore called *Conchac*, which is a *Chicacha* word, the language made use of by those savages. To the east of the *Abeikas* lie the *Cherokees*, who, of late, have become so famous in *England*. They were the bulwarks of the *Apalachean* savages against the inroads of the *Iroquois*, and had credit enough to form a confederacy against them amongst the other savages we have named, which, for a long time, preserved their country in a state of tolerable tranquillity. All those savages are the most free and independent of any in *America*, and it is to be lamented, that so little care has been taken on the part of *Great Britain* to reconcile them, if not to her allegiance, to her interests.

Chatots.

Thomez.

Pachca-Ogoulas.

IN describing the other savages of *Louisiana* we are to take for our guide the river *Mobile* on both its sides, beginning from its mouth, and proceeding upwards. The tribe that lies nearest the sea is the *Chatots*, an inconsiderable, but inoffensive people, most of them professing to be catholics. Proceeding northwards lies fort *Lewis*, and to the north of that live the *Thomez*, a pliable, servile kind of a people, but likewise very inconsiderable, and catholics. To the north of them lie *Taensas*, composed of no more than about one hundred cabins or families. This nation is a branch of the *Natches*, and preserve with great assiduity the eternal fire, which they commit to the custody of men, for this very singular reason, because their women would not submit to sacrifice their liberty in preserving it. The *Mobilians* are the people that lie towards the mouth of the river *Mobile* or *Movill*. All the nations we have named are tractable and peaceable; for each separately is too inconsiderable to be otherwise. All of them use the language of the *Chicachas*, who therefore acknowledge them to be their brothers. Towards the sea, and to the west of the *Mobile*, lie the *Pachca-Ogoulas* or the nation of bread, whom we commonly call *Pensacolas*. This people is situated upon a bay of that name. They compose a small village, and the *French Canadians* live amongst them as the same people, but they are so peaceable, that they have no idea of war, neither have they a warrior in all their village. Proceeding up the *Mobile*, between that

- a and *Pensacola* river, lie the *Chaftaws*, or the flat-heads, the moft numerous of all the favage nations in *Louifiana*, as they are able to mufter 25,000 warriors; a ftupendous number for a nation of *American* natives. Two circumftances contribute to their being fo populous; the firft is, that being a homely people in the features and lineaments, they are no way uneasy about furviving the effects of the fmall-pox; a difeafe which they fuffer with great indiffer-
 b fion of it, and their vaft numbers kept them from being molefted, by deterring their neigh-
 c bours from making any experiment of their valour. Our reader may know more of their character from the preceding part of this hiftory. The *Chaftaws* lie about eighty leagues to the north ward of the fea, and their country lies more from eaft to weft than from fouth to north. The direct diftance between the *Chaftaws* and the *Chicachas*, who lie to the north, is but about fixty leagues: but the road is almoft impaffable by the mountains that interpofe, though the country is beautiful in keeping along the fide of the *Mobile*. The *Chicachas* are a warlike people, their perfons ftrong and well made, and their features regular. They appear at prefent to be the remains of a once powerful and numerous nation, which appears from the univerfality of their language amongft moft of the *Louifianian* faves: and which
 d the *French* term the *Mobilian* tongue. The nation of the *Colapiffas* or the *Aquelous-piffas*, which fignifies the people, who hear and fee, live near *New Orleans*, but are of little or no confequence, and the *French* have very little communication with them. About twenty leagues from *New Orleans* lie the *Oumas*, or the red nation, who were almoft exterminated at the firft fettlement of the *French* at *New Orleans*, by their immoderate ufe of brandy. The next nation that falls in our way are the *Tonicas*, who have been always remarkably devoted to the *French*. They had been once a powerful people, and the *French* king, as an acknow-
 e ledgment of their fervices, fent their chief a brevet to be brigadier of the armies of the red nations, with a filver medal hanging at a blue ribbon, and a gold headed cane; all which he wore as marks of the higheft diftinction. This nation fpeaks a different language from the
 f others, and make no ufe of the letter (R), which they never pronounce.

Chaftaws.

Chicachas.

Colapiffas.

Oumas.

Tonicas.

Natches.

Grifgras.

Thioux.

- THE *Natches*, whom we have had occafion fo often to mention, lie the next in order. In the year 1720, they were fituated upon the little river which bears their name. There is, according to our authors, fomewhat venerable in their original, and indeed their preferving the eternal fire with many other oriental ufages, that prevailed amongft them, gives great room for fpeculation. In their original ftate their chief village, which was the refidence of their grand *Sun*, lay upon the river, as their fmall villages did round it, and within a mile of the demolished fort of *Rofalie*. Amongft the *Natches* lived a foreign nation, called the *Grifgras*, fo named by the *French*, from their frequent repetition of the letter (R), and likewife the remains of the *Thioux*, once a powerful people, but almoft exterminated by the
 e *Chicacaws*, with whom they were perpetually at war. According to tradition the *Natches* were formerly by far the moft refpectable people in all *North America*, and were acknow-
 f ledged by all the other nations of it, as their fuperiors and directors. They occupied all the territory from *Machac*, which lies within fifty leagues of the fea, to the river *Wabafh*, an immense tract of country, part of that river laying about four hundred and fixty leagues from the fea. They had no fewer than five hundred *Suns* or princes, each of whom was def-
 potic. The fatal eaftern notions, though it is impoffible to account by what means, prevailed amongft them, and a grand *Sun* never died but he was attended to his tomb by great num-
 bers of his fubjects, who were murdered, and the fame funeral rites were paid upon the de-
 ceafe, even of a common *Sun*, or the fon of the great *Sun*. Such was the infatuation of
 f the people, that they fought death on thofe occafions, as being the means of happinefs; for they thought that when they perifhed with their *Sun*, there was an end of their mifery, and the commencement of their happinefs. This depopulating barbarity, had there been no other caufe, was fufficient to have thinned the moft populous nation; but the calamity was encreafed by war. Their chiefs being independent each on the other, often quarrelled, and their power was fo abfolute, that a word or a nod, was fufficient to doom any number of their fubjects to death, which was instantly inflicted by their *allouez* or guards. But the moft extraordinary circumftance of this remarkable people, was, that fundamentally their government was female, as the reader will find by the annexed note, (1); the multiplication

(1) The grand chief of the *Natches* bears the name of *Sun*, and, as among the *Hurons*, the fon of his near-
 eft female relations always fucceeds him. This perfon has the quality of woman-chief, and great honours are paid her, though the feldom meddles in affairs of go-
 vernment. She has, as well as the chief himfelf, the power of life and death, and it is an uful thing for
 Mod. Hist. Vol. XV.

them to order their guards, whom they call *Allouez*, to difpatch any one who has the miftortune to be obnoxious to either. Go rid me of this dog, fay they, and they are instantly obeyed. Their fubjects, and even their chiefs of their villages, never come into their prefence without faluting them thrice, and railing a cry or rather a fort of howling. They do the fame thing when

of their princes or *Suns* served only for their destruction. *Garcilassa de la Vega*, the Spanish historian, mentions them as being in his time, (though then they were greatly reduced) a very powerful nation. In the beginning of the present century they could have brought five or six thousand warriors into the field; but before their destruction by the *French*, they, the *Grisgras*, and the *Tbioux*, we are told by *du Pratz*, could not muster above 1200. Notwithstanding the barbarous, stupid, attachment of those people to their chiefs, it is certain

when they withdraw, and always retire going backwards. When they meet them they are obliged to stop, range themselves in order on the road, and howl in the manner abovementioned till they are past. They are likewise obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and of the product of their hunting and fishing. In fine, no one, not even their nearest relations, and those who compose their nobility, when they have the honour to eat with them, have a right to drink out of the same cup, or put their hands in the same dish.

Every morning, as soon as the sun appears, the grand chief stands at the door of his cabin, turns his face towards the east, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used but upon this occasion; he smokes, and blows the tobacco first towards the sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no master but the sun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin. He exercises an absolute power over his subjects, whose lives and goods are entirely at his disposal, and they can demand no payment for any labour he requires of them.

When the grand chief, or the woman chief, dies, all the *Allouez* are obliged to follow them to the other world, nor are they the only persons who have this honour; for it is certainly reckoned one, and as such, greatly sought after. The death of a chief has been sometimes known to cost the lives of above one hundred persons, and I have been told there are few *Natches* of any considerable note, who die without being attended to the country of souls, by some of their relations, friends, or servants. It appears from the different relations I have seen of these horrible ceremonies, that there is much variation in them. Here follows an account of the obsequies of a woman chief, which I had from a traveller, who was an eye-witness of it, and on whose sincerity I have good reason to depend.

The husband of this woman not being noble, that is to say, of the family of the *Sun*, his eldest son, according to custom, strangled him. Afterwards every thing was taken out of the cabin, and a sort of triumphant car was erected of it, on which were placed the body of the deceased and that of her husband. Immediately after, twelve little children, whom their parents had strangled, by order of the eldest son of the woman-chief, who succeeded to her dignity, were laid around the carcases. This done, they erected in the public square fourteen scaffolds, adorned with branches of trees and stuffs, on which were painted various figures. Those scaffolds were designed for an equal number of persons, who were to attend the woman-chief to the other world. Their relations stood around them, looking upon the permission given, to sacrifice themselves in this manner, as the greatest honour that could be done to their families. They are sometimes ten years in soliciting this favour before hand, and those who obtain it are obliged to spin the cord themselves, with which they are to be strangled.

They appeared on the scaffold, dressed in their richest habits, each having a large shell in his right hand. Their nearest relation stood on the same stand, having a battle-ax in his left, and the cord which is to do the execution under his left arm. From time to time, he sings the death-cry, at which the fourteen victims come down from the scaffolds, and dance all together in the square before the temple, and the cabin of the woman-chief. This and the following days, great respect is paid them, each has five domestics to attend him, and their faces are painted red. Some add, that during the eight days preceding their death, they wear a red ribband on their leg, and that all that

time every one is solicitous to regale them. Be this as it will, at the time I am now speaking of, the fathers and mothers of the strangled children took them in their arms, and disposed themselves on each side of the cabin, the fourteen destined to die, placed themselves in the same manner, and were followed by the friends and relations of the deceased, who had all their hair cut off, which is their way of mourning: all this time, they made the air resound with such frightful cries, that one would have thought all the devils in hell had broke loose, in order to come to howl in this place: this was followed with dances and songs; those who were to die danced, and the relations of the woman chief sung.

At last the procession began. The fathers and mothers carrying their dead children appeared first walking two and two, and went immediately before the litter, in which was the corpse of the woman chief, carried on the shoulders of four men. The rest followed in the same order. At every ten paces the children were thrown upon the ground, those, who carried the litter trampling upon them, so that when the procession arrived at the temple, their little bodies were quite torn to pieces.

While they were interring the corpse of the woman-chief in the temple, the fourteen persons destined to die were undressed, and seated on the ground before the gate, having each two *Indians* about him, one seated on his knees, and the other holding his hands behind him. The cords were passed round their necks, their heads were covered with the skin of a roe-buck and after being made to swallow three pieces of tobacco, and to drink a glass of water, the relations of the woman-chief, who sung all the time, drew the cords at each end till they were strangled. After which all the carcases were thrown together into a ditch, and covered with earth.

When the grand chief dies, his nurse, if still alive, must die likewise. But it has often happened, that the *French* not being able to prevent this barbarity, have obtained leave to baptize the children who were to be strangled, and thus have prevented their accompanying those in whose honour they were strangled, to their pretended paradise.

I know no nation on the continent, where the sex is more disorderly than in this. They are even forced by the grand chief and his subalterns, to prostitute themselves to all comers, and a woman is not the less esteemed for being public. Tho' polygamy is permitted, and the number of wives which a man may have is unlimited, yet every one for the most part contents himself with one, whom he may divorce at pleasure; but this, however, is a liberty never used by any but the chiefs. The women are tolerably well-looking for savages, and neat enough in their dress, and every thing belonging to them. The daughters of a noble family are allowed to marry none but private men; but they have a right to turn away their husbands when they think proper, and marry another, provided there is no alliance between them.

If their husbands are unfaithful to them, they may cause them to be put to death, but are not subject to the same law themselves: on the contrary, they may entertain as many gallants as they please, without the husband's daring to take it amiss, this being a privilege attached to the blood of the *Sun*. He stands in a respectful posture, in the presence of his wife, never eats with her, salutes her in the same manner as the rest of her domestics, and all the privilege which this burthenome alliance procures him, is an exemption from travel, and some authority over his wife's servants.

that

- a that many of their *Sans* were endowed with principles of moderation and humanity, and withdrew from their community, and are now to be found dispersed through different parts of *America*; but are easily known to be the offspring of *Natches*, by their preserving the eternal fire; and other *Natche* customs.

- Forty leagues north of the *Natches*, on the east of the *Mississippi*, lie the river and country of the *Yasous*, which contain not above one hundred families. Adjacent to them lie the *Coroas*, *Chaitebi-Oumas*, *Onfe-Oumas*, and the *Tapouffias*; all of them inconsiderable people; and chiefly distinguished by their pronouncing and not pronouncing the letter (R). After the *Natches* massacre all those little tribes united themselves under the *Chicachas*. Towards the north of the river *Wabash* lie the *Illinois*, whom we have so often mentioned, on the banks of a river, which carries their name. They are distinguished into the *Tamaroas*, the *Caskauias*, the *Caouquias*, the *Pimiteouis*, and several other tribes. Near the *Tamaroa* village was a settlement of *French Canadians*, and one of the most considerable amongst all the savage nations. In general the *Illinois* were always attached to the *French*, who protected them against the *Sioux*, the *Iroquois*, and their other enemies; and, though far from being destitute of courage, they were very peaceably disposed. They are one of the nations who do not pronounce the letter (R). To the north of the *Illinois* lie the *Renards* or the foxes, whom the *French* were at war with for forty years. Between the *Renards* and the fall of *St. Anthony*, there is a space of almost three hundred miles, uninhabited by any nation; but next to that lie the *Sioux*, a people, who are hitherto very little known in *Europe*, whatever travellers may pretend. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that they are dispersed amongst a vast number of villages both towards the east and the west of *Mississippi* river.

- We now come to objects of infinite concern to *Great Britain*; the inhabitants on the west of the *Mississippi*, who remain free, unsubdued, and unconnected, so far as we know, with any other people. The first are the *Tchaouachas* and the *Ouachas*, different tribes of the same nation. The *Tchitimachas* were of the *Natches* nation, and formerly a considerable people, inhabiting the borders of the lakes, towards the north of the *Tchaouachas*. They are extremely pacific, and so contented with their own condition, that rather than have their tranquillity broken, they abandoned all the advantages they could have expected from the protection of the *French*. One of them happened to kill a *French* missionary, for which the *French* made war upon them; but at last, upon the *Tchitimachas* sending to them the head of the murderer, they obtained peace. On the sea side towards the west lie the *Atac Apas*, or the man-eaters, so called from their detestable custom of devouring their own species. They are very little conversant with any of the *Europeans*, and eat all the foreigners who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Du Pratz*, in mentioning this people, informs us of the following circumstance.

- The governor of *Louisiana* having occasion to send a dispatch to the west of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, understanding that a ship from *France* had arrived in that river, sent an order, by a brigantine, to require an officer, with a small detachment, to come ashore. The captain of this brigantine was attended by a *Canadian*, one *Charleville*, who was thoroughly instructed in all the ways of the savages, and who formerly had attempted to find out the source of the *Mississippi*, but was prevented from pursuing his enterprise by the *Sioux*. The officer and a serjeant, with the detachment, were put ashore at *St. Bernard's* bay, where they found the country so inviting, that they resolved to take the diversion of hunting against the sentiments of *Charleville*. The captain of the brigantine advised *Belleisle*, for that was the name of the officer who landed, not to separate himself and his company a great way from the ship, and to return early in the evening; if they did not, the master of the ship was to fire a musket to inform them where he lay, and a cannon if they delayed; but that cannon shot was to be signal to them, that he would set sail two hours after they heard it. The heedless hunters plunged into the woods, but the wind being contrary, the musket shots, which were discharged from the brigantine, seemed to come from a quarter opposite to that from which they were discharged, and rambling about they passed the night in the wood; next day a cannon was fired on board the brigantine, which, two hours after, set sail, as no person appeared. The hunters were then entirely destitute, and found themselves not only without any habitation, but without the means of subsisting. *Charleville*, who had gone on shore with them, left them, and was never more heard of, and the serjeant of the company perished with hunger. *Belleisle*, who was active and vigorous, when, on the point of starving with hunger, saw a rat, which he immediately devoured; and soon after, having a charge of powder left, he shot a kid, but the noise brought down upon him the *Atac-Apas*, who have a peculiar dexterity in surprizing their human prey. *Belleisle* endeavoured to make some resistance, and made signals to the savages, that he had lost his way. *Du Pratz* observes on this occasion, that as soon as he saw them, he ought to have grounded his arms to intimate to them that he intended to make no use of them, and to have stretched forth his hand by way of saluting them;

them; but, above all things, to have shewn an open, smiling countenance, which seldom or never fails to gain their friendship. *Belleisle*, by neglecting those precautions, continued for some months in slavery among them, but they did not devour him. At last, a nation inhabiting *New Mexico*, who had a vast regard for *St. Denys*, brought to the *Atac-Aspas*, a calumet of peace. *St. Denys* was then commandant of the *French* settlement among the *Natchitoches*, and their deputies, discovering *Belleisle* to be a *Frenchman*, resolved to save him, but without intimating his intentions to the *Atac-Aspas*. They behaved with so much secrecy, that unobserved they instructed *Belleisle* how to address himself to *St. Denys*, which he did in the following words, "I am a *Louisianian* officer, who was lost with *M. de Charleville*." Slipping this paper, which was wrote with materials of his own invention, unperceived into the hands of the friendly savages, they gave him by signs to understand, that he need give himself no farther trouble. In short, they sent two of their number, whom they pretended to the *Atac-Aspas*, to have been lost in the woods, to *St. Denys*, in the country of the *Natchitoches*; and that about the time, when they knew they would return, they met them in the woods. Their message from *St. Denys* was to bring the *French* officer along with them, or never to see his face again; and they accordingly appointed *Belleisle* to meet them in a certain wood, where they presented him with a letter from *St. Denys*, desiring him, without making any question, to follow the two savages, whom we have mentioned, which he did, and thereby redeemed himself from a slavery, which otherwise might not have finished but with his life. *Du Pratz* says, that the *Atac-Aspas* were the only man-eaters in all *Louisiana*, and that some *French*, who frequented their country, had made such effectual representations upon the abominable practice of eating man's flesh, that they promised to leave it off.

Bayoue-
Ogoulas.
Oque-Louffas

Avoyels.

Natchicoches

Cadodaqui-
oux.

Ouachitas.

Arkansas.

Kappas.
Mitchigamias

Osages.
Missouris.

Adventure of a
Jacobine.

THE *Bayoue-Ogoulas* inhabit a country which carries their name, but are a mixed people. The *Oque Louffas* are scarcely known to the *French*, even by name, and are so termed from their living on the borders of two lakes, the waters of which are black, through the great number of leaves that lodge in them. Between the *Oque Louffas* and the *Red River*, no people is to be found; but above the fall of that river, there is a small nation called the *Avoyels*. This people are remarkable for selling to the *French*, who were settled in *Louisiana*, horses, bullocks, and cows, at the price of about 18 s. sterling each. These cattle were purchased from the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who have such quantities of them, that they are glad to get rid of them; and they multiply prodigiously in the hands of the *French* *Louisianians*. About fifty leagues up the *Red River*, live the *Natchicoches*, who were always averse to the *Spaniards*, but friendly to the *French*. They consist of about two hundred families, dispersed up and down the river. About an hundred leagues above the confluence of the *Red River*, live the great nation of the *Cadodaquioux*, which branches out into a vast number of tribes. This nation, as well as the *Natchitoches*, has a particular language, or dialect of their own; and yet, in all their villages, people are found, who speak the *Chicachas* language, which they call their common tongue. Upon the *Black River*, lie the *Ouachitas*, who are now but few in number, having been mostly destroyed by the *Chicachas*. The *Arkansas* inhabit the borders of a river, that carries their own name. They are a very brave people, and excellent hunters. The *Chicachas* had often tried their valour, but always came off with the worst; especially after the *Kappas*, part of the *Illinois*, and the *Mitchigamias* joined them. They are all now blended into one nation. This happens often to be the case among the *American* savages. If a weak people should be at war with another double their force, the former needs but to take refuge under another people, with whom the more powerful nation is at peace, and, if they adopt them, they are safe. Near the *Missouri* river, there is a considerable nation called the *Osages*, which is said to have been formerly numerous. The *Missouris* give name to that river, though they live above forty leagues above its mouth. The *French* once had a post amongst the *Missouris*, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Bourgmont*. This gentleman, after restoring a good understanding amongst all the neighbouring savages, who before were perpetually cutting one another's throats, happened to leave the garrison; and soon after it was destroyed by the natives, so completely, that not a *Frenchman* was left alive to give the least account of the catastrophe. It is surmised that the *Spaniards* had projected this massacre, in order to settle themselves among the *Missouris*, whose country lies not above forty leagues distant from that of the *Illinois*. Their real design was to have exterminated the *Missouris* likewise; but, finding that impracticable, they gained over, by the force of presents, the *Osages*, whom they endeavoured to employ in the destruction of the *Missouris*. With this view, they formed at *Santa Fe* a kind of caravan, or rather an ark, consisting of men, women, and soldiers. Their purser was a *Jacobine*, and their commander in chief an engineer; but his colony was furnished with cattle, and beasts of carriage of all kinds. Unfortunately for them, they knew so little of the place of their destination, that, instead of the country of the *Osages*, they landed in that of the *Missouris*, and their interpreter, not doubting their being amongst the *Osages*, told

- a told them they came to make an alliance with them in order to exterminate the *Missouris*. The grand chief of the *Missouris*, to whom this discourse was addressed, far from undeceiving the *Spaniards*, seemed to welcome them, and to promise himself and his nation vast benefits from their hopeful intention. He dissembled so well, that he persuaded his guests to remain with him for some days, till he could assemble his warriors, and consult with his elders. The *Spaniards* fixed a day for their departure to take possession of their new conquest; but the night before, the *Missouris* cut the throats of them all, excepting the Jacobine, whom they perceived to be a man of prayer, and no warrior. Him they kept for some months prisoner, and diverted themselves by making him in fair weather ride on horseback; but in this, they outwitted themselves, for the Jacobine one day mounted his horse and got clear off. After his flight, the *Missouris* carried the ornaments of the Jacobine's chapel, which he had brought along with him, to sell in the *French Illinois*, and each as they entered that country, was fantastically adorned by some piece of plate or vestment belonging to the altar; but all of them arrived in solemn procession, singing the calumet, and capering the dance of peace. *Boisbriand* was then commandant of the *Illinois* post, and, hearing of the procession, he was at first much scandalized; as fearing, that the savages had butchered and robbed some *French* settlement; but, understanding how matters went, he was greatly pleased, and gave the savages merchandizes for the furniture of the chapel, which he sent to *Bienville*, the then *French* governor of *Louisiana*.

- c THE most considerable nations inhabiting the banks of the *Missouris* themselves, are the *Canchez*, the *Outhouez*, and the *Osages*, the *White* and the *Black Panis*, the *Panimaias*, the *Ataouis*, and the *Padoucas*, who are the most numerous of them all, the others being but inconsiderable. To the north of all those people, lie the *Sioux*, who are wandering savages, inhabiting both sides of the *Mississippi*, and whose country extends farther than any *European* has knowledge of. But we are now to prosecute the thread of our history, and to attend the *Natches* to their extermination.

Canchez.
Oethouez.
White and
Black Panis.
Panimaias.
Ataouis.
Padoucas.

- d THE *Chicachas* remained still contumacious; and *Perrier* treated one of their chiefs with great haughtiness. He told him, that it depended entirely upon his countrymen themselves to live happy and tranquil, and that he would resume the tenderness of a father, as soon as they should return to the obedience of children. We mention this, to shew the manner in which the *French* affected to treat those savages. The *Chicacha* chief, without making any reply, eight days after, made an apology for himself and his nation, that ever since the *French* had withdrawn from trading with them, they had been persecuted by the other savages. *Perrier* said, that he could not answer for the *Canadian* savages; but that, as soon as they came to behave like good friends to the *French*, their persecutions would cease. As to the *Chaftaws*, he had a more difficult province to manage. The company still kept their merchandizes high, and they informed him, that they could purchase what they wanted from the *English*, at almost half price. *Perrier* was obliged to gratify them, to keep them from trading with the *English*; but, to convince them that he did not do this out of fear, he refused to employ them in the expedition he was then preparing against the *Natches*.
- e This was no small mortification to the *Chaftaws* especially as a reinforcement at this time arrived at *New Orleans*, under *Perrier de Salvert*, brother to the governor. This reinforcement was very seasonable, as the company had been very remiss in that respect, and the governor's troops were so few, that he was in no condition to undertake any thing of consequence: nor, indeed, was the reinforcement that arrived any ways adequate to his necessities.

A reinforcement
arrives
from France

- f THE *Natches*, by this time, assisted by some smaller tribes, had intrenched themselves in three forts, from whence they disturbed the navigation of the *Mississippi*, and rendered all the commerce of the *French* extremely precarious, which *Perrier* absurdly attributed to the private assistance given them by the *English*. The reinforcement thus falling so short of the governor's expectation, he was obliged to observe more gentleness towards the *Chaftaws*, than he proposed; and he even paid them a visit, that he might prevent their joining with the *English*, during his expedition against the *Natches*. Upon his return to *New Orleans*, he found his little army ready to begin its march. His first care was to send one *Coulouges*, a *Canadian* officer, to summon the *Akanfas* to meet him at the new *French* fort, that had been built amongst the *Natches*; and he sent off another officer, one *Bcaulieu*, to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy. On the ninth of *December*, *de Salvert* embarked with two hundred men, consisting of marines, volunteers, and sailors; and his brother, the governor, next day set out with one company of grenadiers, and two made up of volunteers and fusilleers: the whole amounting to two hundred men. The militia, under *M. de Benac*, consisted of one hundred and fifty men, so that the whole of the force employed in this murderous expedition were five hundred. On the 20th of *December*, they were joined at *Bayagenlas* by a *Colapissa* chief, with about forty warriors of his nation. Next day *le Sueur* was detached in a kind of half-galley to sail up the *Red River*, that he might thereby enter *Black River*, or

Expedition a-
gainst the Nat-
ches.

the *Ouatchitas*, where the *Natches* were supposed to have their chief residence, about ten leagues above the place where it runs into the *Mississippi*. On the 22d, the army marched in three divisions from *Bayagoulas*; that on the right, consisting of marines, was commanded by *de Salvert*; the division on the left, which was composed of militia by *de Benac*, and the general, who had under him the best officers in the army, commanded the center. The negroes were disposed of in different boats, and the savages formed a separate body. Their march was retarded by dreadful storms and tempests, and by the overflowing of the river, which rendered the current so strong against them, that they found it almost impracticable to go up it.

1731. On the 27th, the detachment that had been sent off under *Coulouges* and *Beaulieu* was attacked by the *Natches*. It consisted of twenty-four men, of whom sixteen were killed or wounded, *Beaulieu* being amongst the former, and *Coulouges* amongst the latter. This loss was rendered still heavier, by the *Akanfas* returning home, upon their being disgusted at the slowness of the *French* motions; *Perrier* having made too long a stay amongst the *Tonikas*, besides committing some other unnecessary delays. His conduct was greatly blamed by the *Canadians*; but he defended it, by pretending that he could not trust the savages he had to deal with, by sending them to block up the *Natches*, which was the most important part of the expedition. Upon the 4th of *January*, 1731, one hundred and fifty savages of different nations joined the army. By this time, *Perrier* had detached *de Benac* to the *French Natches* fort, to make some discoveries, but he returned on the 9th, without gaining any intelligence. That same day, the savages, and fifty volunteers under *de Laye*, who commanded a company of militia, were detached in the van of the army to block up the *Natches*, as soon as they could be discovered; but the savages were so backward to the service, that this detachment returned without effect. The governor, in proceeding up the *Red*, and entering the *Black River* had taken all imaginable precautions to keep the knowledge of his march from the enemy; but all was to no purpose, for the savages, who were under no discipline, fired at all the game they could see on either side of the river.

Who shut themselves up in a fort.

It is discovered and blockaded. On the 20th of *January*, *de Perrier* discovered the *Natches* fort to the west of the *Mississippi*, about sixty leagues above the mouth of the *Red River*. It was situated upon what was called *Silver Bay*, which ran into a small lake, at a little distance from the fort. Notwithstanding the disorders of the savages during the march, the approach of the *French* was not perceived, and they surprised and seized a *Natche* boy, who was fishing, and who, being carried before *Perrier*, upon promise of life and other encouragement, conducted them the nearest way to the *Natches* fort, which was immediately invested, and that too within such a distance, that the besieged and the besiegers could talk with one another. The first day passed in skirmishes; but the artillery being landed and brought up, the *Natches* made a desperate sally and were repulsed. The fire continuing very hot upon the fort, the besieged hoisted a white flag, which was answered by another hoisted by *Perrier* at the head of his trenches, and soon after one of the *Natches* appeared with two calumets of peace in his hand. Being introduced to the general, he demanded peace, and offered to give up all the negroes belonging to the *French* in the fort. *Perrier* insisted upon the chief of the *Natches* appearing before him. The deputy told him they were afraid to suffer him, but that he might have a conference with the grand chief at the head of his trenches. *Perrier* ordered him to bring the negroes, and then he would return him an answer. The deputy, after a little time, came back, bringing with him eighteen negroes and a negress; but he informed *Perrier* that the *Sun* refused to come abroad, though he was willing to make peace, provided the *French* army would retire. In that case, he was to engage, that his nation never would commit any hostility against the *French*, but live peaceably upon the spot of their ancient habitation. *Perrier* answered, that he would hear of no terms, unless the chief appeared; and that if he should be obliged to fire one cannon more, he would give no quarter either to man, woman, or child. The deputy returned with a *Natche*, one *St. Come*, who being son of the female *Sun*, was to succeed to the sunship. This *St. Come* had always lived in good correspondence with the *French*, and told *Perrier* that his countrymen having agreed to all his demands, they expected he would draw off his troops; and, at the same time, he made apologies for what had happened. *Perrier* refused to agree to any terms, unless the grand *Sun* should appear; that he would give him (*St. Come*) leave to return to the fort, but that he would fire upon any *Natche*, who durst appear again before him, on pretence of treating, except in company with the grand *Sun*. *St. Come* took his leave, but, in about half an hour after, he returned with the grand *Sun*, and another chief, who was termed the chief of the *Corn*, and who, in fact, was the great adviser of the *French* massacre; though *St. Come* wanted to conceal that circumstance, and to throw the blame upon another. Being conducted to the *French* head

a quarters, the grand *Sun* began a long apology for himself, in which he pretended, that he was too young to have any hand in the massacre of the *French*, and *St. Come* confirmed what he said. But the chief of the *Corn* behaved in a more surly manner; and *Perrier*, on pretence of inviting them to take shelter from a heavy rain that fell, put them all under a strict arrest, contrary to his faith, and the word of honour he had passed. He then ordered the *Tonica* chief, and the *Pointed Serpent*, who, it seems, was uncle to the grand *Sun*, but a friend of the *French*, to sift the prisoners, which they did without gaining any information from them. *Le Sueur* was one of the three officers who had the charge of the prisoners, and in the night-time, they attempted to escape; but the grand *Sun* and *St. Come* were stopped by *le Sueur*, while the chief of the *Corn* got off (K).

The grand Sun and his chief: surrender themselves.

b ACCORDING to *du Pratz*, who mentions nothing of the arrest of the grand *Sun* and his friends, a bomb fell into the middle of the fort, which did great execution upon the *Natche's* women and children, and brought the men to offer to capitulate; but, during the night time, they indeavoured to break through the *French* camp, and to escape to the country of the *Chicachas*, as many of them actually did; but the rest were stopt by the dispositions made by *Perrier*. This scheme, according to *Charlevoix*, was laid by the chief of the *Corn*, who had escaped safe to the fort, and, at the head of a few friends, bravely fought his way through the *French* to the country of the *Chicachas*. This being reported to the grand *Sun*, he disowned all that had been done by the chief of the *Corn*, and pretended that he had usurped his authority. Towards night, *Perrier* required the grand *Sun* to send his order to all his subjects to march out of the fort without arms, with their wives and children. The chief complied, and accordingly sent the order; but they unanimously refused to obey it. Next day, his wife, with her brother and some domesticks, arrived in the *French* camp, and she was politely received by *Perrier*, on account of the good offices she had done to the *French* female prisoners. As he had a great desire to get into his hands the person of the she-chief, who has more power among the *Natches*, than the grand *Sun* himself, the female *Sun* went several times to and from the fort to persuade her to surrender herself. All she could do was to persuade about thirty-five men, and two hundred women to surrender. *Charlevoix* pretends that all the rest escaped, excepting a woman in child-bed, and one man; but there is the greatest reason to believe, from the difference of the *French* accounts, that most of them were murdered in cold blood. Upon the 26th, *Perrier* and the *French* officers endeavoured to persuade the savages to pursue the *Natches*, who had escaped, which they refused to do, saying, that, as they had now no enemy to deal with, they would return home. The same day all the prisoners were fettered, and carried slaves to *New Orleans*; the grand *Sun* and his relations were put on board the *St. Lewis*, and the rest of the nation, consisting of four hundred *Natches*, were carried in other ships. When they arrived at *New Orleans*, they were confined in separate prisons, from whence they were carried in slavery to *St. Domingo*; and thus, says *Du Pratz*, perished a people, formerly the most illustrious in all *Louisiana*, and the most useful to the *French*.

and are sent into slavery.

c THE remains of the *Natches*, who had escaped under the chief of the *Corn*, and by other means, were incorporated amongst other tribes, who had once descended from them, which *le Sueur* understanding, he undertook to exterminate them; at the head of a body of volunteers; but *Perrier*, who had a very indifferent opinion of those volunteers, refused to agree to this proposal. The barbarous measure of sending the grand *Sun*, his family and relations, as slaves to *St. Domingo*, exasperated the remains of the nation beyond expression, and they shewed a spirit becoming a brave though conquered people. In the month of *April*, the grand chief of the *Tonicas* came to *New Orleans*, and informed *Perrier*, that, being a hunting, four of the *Natches* had accosted him to beg his interposition for a reconciliation with the *French*, adding that even they, who had retired to the country of the *Chicachas*, were desirous of it, and that they were willing to live on any spot that should be assigned them; but more especially, if it should be near the *Tonicas*: but the chief said, he would give them no answer till he should consult *Perrier*. The latter's answer was, that he consented to their settling within two leagues of the *Tonica* village, but no nearer, to avoid quarrels between the two nations; and with the express condition of their repairing to the place of settlement without arms. The *Tonica* chief promised to conform himself to those instructions; but when he returned home, he neglected them so far, as to admit into his village thirty *Natches*, after having disarmed them. In the mean while, fifteen other *Natches*, and twenty women, came to the *Natches* fort, commanded by the baron *de Cresnay*. A few days after, the chief of the *Corn* arrived amongst the *Tonicas*, with one hundred men, their wives and children, having first concealed fifty *Chicachas* and *Corrois* in the reeds growing round the village.

The Natches exasperated.

(K) *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz* differ so greatly in their relations of this black affair, that it is easy to perceive that the whole was a proceeding not to be avowed by any man, who pretends to common humanity.

THE

*They massacre
the chief of the
Tonicas and
his followers.*

THE grand chief of the *Tonicas* declared, that he could not admit them unless they were a disarmed. To this condition they seemed to have no objection, only they begged that they might not resign their arms all of a sudden, lest their women should imagine them all to be prisoners, and condemned to death. The *Tonica* chief agreed to this, and after distributing provisions to his guests, they danced all together till after midnight, when the *Tonicas* retired to their cabins, imagining the *Natches* would go to sleep likewise. But an hour before day-break, is being then the 14th of June, the *Natches* and their confederates rushed into the *Tonica* cabins, and murdered all whom they found asleep. The *Tonica* grand chief, hearing a noise, ran out of his cabin, and killed five *Natches* with his own hand; but, at last, he was overpowered, and cut in pieces with twelve of his followers. His general, or commanding officer under him, rallied about a dozen of his warriors, with whom he made good his grand chief's cabin, and defended it so bravely, that the fugitive *Tonicas* repaired to his assistance, and killed thirty-three of the *Natches*, besides making three prisoners, whom they burnt. Of the *Natches*, twenty men were killed, and as many wounded. Such is the relation *Charlevoix* gives of this massacre; but from what *du Pratz* says, it appears, as if the *Natches* had been exasperated to it by the cruelties which the *French* and the *Tonicas* used towards their nation; and, indeed, those two authorities agree in no single circumstance of their narratives; for *du Pratz* pretends that almost the whole *Tonica* nation was massacred on this occasion.

*A new war
set foot on
against them.*

PERRIER, hearing of this attempt, sent the chevalier *d'Artaquette* with orders to raise the other savages, and to pursue the *Natches*, and, at the same time, to put *de Grefnay* upon his guard against the *Natches*, who were in his fort. *Charlevoix*, against every appearance of probability, pretends that those *Natches* attacked the *French*, who killed every man, woman, and child of them, in their own defence; and that another party of fifteen, with their chief, being put in irons in the isle of *Toulouse*, rose upon the *French*, who were obliged to put every one of them likewise to death. In the mean while, the chief of the *Corn*, after the massacre of the *Tonicas*, joined the remains of his nation, who were settled upon the *Black River*, and led them to the country of the *Natchitoches*, and besieged *St. Denys* in the fort, where he commanded with a very weak garrison. *Perrier* immediately dispatched, on the 21st of October, *Loubois*, at the head of sixty men, from *New Orleans* to his assistance. When he advanced six leagues up the *Red River*, he received intelligence, that the strength of the *Natchitoches* being greatly inferior to that of the *Natches*, they had been obliged to abandon their village, which the *Natches* had taken possession of, and had intrenched themselves in it; that *St. Denys* having received a reinforcement of *Affinai*s and *Attacapas*, with some *Spaniards*, had forced the *Natches* intrenchments, and had killed eighty-two of them, with all their chiefs; and that the *Natchitoches* were in pursuit of their enemy (L).

FEW of the *Natches* now remained alive; but their sufferings affected the *Chicachas* so much, that they gave them refuge, and even interrupted the *French* commerce. *Charlevoix* says, that at this time, the *Chicachas* were the most warlike of all the savages in *Louisiana*, and that they could bring to the field 1000 warriors, besides the remains of the *Natches*, the *Yasous*, and the *Corrois*, who were ready to join them. In short, the colonists of *Louisiana* saw a new war almost inevitable, which threatened to put an end to their establishment. The *Chicachas*, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, were instigated by the *English* in all their practices against the *French*. There is, however, no proof of this but his own surmise; but it is probable, that a conspiracy was at this time actually formed amongst the *Louisianian* negroes who had been imported into the colony, an event which we have often seen happen in other countries, without any instigation but the love either of liberty, power, or revenge. The progress of this conspiracy is related as follows by *du Pratz*.

*Conspiracy of
the negroes
suppressed.*

A NEGRESS and a soldier happening to quarrel about a trifling incident, the fellow beat her severely, and she was heard to mutter that *Frenchmen* would not long have it in their power to beat negroes. Upon this the poor wretch was taken up and confined in prison, where she was examined, and, very probably, put to the torture by the lieutenant-criminal, but without his being able to draw any thing from her. *Du Pratz*, hearing of this affair, offered his services to *Perrier*, and the government, for discovering the truth, and preventing the effects of the conspiracy, which they seemed to make light of; but, at last, his reasons brought them over to think there might be some reality in it. *Du Pratz* went in the night-time to the negro camp, attended by another negro, whom he could trust, and after opening the outer gate, they went from cabin to cabin, *du Pratz* being convinced that some of them certainly would be caballing together concerning their intended project. At last, they discovered a light in one of the cabins, and creeping softly near they found three

(L) All those relations concerning the *Natches* generally terminate in massacring them. The reader perhaps, will be of opinion with us that the introductory narratives are only designed to screen those detestable scenes of murder.

negroes

a negroes in consultation, and then one of advising the other two to be very cautious whom they trusted, because *du Pratz* was so well-beloved by their countrymen, that they might be discovered. As *du Pratz* himself was a considerable planter, and chief director of the company's negroes, he was surprized to find that one of those slaves was his head negro, and his chief confident, and upon listening farther, he perceived that the conspiracy was far advanced, and cautiously managed, and that they only waited to be joined by the negroes in the country of the *Illinois*; and that the three in consultation were the head negroes of all the colony. *Du Pratz* and his companion, who served as his interpreter, withdrew softly, and upon comparing together what they had heard, found that eight negroes were capitally concerned in the conspiracy, six of whom they knew personally. Next morning, *du Pratz* communicated to *Perrier* all he had learned, and the governor promised that whatever assistance he could desire should be readily granted him, in securing the six conspirators whom they knew, and discovering the other two. Next night, *du Pratz* came to the knowledge of the other two, and made such a disposition of the whole body, in assigning them their different tasks, that the chief conspirators were separated from each other. The measures which *du Pratz* took in consequence of this discovery were childish and trifling, and seem to have been concerted only with a view of giving his countrymen and readers high ideas of his refined policy. The whole terminated in his arresting and putting in irons all the eight conspirators without any resistance, and confining them in separate prisons, to the great satisfaction of *Perrier*. The morning after they were seized, they were tortured with burning matches; but they would confess nothing, though the torture was several times repeated. If we are to believe c *du Pratz*, the head of the conspiracy was one *Samba*, who, after betraying the *French* in *Africa*, was put on board a ship, where he conspired with his countrymen to murder all the crew; but being discovered they were put in irons, and brought to *Louisiana* (M), where he formed the conspiracy, in question. Their tortures being every day repeated, it was no wonder if the wretches sought refuge in death, by owning all the particulars of this sham conspiracy, as drawn up by *du Pratz*. The eight men were broken upon the wheel, and the woman was hanged. The reader needs to require no other proof of the whole of this transaction being an infamous conspiracy against the poor negroes by the *French*, than that *Charlevoix* relates it with circumstances totally different and contradictory to those mentioned by *du Pratz*.

d In the mean while, some of the *Chataways* had been gained over by the *Chicachas*, and the nation in general refused to send three hundred of their warriors to the assistance of the *French*; but the latter, by murdering, as usual, thirty or forty of those harmless savages, brought them over to their party. The *Chicachas* then applied to the *Miamis*, the *Illinois*, and the *Akanfas*, but found them all too much frenchified to undertake any thing for the recovery of their common liberty. The *Illinois* even delivered up to *Perrier* three of the *Chicachas* deputies, and he put them into the hands of the *Chataways* at *New Orleans*, who burnt them alive. Those are inhumanities that the *French* writers repeat without any symptoms of disapprobation, because they take it for granted, that those savages were born to be their slaves. The cruelties practised upon the natives of *Louisiana* were as impolitic as they were barbarous, and so far from serving the *Mississippi* company, that they ruined it; for, on the 23d of January, 1731, the company surrendered back, into the *French* king's hands, their grant of *Louisiana* and the country of the *Illinois*, together with their exclusive privilege of trading, only reserving to themselves a power of granting permits to native *Frenchmen* to trade in that colony. Their king accepted of this surrender, and, on the 10th of April, *de Salmont*, who acted as commissary at *New Orleans*, took possession of that province, in the name of his majesty; but *Perrier* was continued in his government. The reason of this surrender was the inability of the company to continue longer their wars with the savages, and to undergo the vast expences of their settlement. *Perrier* himself grew tired of his government, and solicited his recal, which was at last granted him; and *Bienville*, in 1734, again succeeded to the government of *Louisiana*. Cardinal *Fleury* was then first minister of *France*, and great schemes of oeconomy took place in the colony; but it now remains that we pursue the detail of the war with the *Chicachas*, in which *Bienville* found himself involved upon his return to the government of *Louisiana*.

It appears from the acknowledgments of all the *French* writers, that their government had no manner of pretext to quarrel with the *Chicachas*, but because the latter were so hospitable, as to receive into their protection the unfortunate but brave, remains, of the *Natches*. No maxim is more sacred amongst those savages, than that when one nation takes refuge with another, if they are received, they are adopted, and both people become one, and

Beginning of the Chicacha war.

Its progress.

(M) After so many attempts, which could be no secret to the colony, to betray and butcher the *French*, how came this *Samba*, the author of them, to be so highly in favour with *du Pratz*, and the *French*?

have a common interest. *Bienville* was no stranger to this ; but, in consequence of the detestable policy of the *French* court, he no sooner arrived at his government, than he made preparations for carrying on the war against the *Chicachas*, that lasted for two years ; so weak was the *French* interest then in *Louisiana*. At last, he sent a formal demand, that the *Chicachas* should deliver up to him all the *Natches*. He was answered with great spirit and justice that no such nation then existed as the *Natches*, they being become *Chicachas* by adoption. Besides, continued the latter, should *Bienville* shelter our enemies, should we insist upon his giving them up ? and why should we give up his at his request ? This answer served only to hasten the preparations of war, and *Bienville* sent an officer, one *le Blanc*, with five armed shallops, two of them laden with powder, and other merchandizes, to the *Illinois* post, where *d'Artaquette* commanded, to order him to repair, by the 10th of *May* next year, to the *Chicacha* country, at the head of all his troops, and as many of the *Illinois* as he could bring along with him ; and he was there to be joined by *Bienville* and the main army. The *Chicachas*, being informed of this convoy, watched the borders of the river, and attacked it, but without success ; and *le Blanc* arrived safe in the country of the *Akanfas*, where, having refreshed himself and his detachment, he most unaccountably left all his powder, and proceeded on his voyage. Upon *le Blanc's* arrival, and delivering *Bienville's* orders to *d'Artaquette*, the latter, perceiving that a boat laden with powder had been sent him for the use of his post, and for carrying on the *Chicacha* war, instantly dispatched another to the country of the *Akanfas* to bring it up. This boat was discovered by the *Chicachas*, who formed an ambush, which was so well disposed that they took the boat, and at one discharge, killed all the crew but two, who were carried into slavery. Thus the *Chicachas* became masters of the powder that was destined for their own destruction.

They take a
French boat
with powder.

BIENVILLE was, at this time, at fort *Mobile*, in conference with the grand chief of the *Chaetaws*, who attended him in consequence of a summons he had received, and whom he engaged to assist him, in consideration of a certain quantity of merchandizes, part of which was delivered to him upon the spot, and he was to receive the remainder in a certain time. *Bienville* then returned to *New Orleans*, where he made all the necessary preparations for setting out on his march. His army was composed of regulars, colonists, free negroes, and some slaves, and, on the 10th of *March*, 1736, it assembled in the country of the *Chaetaws*, where it remained till the second of *April* following. The savages, who had promised to join *Bienville*, could not comprehend the policy of this delay, and would have left his army, had they not been detained by the hopes of receiving the remainder of the merchandizes, which had not yet been delivered to them. The army then resumed their march towards the east, on the banks of the *Mobile*, the savages by land, and the *French* by water, in thirty large boats, and as many peruegas. Their progress was so slow, that it was the 20th of *April*, before they arrived at *Tomberbec*, where the *Chaetaws* were to receive the remainder of their merchandizes, and where *Bienville*, some months before, had ordered a fort to be built. He encamped near this fort, erected ovens, and baked his bread ; and the *Chaetaws*, presenting him with a calumet of peace, received their remaining merchandizes.

Expedition
against the Chi-
cachas.

A CONSPIRACY had been formed by four soldiers, one of whom was a serjeant, for putting the commandant of the fort to death, and for delivering it up into the hands of the *Chicachas*, the two *Frenchmen* who had escaped when the powder was taken, to procure them a favourable reception from those savages, whom they intended to assist in the war, and then to go over to the *English*, joining in it. These traitors were tried, and being found guilty, were all put to death at the head of the army ; but the trials lasted so long, that it was the 4th of *May* before the troops could resume their march. Twenty days more brought them to their landing place, and, when they disembarked, they immediately enclosed a large space of ground with pallisades, and erected a warehouse for their merchandizes and ammunition. Next day, having distributed powder and ball to the soldiers, the general proceeded on his march, leaving his sick, under proper care, in the pallisaded entrenchment, and committed himself to the direction of a *French* trader, who was acquainted with the country, and served him for a guide. He had still seven leagues to march between this inclosure and the fort of the *Chicachas*, through woods. The *Chaetaws*, to the number of 1200, headed by their chief, marched on the flank of his army, which proceeded in two columns. When they drew near the fort, *Bienville* dispatched two of the *Chaetaws* to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy ; but they returned without any information, being themselves, as they said, discovered by four of the *Chicachas*. Proceeding forwards, the army entered a very fine plain, and discovered the fort, which was erected on a gentle eminence with cabins round it, all which appeared to be fortified ; and near the fort ran a rivulet. The *Chaetaws* no sooner saw the fort, than they set up a most dreadful warwhoop, or cry of death, and they ran towards it with prodigious fury till they came within gun-shot of it, and then they stooped. As to the troops, they marched in good order, till they came to a small wood, within cannon-shot of the fort, where they saw the *English* colours flying, and four *Englishmen* en-

- a ter it from the cabins below. The *French* summoned the *English* to leave the fort, and the *Chicachas* to surrender it; but no regard was paid to the summons. *Bienville* then formed his troops into three large detachments of about four hundred men each, and ordered them to march up with all quickness possible, and to storm the fort sword in hand, as they had not an utensil in the army with which they could throw up intrenchments. When they came to the eminence on which the fort stood, all they did was to burn a few straggling cabins that lay near it, and to drive, but with some loss to the *French* themselves, the savages who inhabited them into the fort. The regulars then changed their manner of approach; but some dispute arose between them and the militia, about the post of honour. This was easily adjusted in favour of the regulars, by the vigorous defence made by the fort, and the militia
- b very quietly took their post in the rear, the officers and the regulars being resolved to reserve to themselves all the honour of the expedition; but the fire from the fort continued to be so furious, that many of their bravest officers and best men were now killed or wounded.

- DU PPATZ* describes the fort as being formed of prodigious thick pallisades, crossed by others of an equal thickness; so that the balls of the *French* could make no impression either upon the fort or the savages, who, being numerous and safe from danger, might have killed half the *French* army without any loss to themselves, had they known how to direct their fire. Within the fort they had erected, quite round it, a pent-house, or platform, of wood covered with earth, which secured them from the grenades. *Bienville*, who was in the
- c rear of the army, saw the folly and madness of this attack, and that it was impossible the *French* fire could do any execution upon the savages, while his own men were wasting their ammunition, and dropping on every side. At last, the *French* having maintained this murderous attack three hours and a half, he ordered them to retreat, or rather they were fairly beaten back to their camp, without attempting even to carry off their dead and wounded, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty; and amongst them were some of their most considerable officers. While they were deliberating what to do, a body of *Chicachas* were seen at a distance coming from another village, and holding up a calumet of peace with a letter, which it seems was from *d'Artaquette*, who was a prisoner amongst them. They had been discovered by the *Chactaws*, one of whom brought the account to *Bienville*,
- d who immediately ordered them to be fired upon; and four of them being killed, the rest ran away. After this, the *French* raised a kind of retrenchment of logs of wood to secure them from the fury of the savages, while they took some refreshment and repose; and the *Chicachas* are said to have exercised such barbarities on the dead bodies, no *Frenchman* having been taken alive, that it was with difficulty *Bienville* could keep back his troops from rushing upon certain death, to be revenged. Next morning, it was perceived, that the *Chicachas* had, during the night time, beaten down some cabins, where the *French* had sheltered themselves the day before, during the attack.

- NEXT day, being the 27th of May, was spent in skirmishes between the fort and the *Chactaws*; but both of them were at too great a distance from each other for either to receive much harm. An adventure, however, happened, which, though inconsiderable in itself, deserves to be related, because it gives us a lively picture of the cunning and presence of mind of those barbarians. Two of the *Chactaws* drawing nearer the fort than the others, a *Chicacha* issued out of it, and was observed by the two *Chactaws* to creep softly along, that he might come near enough unobserved to fire upon them; which he accordingly did, and one of the *Chactaws* dropt while the other made off. The *Chicacha* ran then full speed to scalp the fallen *Chactaw*; but as soon as he came within ten paces of him, the *Chactaw* started up, raised the war-whoop, shot his antagonist dead, and carried off his scalp in triumph. In the camp, *Bienville* employed the negroes in making hurdles for carrying off the wounded, and orders were given to march to the distance of a league from the fort, upon which a party
- f of the *Chactaws*, foreseeing what would happen, ambushed themselves behind a little wood hard by. While the *French* were on their march, nine of the *Chicachas*, who had seen them decamp, came from the fort to scalp the dead, whom they had left behind them, but no sooner were they come to the spot, than the *Chactaws* ambuscade fired, and killing every man of them, carried their scalps with great triumph to the *French* army. Next day, the army, after this inglorious, hair-brained, expedition, came to the place of their reembarkation. Here a quarrel happened between the *French* and the *Chactaws*, which was fomented by one of the *Chactaw* chiefs, called the *Red Slipper*, and to whom the *French* writers give a very bad character, very possibly, because he behaved with a spirit of independency; but just as the quarrel was proceeding to blows, it was made up by the grand chief of the *Chactaws* threatening to shoot the *Red Slipper* through the head. Powder and ball was then distributed amongst the soldiers, and the army went cautiously by water to fort *Mobile*, and from thence to *New Orleans*, where it broke up.
- g

THE fate of *d'Artaquette* was truly deplorable, and gives us a fresh instance of the man-

Deplorable
death of a
French officer
and party.

ners of the savages. The reader may remember, that this officer was by *Bienville* ordered ^a to repair with all the men he could into the country of the *Chicachas* by the 10th of *May*, where he was to be joined by the general, and the main body of the army. *D'Artaguet* was punctual to his time, and, upon his arrival at the place of rendezvous, he sent out three scouts to reconnoitre whether the army was approaching; and he did the same till the 20th, when the savages he had with him, hearing no tidings of the *French*, threatened they would return home, unless he immediately fought the *Chicachas*. *D'Artaguet* was obliged to comply, and on the 21st, he drove the barbarians from one of their forts and a village, as he did next day from another village; but, in pursuing the fugitives, *d'Artaguet* received two wounds. This accident determined his savage allies to abandon him, which they ^b did. He was left with no more than forty-six soldiers, two serjeants, and a jesuit, and they defended their wounded commander for a long time against his enemies; but at last, being overpowered by numbers, and spent with fatigue, he was obliged to surrender himself, and all his company, prisoners to the savages. They were conducted to their village, where they were treated with great humanity, and their wounds carefully dressed and cured. All this tenderness was shewn them, that they might have an opportunity of presenting them to *Bienville*. But his brutality completed the misfortunes of the unhappy prisoners, as his trifling delays had drawn them on. *D'Artaguet* was prevailed upon to write *Bienville* a letter, which, as we have seen, he not only refused to receive, but inhumanly fired upon, and killed, the bearers, who could be considered in no other light than messengers of peace. The barbarians were exasperated at this cruelty; and understanding about the same time, ^c that the *French* had been shamefully driven out of their country, they took their revenge upon the unfortunate *d'Artaguet*, and their other *French* prisoners, whom they roasted to death at a slow fire. One serjeant, by the kindness of his master, had the good fortune to escape, and he brought to *New Orleans* the account of this dismal catastrophe.

A new expedition
against
the *Chicachas*

BIENVILLE, to repair the disgrace he had received, represented it in such favourable terms to his court, that a resolution was taken to enable him to revenge it, and orders were sent for the *French* of *Canada* to be assisting to him. In the mean while, he sent a large detachment up the river, *St. Francis*, where they built a fort of the same name with the river. When the squadron arrived, which brought him his reinforcements, his army proceeded up ^d the *Mississippi* to take possession of another fort that had been built there (N). It consisted of marine troops, those of the colony, a number of militia, negroes, and some *French* savages. Being arrived at their place of rendezvous, they went up as far as a little river called *Margot*, where they all landed within fifteen miles of the *Chicacha* country. They chose a fine plain to encamp on, and after fortifying their camp, they built a house for the commandant in the fort, with cazernes and storehouses for their ammunition and merchandizes, and named it fort *Assumption*; that being the day when they landed. While the army lay there, *Bienville* endeavoured to profit by his past mistakes. Waggon and carts were made, and the roads were cleared for transporting the artillery, and all the necessaries of war provided for carrying on the siege. While *Bienville* continued in this place, his *Canadian* succours ^e joined him, consisting of *French*, *Iroquois*, *Hurons*, *Algonquins*, and other savages. Soon after arrived the new commandant of the *Illinois* with his garrison, his volunteers, and all the neighbouring savages, together with a good number of horse. According to *du Pratz* never was there before, and perhaps never will there be again, a body assembled in *North America*, composed of so many different nations, and yet they remained inactive in their camp from the month of *August* 1739, to the month of *March* next year.

With whom
the *French*
make peace.

THIS long inactivity produced, at first, famine, and, at last, mortality among the men. From great plenty of provisions they fell into such scarcity, that they fed upon the horses that were to have drawn their artillery, and vast numbers died of an epidemic disease. This brought *Bienville* to reflect upon his situation, and determined him, if possible, to conclude ^f a peace with the *Chicachas*, or at least to know upon what terms he was to stand with them. On the 15th of *March*, he detached a company of foot, with its proper officers, which was followed by the *Canadian* savages, and the *French* had orders to treat of peace, if the *Chicachas* should demand it. The latter were, by this time, fully apprized of the vast strength of the *French* army, and seeing its van-guard approaching, attended by the *Canadian* savages, they made no doubt that the main body was at hand, and concluded, that it would be in vain for them to hold out any longer. They accordingly made signals of peace, and their deputies came out of their fort with a most dejected air, putting themselves intirely in the power of the *French*. They swore that they were then, and ^g

(N) Those forts and rivers are very inaccurately laid down in the maps published, both by *du Pratz* and *Charlevoix*, notwithstanding the boasted accuracy of the latter.

a ever would remain, the real friends of the *French*; that they had been instigated to all their opposition by the *English*, with whom they had then broke for that very reason, and they offered to produce two *Englishmen*, whom they had made slaves. *St. Laurent*, a *French* officer, demanded to be admitted into the fort; and accordingly he entered it, attended by a little slave; but the savage women no sooner saw him, than they called out to have him put to death, that the war might continue. Their men were more moderate; for, after conferring together, they resolved to preserve him, and to purchase their peace of the *French*, by delivering up the two *Englishmen*. *Du Pratz* here observes, that amongst those savages the men in time of war meet with no quarter, being either killed in battle, or if taken prisoners, put to lingering deaths; whereas the women and girls are only reduced to be slaves; and a state of slavery amongst the *French* is, by them, looked upon to be more desirable than to live as wives in their own country (O). *St. Laurent*, upon this matter being explained to him, promised them peace in the name of *M. Bienville*, and all his nation. They then went out of the fort, and presented the calumet to *de Coloron*, the commanding officer, who excepted of it, and confirmed *St. Laurent's* engagement.

b Some days after the detachment returned to the *French* camp, attended by a numerous body of the *Chicachas*, who were deputed to carry the calumet of peace to the *French* general, and to present him with the two *English* slaves. When they came into *Bienville's* presence, they prostrated themselves at his feet, and renewed all the oaths and protestations they had made to *Coloron*, still throwing all the blame of what had happened upon the *English*, with whom they offered to make war, if it was *Bienville's* pleasure, for they could look upon them as no better than traitors. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of *April*, 1740. *Bienville*, having ratified it, made handsome presents to all his auxiliary troops, and dismissed them. In his return to *New Orleans* he ordered fort *Assumption* to be demolished, and fort *St. Francis* likewise, and arrived at *New Orleans*, after being absent from it ten months. Upon the whole, notwithstanding all the softening with which the *French* writers have touched up *Bienville's* conduct in his expedition against the *Chicachas*, it appears to have been that of a madman, rather than a military officer; and whatever they pretend with regard to the submission of the *Chicachas*, it is evident, that during the whole of the war, they acted as a brave and a spirited people, and that they preserved their independency to the very last, against the greatest power *France* had ever brought into the field in *America*, assisted with powerful reinforcements from *Old France*.

c *M. de VAUDREUIL* succeeded *Bienville* in the government of *Louisiana*; and upon his arrival there he found the old quarrel still subsisting between that colony and the *Red Slipper*, who had committed many hostilities against the *French*. *Vaudreuil*, informing himself as to the grounds of the original quarrel, immediately published an order, prohibiting all the *French* of his government from furnishing to the *Chaftaws* arms or ammunition upon any pretext whatever. He then sent a message to their grand chief to demand whether he was, like the *Red Slipper*, an enemy to the *French*. The grand chief, by his interpreter, returned for answer, that he was their friend; but that the *Red Slipper* was a young chief, and devoid of sense. Upon this, *Vaudreuil* sent a present to the grand chief, who was extremely surprized that it did not contain, as usual, any arms, powder, or ball, in that time of amity between the two people; and being informed of the prohibition that had been published, he sent a new deputation to expostulate with the governor. His answer was, that they must expect neither arms nor ammunition, especially as he informed him that the *Red Slipper* had no sense; because all the *Chaftaws* being brothers, the *Red Slipper* certainly would have his share of them. This answer produced a message from the grand chief to the *Red Slipper*, informing him and his subjects, that if they did not instantly make peace with the *French*, all the rest of the *Chaftaws* would make war upon them. This menace had its desired effect; and a good understanding was soon restored by the *Red Slipper* begging peace from the *French*; and the colony, which was no condition to have undertaken a war against so powerful a nation, returned to its former tranquillity. Nothing, after this, that is material occurs in the history of *Louisiana*, till the definitive treaty of peace concluded at *Paris* on the 10th of *February*, 1763.

Vaudreuil governor of Louisiana.

Makes peace with the Chaftaws.

f LONG experience had taught the *British* ministry, that, *Louisiana* remaining in possession of the *French*, they and their savages would be perpetual thorns in the sides of the *British* colonies; and, upon our conquering *Martinico*, a fair opportunity presented for demanding *Louisiana* as an equivalent for that valuable island. The *British* ministry were the more intent upon this demand, when they considered that the colony of *Louisiana* was then in a manner only in its infancy; and that a time might come when *France*, profiting by experience, and encreasing in power, might avail herself, which she had not hitherto done, to

(O) Whatever truth may be in the observation when applied to the *Chicachas*, it is contrary to the whole stream of history with regard to the other *American* savages, amongst whom we read of women fighting as bravely, and suffering as courageously as the men.

the full of the advantages arising from that country, naturally one of the most fruitful, and the best fitted, by inland navigation, for the purposes of commerce, of any in the world. Not only the *French* themselves, but all *Europe*, were astonished when they heard that his most Christian majesty agreed to the following article, which is the seventh of that treaty.

General treaty
of peace.
1763.

“ In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subjects of dispute, with regard to the limits of the *British* and *French* territories on the continent of *America*, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his *Britannic* majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river *Mississippi*, from its source to the river *Iberville*, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain*, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his *Britannic* majesty the river and part of the *Mobile*, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side the river *Mississippi*, except the town of the *New Orleans*, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to *France*, provided that the river *Mississippi* shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of *Great Britain*, as to those of *France*, in its whole breadth or length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of *New Orleans*, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subject to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of *Canada*, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.” In the 24th article of the said treaty is the following stipulation, “ *Great Britain* shall, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river, and port of the *Mobile*, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of *Great Britain*, on the side of the river *Mississippi*, as they are specified in the seventh article.”

Account of the
French posts
in Louisiana.
The Mobile.

NOTHING now remains for *Great Britain*, but to improve, as much as possible, this immense acquisition; and, above all, to cultivate the love and regard of the natives. This makes it necessary, before we close the history of *Louisiana*, to give our readers a slight sketch of the nature of the country, and of the tempers, customs, and principal qualities of those savages. The first establishment of the *French* there was upon the *Mobile*, and on a spot which is now by treaty ceded to *Great Britain*. The ready entrance from thence into the gulph of *Mexico* appears to have been the first temptation for the *French* to make that settlement, and the opportunity they had of carrying on a clandestine trade with the *Spaniards*, counterbalanced all the inconveniencies arising from an ungrateful soil, and a very inconvenient harbour. The *English* may find great benefit in maintaining, and even improving that settlement to overawe the *Chactaws*, who, as we have seen, are the most numerous, as well as the most designing people in all *Louisiana*; and for that reason, as well as for keeping the *Chactaws* from any communication with the *English*, the *French*, even after the building of *New Orleans*, never entirely abandoned the *Mobile* fort. With regard to the *Chactaws*, they certainly are a pacific people, and it is more than probable, that the selfish imposing character given them by the *French* writers arose from the poverty of their *Louisianians*, who, not being able to gratify the *Chactaws* for the services they performed them, took occasion to depreciate them. They may, however, be useful both as the subjects and allies of the *English*. Add to this, that the peltry trade between the *French* and the *Chactaws*, by means of the *Mobile* fort, was extremely beneficial to the former. Fort *Tombecbe* was another post raised by the *French* upon the *Mobile* after the *Chicacha* war, to cut off all communication between the *Carolinians*, *Virginians*, and *New England* men, who often passed the *Apalachean* mountains, to that warlike people.

WITHIN the country ceded by the late treaty lies the small establishment of the *Pachca-Ogoulas*, where quiet and industry, on account of the inoffensive disposition of the people, may find profitable and happy settlements. This was experienced by a number of *Canadians*, who lived there retired and contented, during all the distractions of the colony, there not being a single warrior in all the nation. There is at present no post between the *Pachca-Ogoulas* and *New Orleans*, excepting *Biloxi*, which is almost entirely abandoned. The fort *de la Balise*, according to the line of partition laid down by the late treaty, belongs to the *French*, is built upon a small island, and is of an irregular form. *Du Pratz*, however, seems to think that the canal might be easily deepened. In going up the river, the *Detour a l'Anglois* (so called from an *English* ship proceeding no higher up the river, and returning at that place) is the next post to be met with, and consists of two forts, one built on each side of the river, so as to command it; but it seems to lie within the *French* division, it being six leagues below *New Orleans*, following the course of the river. We have already mentioned the building

- a of *New Orleans*, which was regularly laid out, but so disadvantageously situated, and the navigation between the mouth of the *Mississippi* and it, is so difficult, that it never can answer the expectations, which, by the magnificence and regularity of its plan, the *French* seem to have formed of it; not to mention that it is subject to most ruinous inundations. On the border of lake *St. Lewis* is a post, which guards the entrance into the lake, and which now seems to belong to the *English*, as does that of the *Oumas*. The *Red-Staff* is a post likewise their property; and may in time become of the utmost consequence to a people more industrious than either the *French Louisianians* or the *Canadians*. This post acquires its name from its producing one of the most beautiful, as well as most useful trees in the world, the cypress, the wood of which is red. They grow to such a height and largeness, that a boat builder, out of one of their trunks, undertook to hollow two peruegas, one of sixteen, the other of fourteen tons. Though this cypress was perhaps of an uncommon largeness, yet there are few of those trees out of which a common peruega may not be hollowed. The wood of it is, next to that of the cedar, the most valuable that *America* produces; and is by many believed to be incorruptible. Proceeding up the river, is another small post, but of little or no importance, excepting for erecting a water mill; a circumstance of consequence. The post of *Pointe coupee*, or *Cut Point* is, where the river made a winding of about ten leagues circumference, but the *Canadians*, by digging the channel of a small brook, forced the waters of the river into a direct line, and the channel of the former winding is now dry but at times of inundation; "an evident proof, says *Charlevoix*, that the river inclines its channel towards the east, a circumstance which cannot be too much attended to by those who settle on either side. This new channel has been, since that time, founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding any bottom." This operation was so strongly assisted by nature, that the whole is said to have been performed by two *Canadians* only, whose peruega the stream forced after they had made an opening through the direct channel. This post is at present one of the most considerable of any in *Louisiana*, it consisting of a fort and a regular garrison, commanded by an officer. On the east side of the river near it the inhabitants make excellent tobacco, and great care was taken by the *French* government to settle inspectors amongst them, who were to overlook the packages, and to take care that the traders should not be imposed upon. Twenty leagues above *Cut-Point*, and forty above *New Orleans*, lies the mouth of the *Red River*, and in an island, which it forms, lies another *French* settlement, consisting likewise of a fort, a garrison, a commandant, and officers. This island was at first occupied by *French* soldiers, whose time of service was expired; and they raised upon it good tobacco; but its leaves were sometimes covered with a fine sand, which hurt the quality of the tobacco, and therefore they removed to the main land, where they carried on the same culture to great perfection. This is the famous post of the *Natchitoches*; and *St. Denys*, whom we have had so often occasion to mention, commanded in it, a proof of its vast importance. It is so happily situated for a communication with the *Spaniards*, that vast numbers of the *French* resorted to it, but were disappointed; for the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood at port *les Adaies* were so miserably poor, that they could purchase none of their commodities but upon credit.
- c FROM the mouth of the *Red River*, still proceeding northwards upon the *Mississippi*, lies the new *French* post of the *Natches*, now belonging to the *English*. Its fort is raised two hundred feet above low water, and affords a prospect of a most prodigious extent towards the west across the river; so that the eye is bounded only by the horizon. The foundation of the fort, according to *Du Pratz*, being higher than the trees that cover the opposite banks; while towards the east the grounds lie in a gentle gradual descent, and the view is terminated by little eminences. There are, it seems, some of the *Natches* still living in the neighbourhood of this fort, and are so gentle, so obliging, and serviceable, that all the travellers, who pass that way, visit them, and are charmed with the sweetness of their manners, particularly their women, who are said to be amiable. The nature of our undertaking does not admit our being more particular than we have already been in our relations of this curious people; but the reader may be fully satisfied on that head, by having recourse to the travels of *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz*. The *French Louisianians* multiplied extremely at this post; but the garrison consisted only of about forty men, a captain, two lieutenants, and two serjeants. *Du Pratz* frankly acknowledges the misbehaviour of the *French* towards this injured people. About forty miles above the *Natches* is the post of the *Tasous*. It was one of the most commodious and pleasant of any upon the *Mississippi*, before it was destroyed by the *Chicachas*. Its garrison was composed of a company of regulars and their officers, and the profits arising from the post were so great, that all the expence of the garrison was defrayed out of the private pocket of M. *le Blanc*, the *French* minister at war. If, as the *French* alledge, the *English* instigated the *Chicachas* to destroy this fine post and settlement, we may reason-

The Red-Staff.

Cut Point.

The Natchitoches.

and the Natches.

The Akanfas.

ably presume that both of them will be soon re-established. Twenty leagues above the *Ta-* a
jous settlement, and two hundred above *New Orleans*, lie the *Akanfas*, but to the west of the
 river; so that it belongs to the *French*, to whom those people are intirely devoted. As
 they are warlike, and live in a very fine country, it will require all the vigilance of the *En-*
lish on the opposite bank to prevent their paying them a visit.

The Illinois.

THIRTY leagues north of the *Akanfas*, lies the river *St. Francis*, where a small *French*
 fort has lately been built. To the west of the *Mississippi*, but still keeping northwards about
 thirty leagues, lies fort *Assumption*, which we had already mentioned to have been demolished
 by the *French* governor of *Louisiana*. It may be extremely convenient for the *English* to re-
 establish it, whether they are in friendship or not, with the *Chicachas*, in whose country it
 lies. In the one case it will serve to bridle them, and, in the other, it will make a most ex- b
 cellent store-house: but the chief conveniency and advantage of such a re-establishment, is its
 being in the neighbourhood of the torrents of *Prud'homme*, falling from the neighbouring
 mountains, which contain inexhaustible mines of iron ore, besides vast quantities of wood for
 making charcoal to manufacture it. The *Illinois* post, the first that was formed by the *French*,
 in what is properly called *Louisiana*, is the most northerly of the colony, and was so invit-
 ing a situation, that it was almost intirely inhabited by the *Canadians*. In this post, which
 was very populous, was a strong garrison, and the settlement itself, as well as the neighbour-
 ing savages, was intirely governed by, and devoted to the jesuits, which may make it more
 proper for the *English* to keep a watchful eye over them. Besides those forts, the *French*
 of late had established a great number of stockaded posts at convenient distances for the re- c
 ception of the travellers and traders between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, even as far as *New Or-*
leans. Thus it appears, that nothing but the intire cession of *Louisiana*, as well as of *Canada*,
 could have preserved the *British* interest from the most dreadful insults after any peace that
 had been made. The *Canadians* would have exchanged their fogs, frost, and snows, for
 the warm fertile plains of *Louisiana*; they would soon have brought all the savages of *America*
 to have joined them, and, towards the *Apalachean* mountains, (between which, and the
 sea, they wanted to confine the *English* colonies) they would have been more powerful than
 ever.

Manners of the
savages.

THERE is great reason to believe that all the nations of *Louisiana* were originally the
 same people, and that they extended to *Florida* likewise. Other nations besides the *Natches* d
 particularly the *Pachca Ogoulas*, preserved the sacred fire, and their languages are, for the
 most part, radically the same, though prodigiously disguised by different articulations. Not-
 withstanding this, their intercourse in some places with the *Europeans*, their mixtures with
 the savages of *Canada*, *Sioux*, *New Spain*, and the *Apalaches*, have introduced into *Louisiana*
 a vast confluence of different people and tribes; some of whom are very inconsiderable, di-
 minishing even to single families, so that every separate nation has some rite, custom, or
 character, peculiar to itself. To distinguish amidst such a variety of blendings would be a
 task equally impracticable as unprofitable. All, therefore, that belongs to us, is to lay
 down the great out-lines that may direct us in treating with a people with whom we are
 so intimately connected, and to express them by such characters as are most general, and
 most frequently found amongst them. e

Education
of children
amongst the sa-
vages.

THE *American* savages are, for the most part, very well made; their height is seldom
 under five feet six inches; but they often are much taller. The men, for the most part,
 are much handsomer than the women, who are of a smaller size, but none of either sex de-
 generate into dwarfs. One of them, who was but four feet and a half high, was so ashamed
 of his size, that he concealed himself from the eyes of the *French* for several years; nor would
 he have appeared then, had he not been discovered by accident. *Du Pratz*, from whom we
 take our information, says, that the *French Creoles* of *Louisiana*, by which is meant children f
 born in a distant country, but of parents of the same nation, are remarkably large, well
 made, and vigorous, and that those qualities amongst the native *Louisianians* in general are
 chiefly owing to the manner in which the females treat their children in their infancy. As
 soon as a female savage is brought to bed, she goes to the water-side, where she washes her-
 self and her child. After that she returns home, goes to bed, and lays the infant all along
 in a cradle of a very curious construction, made of canes, and so light that it does not weigh
 above two pounds. She places this cradle upon her bed, but without rocking it from side to
 side, and the child is swaddled up so as to leave the motion of its lungs and belly always
 free; but its head is bound to a little pillow, stuffed with *Spanish* hair, but not raised above
 the rest of its bed, with leathern thongs; which renders those natives all flat-headed. When
 the child is rocked, the construction of the cradle is such, that it is performed end ways.
 When it is a month old they tie under its knee a garter made of wool, and wrap fillets of the g
 same round its ancles, three or four inches high, according to the child's age, and they
 wear those fillets by way of buskins, till their fourth or fifth year. When born they
 are

- a are white, and they are suffered to crawl on all fours till they can stand or walk. Their skin when very young, is rubbed over with oil, and other materials, which gives them their copper colour, their hide being in a manner enamelled with them by the heat of the sun. The reasons they give for this unction are, that it renders their joints more supple and flexible, and prevents the flies from tormenting them. Each child sucks its mother as long as it pleases, unless the mother is with child. When the boys grow to be about twelve years of age, they are taught to shoot in a bow, at a mark, and rewarded according to their proficiency. The paternal authority is greatly venerated amongst them. The oldest of every family is, by all his descendants, who are sometimes very numerous, termed their father, and his word is their law. Unless they are cut off in war, or by colds, or the small-pox, those savages live to a vast age, inasmuch that they often are unable to stir, merely through natural weakness, the concomitant of length of days : and, in those cases, they grow tired of life.

- b NEITHER men nor boys, belonging to the same tribe, ever quarrel with one another, or grow riotous about domestic affairs, and it is admirable to see with what order they live, merely by the light of nature; they having amongst them no principle of policy, or form of government. If any one amongst them shews the least turbulence of disposition, if his seniors tell him he shall be banished a great way from their nation, he is immediately quieted. The fathers educate the boys, as the mothers do the girls; but the latter toil the most. The men are chiefly occupied in hunting and fishing, in cutting wood, or preparing land; and those exercises being over, they divert themselves with others less laborious : but the women, besides having their young infants to take care of, have all the maize to prepare for the family, fire-wood to provide, and a vast number of utensils to make, which last but a very short while, with the earthen ware, mats, and a thousand other particulars. Children of both sexes, when about ten or twelve years of age, are accustomed to carry burthens, which are gradually increased as they grow up, so that they are sometimes capable of bearing a great weight. The savages of *Louisiana*, however, are very cautious of over-straining the strength of their children, and they seldom suffer them to marry before they are twenty-five years of age; because they think that copulation enervates them. The care and wisdom with which, in other respects, parents train up their youth, is very surprizing, and with what judgment they moderate their exercises, such as running, leaping, swimming, shooting, and the like, lest they should hurt their tender constitutions, and be rendered less active and vigorous in their manhood. On the other hand, they are equally careful to keep them in exercise, as the want of it may be prejudicial to their health. From their tenderest years they bathe every morning, winter as well as summer, and they begin early to learn to swim, both boys and girls. They think this to be so essential a part of education, that in every village, one of their elders is appointed to call out all the boys and girls, even so young as three years of age, and their mothers are obliged to attend them, and teach them to swim. Notwithstanding the continual toils and fatigues, which those mothers are forced to undergo, they are never heard to repine or to complain, but when their children are ill. Amongst the girls there is great emulation, as they are taught to believe from their infancy, that if they are lazy or idle, they will have a lumpish fellow for their husband. Experience proves, that this gradual method of education is most proper for those savages; for no people in the world, when they are come to the perfection of their strength, undergo greater fatigues and hardships, than they do, or with more alacrity.

- c As they have no means of communicating the knowledge of past events, by writing, they have recourse to tradition. Of this, their old men are the depositories; and they take so great care to preserve it pure and unmixed, that it is not communicated indifferently to all their young men, lest they should make a wrong use of it, and either diminish or add to it. The elders have a particular art in knowing the dispositions of their youth, who are always under their eye, and intrust only the most stayed and sedate amongst them with their ancient word, for so they call their traditions. Most part of the *Natches*, though they had a peculiar dialect of their own, speak the vulgar tongue; but being now incorporated with the *Chicachas*, it is probable the purity of their original language will soon be lost. According to *du Pratz*, like the *Chinese*, their nobility had one language, and their common people another. The manner in which the men speak, is full, sonorous, and grave; and they laugh at nothing more than to hear a man speak like a woman; which the *French* commonly do.

- d As to the religion of the *Louisianian* savages, most, or all of them, have an idea of a supreme being, whom they call the grand spirit, by way of excellence, and whose perfections are as much superior to all other beings, as the fire of the sun is to elementary fire. *Du Pratz*, who lived in intimate friendship with the chief guardian of the temple of the perpetual fire, tells us, that they believed in an omnipotent God, the maker of all things, either visible or invisible, and that he was so good that he could do no evil to any one, even if he were inclined. That though he created all things by his will, yet he had under him spirits of an inferior order.

Religion.

order, who by his power, formed the beauties of the universe; but that man was the work of the creator's own hands. Those spirits are, by the *Natches*, termed free servants or agents; but at the same time they are as submissive as slaves. They are constantly in the presence of God, and prompt to execute his will. The air, according to them, is full of other spirits of more mischievous dispositions, and these have a chief, who was so eminently mischievous, that God Almighty was obliged to confine him, and ever since, those aerial spirits do not commit so much mischief as they did before, especially if they are intreated to be favourable. For this reason, the savages always invoke them when they want either rain or fair weather. Their fasts are very long, and the grand *Sun* himself has been known, for nine days successively, to abstain from women, and from all kind of food, excepting a little maize and water. Their account of the creation of the first man is almost correspondent to the *Mosaic* account; that God first formed a little man of clay, and breathed upon his work, and that he then walked about, grew up, and became a perfect man; but the antient word is silent as to the formation of the woman. It would be improper to enter into any farther deduction of the religion of those savages, which they pretended to have from a bright man and his wife, who descended from the *Sun*; and indeed there is something so striking in the account which *du Pratz* gives us of the whole system, that there is some room to suspect that he has been imposed upon.

Policy.

THE grand *Sun's* power was despotism itself. Though he was the uncontrouled master of the lives and properties of his subjects, yet he was free from the evil attending arbitrary government in other countries, being under no apprehensions of treason against his person or insurrections against his state. On his pronouncing sentence of death, the criminal, though he could make his escape, never attempts it, but quietly submits to his fate without ever begging for life. All executions are done on the spot the moment the criminal is found. The other *Suns* partook of the grand *Sun's* authority, according to their several degrees of relation to him, and the *Pointed Serpent* at the time when his nation had war with *France*, killed, with his own hand, three *Natches*, who had taken and bound a *Frenchman*, his friend. They have political as well as religious feasts. The last is in honour of the great spirit to thank him for his benefits, and the first is for the conveniency of the sovereign, who, on those occasions, gathers in his revenues; for the reader is to observe, that he is so very absolute as to have no stated income; therefore every one contributes to it, as their inclination or abilities permit, and no farther questions are asked. Their year consists of thirteen moons, and at the end of every moon a feast is made, which takes the name from the chief fruits of the ground, which the preceding moon afforded, or the game that was then in season. The first feast of the year, which is that of the kids, is very grand. On this occasion they perform a kind of a drama, founded on one of the chief events of their history. Antiently one of their grand *Suns*, hearing a sudden commotion in his village, ran hastily out of his palace to appease it, but fell into the hands of enemies, from whom he was rescued by his warriors. To commemorate this important incident, they act it over, but without words, and yet not quite in dumb shew. They divide themselves into two parties, the one distinguished by white, and the other by red, feathers; they engage; the chief runs out rubbing his eyes, as if awakening from his sleep, makes a great slaughter of his enemies, who at last surround and prepare to carry him off, when he is rescued by his warriors. Every incident may be known, without seeing the action, by the different cries of hope, joy, death, and fear, which the two parties put up; and though no hurt is received, no players in *Europe* can equal their action, and during all the time of the representation, the elders, women, and other spectators, join in the chorus of cries. *Du Pratz*, who has seen this exhibition, says that the grand chief, at the age of ninety, used to perform his part with an address and vigour, which no man of thirty could come up to, especially as it must have continued longer than the action of any *European* drama. The most solemn, however, of all their feasts is the seventh, which is termed that of the *Maiz* or corn; but its ceremonies are too various, and too tedious to have place here.

Their feasts.]

THE politeness of those savages in some points, is the reverse of that of the *Europeans*, all priority and preference being given to the men, and the women being considered as only household drudges. The ladies, however, in the more early parts of their lives, are not without their pleasures. As soon as the two sexes are judged by their parents to be of proper years for procreation, the men and women mix together without the ceremony of marriage; but after they are married all amours are dropt on both sides, and neither husband nor wife is then considered as having a heart to dispose of. Though the former have a power of divorce, yet examples of that kind are very seldom known amongst the *Natches*, and never but when the woman is next to a fiend. The women are so well practised in the art of abortion (P) g

(P) This detestable custom is said to be common amongst all the *American* savages, and without searching for other causes, sufficiently accounts for the thinness of their population, as it undoubtedly is a great enemy to parturientcy.

a that they never have children before marriage ; and the bridegroom never fails to value his wife the more the greater fortune she brings to him, from her amours with others ; for it seems the fair ones there are far from being void of mercenary views, and take care always to make a previous bargain with their lovers.

WHEN a treaty of marriage is proposed, the two parties never apply to their own fathers, *Marriages.* but to the head of the family, who sometimes happens to be their great great grand-father ; and when the two elders meet, their first care is to examine whether the bridegroom and bride are not within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, a circumstance of which they are very jealous ; but, when this interview happens, it is always supposed that the intermediate parents on both sides are agreed upon the match, for, if any amongst them disapprove of it, it never takes place. Thus it happens that amongst those disciples of uninstructed nature, family-jarrings are seldom or never heard ; as no woman can enter into a family who is not perfectly agreeable to every member of it. After the two elders are agreed, the day is fixed ; the men go a-hunting to provide good cheer, the woman prepares the maize, and lavishes all her art in decking out the cabin of her bridegroom. When the day comes, the elder of the bride's family issues out of his cabin, and conducts her to that of her future spouse. All the family, men and women, follow him in silence, and no immoderate marks of joy appear. Before the bridegroom's cabin are ranged all his relations and parents, who receive the others with rude acclamations of joy. The bride's elder is introduced by the other into the cabin ; after this, the ceremony is very simple. You are here, says the landlord ; yes, answers the guest ; sit thee down, replies the other ; and after a quarter of an hour's silence, they proceed to business. The two elders rise, order the bride and bridegroom to advance toward them ; and then they give them a lecture, worthy even Christians, upon the reciprocal duties of a married state. The bridegroom's father then brings the present he intends to give his son ; and the bride's father does the same by his daughter. The bridegroom then says to his bride, wilt thou take me for thy husband ? Her answer is, " with all my heart ; love me, as well as I love thee, for I love thee, and never will love any other man." Upon this, the bridegroom holds the father's present above the bride's head, saying, " I love thee, and therefore I take thee for my wife, and behold what I give to thy parents to purchase thee." The bridegroom then carries the feather of an aigrette, d a particular fowl, upon the link that depends from his left ear, as a mark of his superiority, with an oaken sprig to it, thereby signifying, that he is not afraid of the woods, or the labours of hunting ; and he takes into his hand a bow and arrows, to mark that he is not afraid of his enemies, and that he shall always be ready to defend his wife and children. The bride holds in her left hand a small branch of laurel, and in her right an ear of maize, which her mother gives her at the time the father receives the present. The laurel signifies, that she shall always keep herself sweet and clean ; and the maize, that she shall take care to prepare and dress her husband's victuals. After this, the bride drops the ear of maize, and the husband joins his right hand to hers, saying, I am thy husband ; and she answers, I am thy wife. The husband then joins hands with all his wife's family, and she does the same with his. He e next shews her his bed, and says, behold our bed, keep it in good order, meaning, that she should not defile it. Those ceremonies being over, the rest of the day is spent in feasting, sports, and dancing. The bounds of this undertaking do not admit our enlarging farther in this place upon the customs of those savages ; and therefore, we must proceed to the history of *British Florida*, which naturally follows that of the *British Louisiana*.

LOUISIANA was formerly reckoned by the *Spaniards* part of *Florida*, which country, since our general account of it, has become the property of *Great Britain* ; and, therefore, having had some fresh materials communicated to us, we cannot, in justice to the publick, omit giving a more particular history of that valuable acquisition ; especially as it will prove of what prodigious consequence the *Spaniards* thought it to their interest in *America* not, indeed, so much on account of its utility to them, as to keep it out of the hands of the *English* and *French*. *Farther account of the British Florida.*

WITHOUT entering into the common topic that has been so much agitated, concerning the first discoverers of *Florida*, of which little is known, (and indeed the whole dispute is now immaterial) we shall take up this history from the year 1512, when, on the 3d of *March*, *John Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniard*, sailed from the island of *Porto Rico* with three ships, and steering northwest, he made land on the 3d of *April* following, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes north. As the insolent *Spaniards* of those days thought themselves sufficiently warranted by the pope's grants for taking possession where-ever they landed in *America*, he went through that ceremony, and named the country where he landed *Florida*, g because he discovered it upon *Easter-Day*, or what the *Spaniards* call the flourishing day of *pascb* (Q). He then, on the 8th of the same month, sailed towards the south, coasting

(Q) That *Florida* was discovered long before this, the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast to see if I could find any gulph that turned, I found the land still continuous

along the shore, but was long before he could discover any of its natives; but at last, seeing some, he ventured to land, and, if we are to credit the *Spanish* accounts, the savages attempted to rob him of his boat, which brought on a skirmish, in which two *Spaniards* were wounded. He afterwards, in going to water, made prisoner one of the natives, who served him as a guide and interpreter, and erected a cross and an inscription upon the banks of a river, which is from thence called *Rio de la Cruz*. All this while, *Ponce* imagined *Florida* to be an island, and, in that persuasion, he returned through the *Lucaya* islands to *Porto Rico*.

and Vasquez.

No farther attempts seem to have been made for eight years by the *Spaniards* to pursue this discovery, or rather they had given over all thoughts of it; and if we are to credit the *French* writers, their *Canadians*, at that time, actually traded with the savages of *Florida*. In the year 1520, *Luke Vasquez* of *Aylon*, with some associates, formed the inhuman project of stealing some natives from the neighbouring islands, to supply the scarcity of hands in working the *Spanish* mines. Fitting out two ships, he sailed, from the harbour of *Plata* in *Hispaniola*, on the north western coast, and came to the *Lucaya* islands, and, from thence, proceeded to that part of *Florida*, now called *St. Helena*, lying in the 32d degree of north latitude. The natives, seeing his ships, as they drew near land with expanded sails, took them for two monstrous fishes driving towards the shore, and ran in crowds to view them; but seeing them land, they were so struck with the cloathing and appearance of the *Spaniards*, that they fled from them with the greatest marks of consternation. Two of them, however, were taken prisoners, and the *Spaniards*, carrying them on board, gave them victuals and drink, and sent them back on shore cloathed in *Spanish* dresses. This insidious kindness had its desired effect with the unsuspecting savages. The king of the country admired the dresses, and the *Spanish* hospitality, so much, that he sent fifty of his subjects to the ships with fruits and provisions; ordered his people to attend the *Spaniards*, whenever they had a mind to visit the country; and made them rich presents of gold, plates of silver, and pearls. The *Spaniards*, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered, and revictualled their ships, and invited a large number of their generous landlords on board, where they plied them with liquor, and most treacherously weighing anchor, they sailed off with them. This villainy, however, had not all the success its perpetrators expected. Most of the unhappy savages either pined themselves to death, or were wrecked in one of the ships that foundered at sea; and only a very few suffered a fate worse than death, that of being carried into *Spanish* slavery. This villainous action obtained to *Vasquez* from his catholic majesty the reward of a discoverer of new lands; and, in 1524, he sent over more ships to *Florida*, and hastened thither himself the next year with three more. No commodity in *America* is so precious as men: *Vasquez* lost two hundred of his, who were landed, and cut off by the natives, and one of his ships was wrecked near *Cape St. Helen*. Those losses, and his perceiving that the advantages arising from his discoveries, which reached no farther than a part of the *English Carolina*, (which both the *French* and *Spaniards* formerly reckoned to belong to *Florida*, as they did *Georgia*,) near the river *Congarec* or *Santee*, made him return to *Hispaniola*, where he broke his heart.

Unsuccessful expedition of Narvez,

THE next adventurer in the discovery of *Florida* was *Pamphilo Narvez*, who obtained from *Charles V.* a grant of all the lands lying from the river *Palms* to the boundaries of *Florida*, a space of territory so indefinite, that it reached as far as the adventurers pleased to extend it on a map. In 1628, he sailed from *Cuba* with four hundred foot, and twenty horse, and arrived at *Florida*, on the 12th of *April*. His anchoring place was so near the land, that he could discover the huts of the savages from his ships, and when he came on shore, finding an utensil made of gold, which the savages, who fled, had left behind them, he concluded that all their other utensils were of the same metal; and, landing his troops, he again took possession of the country for the king of *Spain*. The savages seemed displeased at this ceremony; but such was the innate benevolence of the people, that many of them offered him and his soldiers maize. His business was to get intelligence, and, proceeding up the country, he discovered four wooden boxes containing bodies wrapped up in painted skins, and upon them lay some pieces of stuffs, both linen and woollen, and likewise some gold, which increased his sanguine expectations as to the richness of the country. He ordered his troops to march by land, and his ships to attend him by sea, and the scene of his adventures seems to have lain towards the north coast of the gulph of *Mexico*. On the 1st of *May*, he began his long, painful, and romantic march, against the remonstrances of his treasurer. The fatigues his men underwent were very great; but the few inhabitants they met with were hu-

ment to the fifty-sixth degree under our pole; and, seeing that there the coast turned toward the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land, toward the equinoctial,

(ever with an intent to find the said passage to *India*) and came to that part of this firm land, which is now called *Florida*, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned into *England*.

more

a mane and hospitable. An *Indian* prince, clothed in a stag's hide elegantly painted, and with attendants who blew horns, treated him in his towns with maize and venison.

According to all accounts, the *Floridans* were in *North America* what the *Athenians* were in *Greece*; and it is to be regretted, that the original manners of them, and many other people in *South America*, are now lost by the infection they have received from the *Spaniards* and the *Europeans*. Rude as those nations were, they knew that gold was the great motive of the *Spanish* invasions, and their constant custom was to shift, upon more distant nations, the crime of possessing that mischievous metal. The natives, where *Narvez* landed, pretended they had it from the *Apalaches*, and their report engaged him in that laborious march.

b At last, on the 25th of *June*, he came to the village of *Apalache*, which consisted of no more than forty cottages; but those constructed with all the conveniencies, and furnished with all the comforts, of savage elegancies, all which he plundered, many of the unsuspecting natives flying to their marshes, but their cacique or prince fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. *Narvez* remained at *Apalache* for twenty-five days; but could make no discoveries, excepting those of unfrequented wilds. After a farther journey of nine days southwards, being all the way harrassed, and many of them cut off by the savages, they came to *Aute*, a village lying in a country abounding with corn and necessaries of life. The savages had the spirit to oppose their entering into their town, which brought on a sharp engagement, wherein several *Spaniards* were killed; but *Narvez*, at last, made good his quarters, and became master of

c large quantities of maize, peas, gourds, and other vegetables. Notwithstanding this seasonable relief, his army was in so miserable a condition, and the country round was so unpromising, that he was forced to direct his march towards the sea, his ships being now the only refuge his soldiers could have to save them from perishing. It was with great difficulty they could provide a kind of boats, to cross the rivers they encountered, their ropes were made of horse hair, and their sails of the soldiers shirts, and the savages took advantage of their distress to cut off ten of their people. Their computation was, that from the bay of *Santa Cruz*, where they landed, to their place of embarkation, they marched above eight hundred miles. After they were embarked on the 22d of *September*, they were as miserable as ever,

d being bewildered amongst bays, distressed for want of water, and never landing without being attacked, and many of them cut off, by the *Indians*; who, at last, wounded the governor, and had almost destroyed the whole army. His treasurer, *Cabeza de Vaca*, was amongst the number of those unfortunate adventurers, and, being almost the only one amongst them who escaped, it is to him we owe the history of this expedition. In their wanderings, they met with a nation of an unusual size, whose kings wore marten's skins; and, when the *Spaniards* were reduced to as much misery as human nature could suffer, as many of them as could land, who were but a very few, were hospitably relieved by the natives. The rest were obliged to devour one another, and of fourcore, fifteen only remained alive; and four of them, of whom *Cabeza de Vaca* was one, after enduring inexpressible miseries, arrived at *Mexico*; but *Narvez* himself never was heard of afterwards.

Who perished with almost all his men.

e NOTWITHSTANDING the unfortunate events attending the above three expeditions to *Florida*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, who was governor of *Cuba*, received from *Charles V.* the title of marquis of *Florida*, or more properly of the lands he should conquer there. He was, like the other *Spanish* adventurers, brave, enterprising, intrepid, and persevering, from no principle but that of avarice, and, on the 12th of *May*, 1539, he embarked, on board nine ships, three hundred and fifty horse, and nine hundred foot. This was the most formidable armament of *Europeans* that, till then, had appeared in *North America*; for his number of sailors was proportionable, and he carried with him all kinds of necessaries. On the 25th of the same month, he came to an anchor in the bay of *Spiritu Santo*, and there disembarked, while the natives, on the first sight they had of his ships, gave alarms by fires all over the country.

Expedition of Soto.

f *Mocoso*, who seems to have been the first in command under *Soto*, drew up the army, and without resistance took possession of a small village, where was a temple, and an idol, and which served as a lodgement; and here the army was cantoned; but we do not find that any of the natives remained in their village, for the *Spaniards* met with an irreparable loss by two *Floridan* interpreters running away from them; and the country round was so marshy, that they could, at first, lay hold of none of the natives. *Soto's* soldiers, at last, took four of them; but they were rescued by their countrymen, (who proved to be an ingenious, brave, vigorous people,) falling off at first from the attack, that they might renew it with double force; so that they drove the *Spanish* detachment back to their head-quarters. Another detachment attacked ten or twelve *Indians*, amongst whom was *John Ortiz*, a noble *Spaniard*, who could not be distinguished from a native, and who, having served under *Narvez*, had been taken prisoner, but had his life spared by the *Floridans*. He surrendered himself to his countrymen, and persuaded the *Indians* to go along with the detachment to the *Spanish* camp,

Wonderful ad-
venture of a
Spaniard.

where they were received with vast exultation. *Ortiz*, it seems, owed his life to the interposition of a lady, daughter of the chief by whom he was taken. Humanity alone was the lady's motive, without any amorous inclination; for she advised *Ortiz* to fly to a neighbouring chief, who she knew would receive him favourably, and she shewed him, in person, part of his way. *Mocoso*, (for that was the name of the chief,) received him kindly, and promised to protect him, and, with great nobleness of soul, no sooner heard of the landing of the *Spaniards*, than he counselled *Ortiz*, who had lived his subject for twelve years, to join his countrymen, and gave him, for that purpose, the escorte which the *Spaniards* carried to their camp. *Ortiz*, being equipped as a *Spanish* officer of horse, informed *Soto* that at the distance of thirty leagues lay a plentiful country, governed by one *Paracoxi*, the most powerful prince in the neighbourhood. Soon after *Mocoso* paid a friendly visit to the *Spanish* general, who made him a few presents, and dismissed him; after which *Soto* dispatched *Balthazar de Gallegos* to reconnoitre the country of *Paracoxi* with about thirty men: that chief hearing of the *Spaniards* approach, left his capital, but sent a deputation to know what they demanded, and whether he could be of service to them; but he, at the same time, on pretence of an indisposition, declined paying the *Spaniards* a visit. *Gallegos* demanded of the messenger, whether any country thereabouts produced gold and silver, and they directed them to a province called *Cale*; upon which *Gallegos* put them in irons, that they might be useful in the march of the army to *Cale*, where it indeed arrived, but found the town deserted. The army, at this time, was on the point of being famished, but were refreshed by the maize they found at *Cale*, the only commodity it produced. The natives they found there, like their countrymen, willing to get rid of their rapacious guests, directed the general to another plentiful province, called *Palache*, to which he marched against the advice of all his officers, carrying along with him prisoner the cacique of *Caliquien*, a province through which he passed. The *Indians* several times applied with great humility for the deliverance of their chief; but that being denied them, *Ortiz*, who understood their language perfectly well, learned from a native that the cacique's subjects and friends had assembled, to the number of four hundred men, in a neighbouring wood, to deliver him by force. Notwithstanding this, they very politely sent two messengers to intercede with the general for their cacique's deliverance; but knowing where the main body was posted, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon them, which they accordingly did, and put forty of them to the sword, while the rest leaping into the water, were surrounded by the *Spanish* horse in such a manner, that all of them but twelve, who resolved to die rather than become slaves, surrendered themselves. Their slavery was so dreadful, that they rose upon the *Spaniards*, and, though only armed with clubs, killed many of them; but, at last, they were subdued, and numbers of them were bound to stakes, and shot by the *Paracoxi Indians*, many of whom had attended the *Spanish* camp. *Soto*, after this, pursued his march to *Palache*, through various places and provinces, the names of which are now lost; all the way chaining together the miserable natives who fell into his hands, and forcing them to carry the baggage of his soldiers. Upon his arrival at *Palache*, he quartered his army round the residence of that cacique, and it was plentifully supplied with maize, beans, cucumbers, and a kind of plumbs, more delicious than any to be found in *Europe*, but which grow there without cultivation. *Palache* lies within ten leagues of the sea, and from thence *Soto* sent out one of his officers, *Ma'donado*, to reconnoitre, and to try whether he could discover any country producing gold, or a good harbour. *Maldonado* discovered an excellent harbour, and was sent by the general to the *Havannah* to procure a supply of arms and tools. A young *Indian* prisoner was soon after brought before *Soto*, who gave him an account, that far off towards the east, lay a province, called *Yupaba*, which produced abundance of gold; and he described the manner of melting and refining it with so much accuracy, that the *Spaniards* thought it impossible they could be imposed upon, and leaving *Palache*, they began a most arduous, difficult, and dangerous march, in which most of their *Indian* prisoners perished through fatigue, to *Yupaba*. The first place they arrived at was *Capachiqui*, from whence they proceeded to *Toalli*, where they found the natives living in a convenient, comfortable, manner, far beyond all the *Floridans* they had seen. The next town they came to was *Achese*, where *Soto* impudently pretended to the cacique, who hospitably came to visit him, that he was the son of the sun, and set at liberty all the cacique's subjects, whom he had taken prisoners. On the 24th of *April*, the army arrived at *Altaraca*, and from thence at *Ocuté*, where the cacique sent 2000 men with presents to the general, and gave him four hundred of his subjects for service. The *Spaniards* next came to *Cofaqui*, and then to *Patofa*; the country all the way for fifty miles presenting a most beautiful appearance. The *Patofans* said they knew of no such country as *Yupaba*; but *Soto* still pursued his march to the eastward, though the *Patofans* directed him to a fertile province, lying to the north west. The march proved so tedious, that the general threatened to throw the young *Indian* who had deceived him to the dogs; but he was saved by the interposition of *Ortiz*. *Soto*, in vain, sent out parties to make discoveries and his army

Soto marches
to *Palache*,

Altaraca,
Ocuté,

a army must have perished for want of provisions, had it not been for some swine, which he had brought to *Florida*, and carried along with him, and had multiplied extremely. At last, *Danbusco*, one of his officers, who had been sent out on a reconnoitring party, returned with an account of his having discovered a town, at the distance of about thirty-six miles, which revived the spirits of the army; but they were obliged to dismiss the *Patofans*, who had served the *Spaniards* with great fidelity and affection. On the 26th of *April* the general took possession of this town, and understood that near it lay another nation, called *Catifachiqui*, *A female cacique.* which was governed by a woman. The general sent his compliments to that princess, who returned hers by her sister; and soon after she appeared herself in a canoe, attended by many others, with all the state of her country. She was received by *Soto*, and made him a present of a pearl necklace, the pearls of an uncommon size; and while he remained in her dominions, she furnished him with provisions of fowls. Her country was pleasant, and her people more civilized than any *Soto* had met with in *Florida*, wearing cloaths and drawers. Here the *Spaniards* found a very advantageous port for the ships from *New Spain*, *Peru*, *St. Martha*, and the main; and most of them wanted to settle there; but gold being the sole view of the general, he rejected all their applications, and pretending that *Maldonado* was to wait for them at *Ochuse*, he prepared to set out for *Catifachiqui*.

In the mean while, the *Spaniards* had behaved with such rudeness and barbarity to the attendants of the female cacique, that she had formed a design of escaping from them, but was most infamously put under arrest by *Soto*, notwithstanding the generous manner in which she received him, and obliged to attend his army on foot as a prisoner for seven days of a wretched march through a desert country, until they came to *Chalagne*. The princess thus basely betrayed into slavery, discovered no sign of reluctance or discontent; but ordered her subjects to carry the *Spanish* baggage, and dissembled so well, that on their march to *Xualla*, she found means to escape, carrying off with her a casket of very valuable pearls. This elopement was a vast mortification and disappointment to *Soto*, who intended to have kept her as a pledge for the fidelity of the extended dominions she possessed, many of the neighbouring caciques being her tributaries. Five days after, the *Spaniards* arrived at *Quaxalla*, from whence *Soto* sent a messenger to the cacique of *Chiaba*, desiring him to provide maize for his army, as he intended to reside for some days in his dominions. The country from *Catifachiqui* was so beautiful and so fertile, that it naturally produced fruit, as fine as any to be found in the best *European* gardens. After five days march, the army approached near *Chiaba*, *to Chiaba.* where the governor met with a most hospitable reception from the cacique; and the *Spaniards* here found lard made of bear's fat, and likewise honey, the first they had seen in *Florida*. This country presented them with the face of tranquillity; the people were generous and peaceable; and the soil so fertile, that the *Spanish* horses soon grew fat in grazing on the neighbouring meadows. In short, the situation of the *Spaniards* here, after the vast fatigue they had undergone, was so enchanting, that *Soto* made it the place of his army's residence for thirty days. *Soto* then demanded of the cacique thirty of his subjects to carry his baggage, which, with a great deal of difficulty on the part of the cacique as well as the people, was complied with, those princes being obliged on such occasions to consult their

SOTO's ravenous appetite for gold and silver still prevailed, and the cacique of *Acoste*, who came to pay him his compliments, informed him, that the province of *Chisca*, towards the north, produced copper, with other metals of a more lively appearance. This information was sufficient to add wings to the general's expedition, and, on the 12th of *July*, he arrived at *Acoste*, which he entered attended only by eight of his guards. He was received with great hospitality by the cacique; but others of his rapacious soldiers beginning to ransack and plunder the town, the *Indians* fell upon them, and the general's person being in the hands of the savages, he must have lost his life, had he not, with great presence of mind, joined them in beating his plundering soldiers. This reconciled the cacique and his people so much to him, that he found means to draw the cacique and some of his principal attendants to his camp, where he put them all under arrest; and declared that they should not regain their liberty, till they furnished guides for his soldiers, and till two messengers he had dispatched to *Chisca* were returned in safety, which they did next day. They reported, that the ways were so impracticable, and the country so barren, that they could not reach *Chisca*; and the cacique furnishing the guides that were required from him, he was set at liberty, while the *Spaniards* marched to *Tali*. Here, as usual, they met with a generous reception from the cacique, who furnished them with some of his subjects to carry their baggage, and, on the 16th of *July*, they arrived at *Cosa*. The cacique there met them in great state, before they entered the town. He was clothed in a robe of marten's skins; he wore on his head a feather diadem; and the litter on which he sat was carried on the shoulders of his nobles; his other subjects playing round it with instruments of music. The reception the *Spaniards* met with

His reception
by the cacique
of Cofa.

with in this delightful country, which was well peopled, well cultivated, and abounded with all the beauties of nature, was the most hospitable that can be conceived; for the inhabitants resigned even their own houses for the accommodation of the *Spaniards*. But when *Soto*, as he had always done to the others, put their cacique under arrest, the inhabitants fled to the woods, from whence they could not be drawn, but by the entreaties of the cacique himself, to carry the baggage of the *Spaniards*.

On the 20th of *August*, *Soto* continued his march to *Tallimachuse*, and from thence to *Itava*. He then reached *Ulliballi*, and marching leisurely through the cultivated spots, but hastily through the deserts, he reached *T'oass*, and five days after *Tallise*, a large town lying in the midst of a well cultivated country; and here he dismissed the cacique of *Cofa*, whom, till then, he had most ungratefully and ungenerously detained in captivity. From thence he marched to *Tascaluca*, the residence of a powerful warlike prince, who reigned over well cultivated and populous countries. This cacique received *Soto* sitting in a balcony, and with great state; and the *Spaniard* seating himself by him, whispered to him, that he was his prisoner, and must go along with him. Two days after, *Soto* continued his march to *Piaché*, and a *Spaniard* being missing, he gave the cacique of *Tascaluca* to understand, that if he expected his liberty, the *Spaniard* must be produced. The savage, with great quickness, under pretence of giving the necessary orders for that, and for provisions for the army, on the 18th of *October*, dispatched messengers to *Marville*, a large town of which the cacique was his tributary, to inform him of his condition, and to gather as great a force as he could for his deliverance. *Soto* had some intimation of what was intended, but obstinately entered the town, and the cacique of *Tascaluca* fairly apprized him of his danger, and endeavoured to persuade him to march no farther, and to leave him at his liberty. *Soto* continued deaf to all his remonstrances; upon which the cacique made his escape to his friend and subjects, and put the haughty *Spaniards* to defiance, nor would he deign afterwards to have the least intercourse with them.

He is in danger
of being cut off.

SOTO would gladly have compounded with the prince, whom he had but an hour before held greatly in contempt, and offered to let him remain at liberty, if he would give him a guide, and a few of his subjects to carry his baggage. This offer was rejected by the generous cacique with silent indignation; and one of his chief subjects, who refused to carry a second message on the same head, being wounded by an insolent *Spaniard*, the natives ran to arms, drove *Soto* wounded out of their town, killed five of his attendants, and made prize of all his valuable baggage, with a number of arms. *Soto*, regaining his camp, charged the savages at the head of his cavalry, and drove them behind the pallisade, and then, bringing all his army up, he attempted to storm the town. The savages, foreseeing their fate, had sent off their cacique, with the most valuable baggage they had taken from the *Spaniards*, to a place of safety, and had they been equally armed with the *Spaniards*, would have defeated them; but being in a manner naked, the *Spaniards* forced their way into their town with the slaughter of 2500 *Indians*, who bravely fell with their arms in their hands.

Soto arrives
at Chicoca.

This unmanly advantage was far from recompensing the avaricious *Spaniards* for their loss. The *Indians* had carried off all that they had gained by their long, toilsome, and expensive expedition; and *Soto*, who was upon his march to *Ochuse*, where *Maldonado* was waiting for him at the distance of seven days journey, ordered that the late action should not be mentioned in the army, the soldiers being ignorant of the vast loss he had sustained; and he still trusting to the expected land of gold and silver, which was to make up for all miscarriages and losses. On the 18th of *November*, he resumed his march, and after various adventures, he arrived at *Chicocha* the 18th of *December*, where he resolved to winter. The country being fine and fertile, the cacique of it was invited by *Soto* to visit him, which he did, together with two other chiefs, who made him presents of what the country afforded. At last, *Soto* and the cacique of *Chicocha* grew so intimate, that the former lent the latter a part of his troops to reduce some of his rebel subjects; but in this expedition the *Spaniards* had no opportunity to shew their valour, as the rebels fled upon the approach of their cacique. While the *Spaniards* wintered here, they behaved so little to the satisfaction of the natives, that in *March*, when *Soto* was about to move his army, he could not obtain from the cacique, who pretended that he must consult his great men, any *Indians* for his service. At last, the natives rose upon the *Spaniards*, and attacked them in the night-time, all at once setting fire to the town, where they were cantoned, and killing the *Spaniards* as soon as they set foot out of their tents or cottages. It is possible, that the whole body of the *Spaniards* might have been destroyed, had not the savages set fire to the town, and the *Spanish* horses breaking loose, they imagined that the riders were forming to attack them; upon which they retired after burning the town, and all the effects, which the *Spaniards* had in it. Twelve *Spaniards* were killed, many were wounded or scorched by the flames; but fifty horses were burnt, together with four hundred pigs, an animal which the *Spaniards* had imported into *Florida*, where it

His army at-
tacked by the
Indians.

a thrived prodigiously, and the *Indians* were so fond of its flesh, that many quarrels happened on that account between them and the *Spaniards*. The latter had now no shelter against the vast inclemency of the weather, till a soldier invented a robe, woven of dry grass, which, though ridiculous at first, was soon imitated by all the army, to whom it proved a comfortable cloathing. Had the *Indians* attacked them in this distress, they might have been ruined; but they delayed giving them any molestation till the 15th of *March*, when the *Spaniards* were so well provided to receive them, that they were repulsed with the loss of forty men.

SOTO then pursued his march; but was opposed by the *Indians*, who had entrenched themselves behind a pallisade, and for some time fought them very bravely, till being obliged by the *Spanish* fire-arms to retire, they threw themselves into a river, which they crossed; the *Spaniards* not daring to pursue them. Quizquiz was seven days march from *Atimama*, where the late encounter happened, through most dreadful roads, the fatigue of which the *Spaniards*, however, surmounted, and, surprizing the place, they made the cacique's mother a prisoner. Soto intended to keep her as a pledge for her son's friendship, but offered to set her at liberty, provided the cacique would come to his camp. The savage refused to trust him, till his mother and all the other prisoners were delivered up, which Soto, whose army was upon the point of perishing, was obliged to comply with. All that this compliance gained him, was liberty to proceed unmolested to *Rio Grande*. Here he found a station that afforded maize, and wood for building boats, and he was visited in vast state by the cacique of the place, who was very powerful, and attended by two hundred canoes. After some conferences together, the cacique made a seasonable present of fish, and a sort of cakes, made of plumb paste; but he could not be persuaded to land, and it was thought he would have attacked the *Spaniards*, had he found them off their guard. The *Spaniards* then crossed the river, which was the largest in *Florida*, but were all the while exposed to excessive showers of arrows from the savages. After painfully traversing the province of *Quixo*, they marched to that of *Pacaba*, and from thence to that of *Casqui*. The cacique of this country being at war with him of *Pacaba*, through whose territories Soto's march lay, entertained him and his attendants very plentifully, and they were received through all the province with great joy. Before Soto, who had always called himself the son of the *Sun*, resumed his march, the cacique brought him two blind men to be cured, as a proof of his divine extraction, which put Soto to some confusion, and he was obliged to refer his patients to *Jesus Christ*. Soto and his army passed the river here upon a bridge most ingeniously constructed by the savages, and falling into the province of *Pacaba*, he was followed by the cacique of *Casqui*, and his army. The cacique of *Pacaba*, at first, stood upon the defensive in a little island, from whence being driven, a considerable booty fell into the hands of the *Casquians*, who, finding that the *Spaniards* were strongly inclined to claim it, separated from their army; and this obliged Soto to take the *Pacaban* cacique into his friendship, and, at last, to reconcile the two chiefs together. He remained forty days in this station; but not being able to discover any road from that to *Chisca*, the fancied land of gold and silver, he returned back to *Casqui*, and, on the 4th of *August*, arrived at *Quigate*, the largest town the *Spaniards* had seen in *Florida*. Great part of it was burnt by way of precaution by Soto, and its cacique being made prisoner, he was by him directed to the province of *Coligoa*, to which they marched through a road so very marshy, that they were sometimes obliged to sleep in the water. After travelling about forty leagues in this uncomfortable manner, they proceeded to *Paliseme*, and from thence to *Tafalicoya*, where the cacique furnished them with a guide to *Cayas*, where the army remained a whole month. Here the natives manufactured salt, a commodity which the *Spaniards* had not before seen in *Florida*, and the soil fattened their horses to an amazing degree. Soto, as usual, made the cacique his prisoner, and he offered him a guide to *Tulla*, which lay a day and a half's journey to the southward; but he having been long at war with that people, no interpreter could be procured.

He penetrates into Casqui and Pacaba.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Soto set out with a party of horse and foot; but was soon obliged to return, the natives having fallen upon the army he had left. The people of *Tulla* at first made resistance, but Soto cut off the right hands and noses of six of them, and sent them in that condition to their cacique, threatening that unless he submitted, he would treat himself and all his subjects in the same manner. This menace had the desired effect; and, amongst other presents made to the *Spaniards* by the natives, were a great many cow skins covered with wool, as soft as that of sheep, which in that cold country was of infinite service to them. Soto had likewise here the good fortune to meet with an interpreter; and it is said that some of the marshes through which he passed were so full of fish, that his soldiers could take them up with their hands. Upon enquiry, he found that he was within eighty leagues of *Autiamque*; which, by the description he had of its being a plentiful populous country, and situated near a great lake, which he thought might be an arm of the sea, he resolved to make his winter quarters, especially as it might open him a communication with *Cuba*. This was the more necessary, as he

had now lost above two hundred and fifty of his army, whom he expected to be recruited a from *Cuba*. In his route to *Autiamqué* he marched through the towns of *Anacuxi* and *Catamaya*. When he arrived at *Autiamqué* he pitched his camp at a distance from the houses, and fortified it with a wooden pallisade. The cacique sent him presents, but would not go near him in person; and perceiving from *Soto's* evasive manner, that he intended to remain for some time in his country, he would gladly have forced him away; but *Soto* kept his people so alert, that his camp was not to be surprized, and the *Indians* could not attack him in any other manner. While he lay here, his army had great plenty of provisions, and particularly of fine large rabbits.

1542.
His army reduced to three hundred men and forty horses.

Defeat by the Indians,

His death,

Succeeded by Moscoso.

Who is forced to return to Nilco.

ON the 6th of *March* 1542, *Soto* marched from *Autiamqué* with his army, which was now reduced to three hundred men, and forty horses, several of them lame; amongst others, b *John Ortiz* died at *Autiamqué*, to the inexpressible loss of *Soto*; whose design was to march to *Nilco*, from whence he hoped to have a passage to the sea. After a march, in which his army was obliged sometimes to swim, so marshy was the country, he arrived at *Tutelpina*, and three days after at *Tianto*, in the province of *Nilco*, which, excepting *Palache* and *Cosa*, appeared to be the most fertile and best peopled of any they had seen in *Florida*. After various difficulties and adventures he came to *Guachoya*, whose cacique being at war with him of *Nilco*, offered to serve him with his forces; but finding *Soto* determined to visit *Guachoya*, he fled with all his people to the opposite banks of the great river. The *Spaniards* reached *Guachoya*, where *Soto* was accosted with apologies from the cacique, and upon farther enquiry c was directed to the dominions of one *Quigaltan*, which lay three days journey down the river on the opposite shore. The difficulties which occurred to the scouting parties, who were sent out to know whether *Quigaltan's* country lay near the sea, were so great, that the vexation they occasioned threw *Soto* into a fever. Notwithstanding this, such was his pride and arrogance, that he sent to the cacique of *Quigaltan* to pay him the usual homage and submissions, which he had received from the caciques, and demanding he should do it in person. The cacique returned to this summons an answer full of scorn and indignation, putting the *Spaniards* at defiance; nay, making even preparations to attack him. This exasperated *Soto* so much, that he sent a detachment, which, in conjunction with the natives of *Guachoya*, committed a most horrible and unprovoked massacre upon the inhabitants of *Nilco*, who were now returned to their habitations. *Soto* was now confined to his death-bed, and piously d poured out his soul in acknowledgments to God for having enabled him to shed such torrents of innocent blood, and carry on so many wars against savages, and in exhorting his followers to tread in his most Christian footsteps; for which purpose he advised them to name his successor. This they modestly declined; and the nomination being left to himself, he pitched upon his lieutenant-general, *Lewis Moscoso d'Alvarado*, to whom the *Spaniards* immediately swore obedience.

MOSCOSO took great care to conceal *Soto's* death from the savages, whom he endeavoured to persuade that he was immortal, and only gone to heaven for a short time; a journey which he had often performed; but they suspected the truth, and the cacique of *Guachoya* sent *Moscoso* two very handsome young *Indians* to accompany *Soto* to the other e world. *Moscoso* gave orders that they should be sent back; but one of them never would part with him, because he thereby saved his life. *Moscoso* then deliberated about the course they were to pursue, whether to make the best of their way by land to the *Spanish* settlements, or endeavour to reach *Cuba* by sea: the former was resolved on, and on the 5th of *June* the *Spaniards* quitted *Guachoya*, and after six days march through a desert, reached *Chaguata*, in which province they remained for two days. On the 4th of *July* they arrived at *Agutay*, from whence they proceeded to the province of *Maye*, and thence to *Naguata*. Here they were bravely attacked by the savages; but hunger and despair rendering them invincible, they forced their passage cross a river, where the cacique's habitation lay, and entered a most plentiful country. Here the cacique made his submission, throwing the blame of all that f had happened upon his brother, who had been killed by the *Spaniards* in the attack made upon them, and he was taken into particular favour by *Moscoso*. The swelling of rivers, though no rain had fallen, detained *Moscoso* for eight days in this province; but in three days more he reached *Missobane*, and *Lacané*, both of them lying in the midst of wild deserts. He then came to *Mondaca*; from thence he marched to *Soacatino*, and then through the province of *Aays*, where the *Spaniards* were dreadfully harried by the natives, and after sustaining incredible fatigues they reached *Nagiscola*.

IN this situation of the *Spaniards* we are to consider them in the light of out-casts and wanderers upon the face of the earth. Surrounded as they were by wilds and deserts, they had no object on which they could exercise their courage, nor could they exert any virtue but g patience. After consultation they resolved to return to *Nilco*, that they might get from thence a passage to *Cuba*. While they were on their march back, they were most agreeably surprized to see that the industry and activity of the savages had repaired all the horrible ravages

a vages which they themselves had committed in their marches. The town of *Aguaque*, which they had destroyed, was rebuilt, and the natives were employed in a manufacture of earthen dishes, resembling those of *Spain* and *Holland*. Upon their arrival at *Nilo*, where they were to provide ships, they met with a very different appearance of things; the inhabitants having not recovered the consternation into which the *Spaniards* had thrown them, and their country was void of all the means of subsistence. Their enmity with a neighbouring people, those of *Minoya*, saved the *Spaniards* when they were on the point of perishing, by directing them against the *Minoyans*, in whose country they found prodigious quantities of maize, and wood very fit for ship building. Through incredible industry and application, seven brigantines were built, and upon the sudden swelling of the waters at the

b encrease of the moon, they were set on float. On the 2d of *July*, 1543, the *Spaniards* embarked, and sailing down the river amidst clouds of *Indian* arrows, which poured on every side, and which killed a great many of their men, after a most uncomfortable passage of fifty-two days, the thin remains of them arrived at *Panico*, on the continent of *Mexico*, on the 10th of *September* 1543 (R). Thus ended the expedition of *Ferdinand de Soto* and *Mesoso* in ruin and poverty to all who were concerned in it; nor did they leave a *Spaniard* in all *Florida*.

THIS last circumstance suggested to the famous admiral *Coligny* the idea of transplanting to *Florida* a colony of *French* protestants, and he had the permission of *Charles IX.* for that purpose; that prince being anxious to get rid of his huguenots at any rate. As *Coligny* had the entire direction of this new project, he committed the execution of it to one *Ribaut*, a native of *Dieppe*, an experienced sailor and a zealous huguenot. On the 18th of *February*, 1562, he sailed from *Dieppe* with two ships well equipped, and well manned; the crews consisting of prime sailors, with a body of land forces, amongst whom were several gentlemen volunteers. To the first land which he discovered, which was woody, though low, he gave the name of *Cape Francois*. He then turned to the right, and discovered the river of *Dauphin*, without entering it; after which he sailed to the river of *May*, so called from his entering it the first of that month. Here he was welcomed by great numbers of the savages, and he erected a kind of stone column, on which the arms of *France* were engraved. This idle ceremony of possession being over, *Ribaut* visited the cacique of the savages he was amongst, and made him some presents. After this, he arrived at the

d river *Jourdain*, which we have already mentioned to have been discovered by *Vasquez*, and coasted, still keeping sight of the land, all along the shore of what is now the *English Carolina*, and which the *French* affect to comprehend in their *Florida*, tho' the province of *Georgia* interposes between *Carolina* and *Spanish Florida*. *Ribaut*, as he proceeded, gave *French* names to all the rivers he met with; but sometimes mistook bays for the mouths of rivers. Arriving at that of *St. Croix*, which he mistook for *Jourdain*, he built a fort which he called *Charles fort*. Its situation was in the midst of a most delightful country, the neighbouring rivers abounding with fish, and the savages extremely compliable; but he could not prevail with one of them to follow him to *France*, where he intended to present them to his court, and his patron, the admiral.

e *RIBAUT*, having made a settlement round his new-built fort, left one of his officers, *Albert*, to command it, and he himself returned to *Dieppe*, where he arrived on the 20th of *July*. During his absence, *Albert*, according to orders, made excursions, that he might extend his discoveries further up the country, during which he visited several paraousties or chiefs, for so they are there termed. Here one of them, *Andusta*, admitted him to be spectator, but secretly, of one of their festivals in favour of a divinity they called *Toya*, which began in the funeral, but ended in the bacchanalian, manner. *Albert* fell into the common fault of all adventurers. Instead of sowing grounds, and rearing stock for the subsistence of the colony, he roved about the country in quest of gold and silver mines. In a short time his provisions failed him; after that his powder and ball, and, at last, the season for fishing

f passed over; nor could his infant colony be any longer supplied by the savages; as an accidental fire consumed the small remains of maize that was left him. The truth is, this captain *Albert* was a downright tyrant over his people, whose patience was at last worn out, and they cut his throat. They chose for his successor one *Barre*, who was a prudent, moderate man; but *Ribaut* not returning according to his promise, the colony precariously depended upon the savages for subsistence, till they came to have nothing before their eyes but death by famine. In this extremity of distress, though there was scarce an artizan or a sailor

Adventures of Ribaut.

It leaves a French Huguenot colony in Florida.

Who murder their governor.

(R) The above relation of *Soto's* expeditions, or rather mad adventures in *Florida*, is taken from the famous *Yuca Garcilasso de la Vega*, printed at *Lisbon*, in 1605. Though his authority has been always deemed unquestionable, yet *Charlevoix* has accused him of exaggerating the power and riches of the *Floridans*; but we cannot see with what propriety. It is certain from the relations of the *French* themselves, that the inhabitants of *Flo-*

rida are strong, ingenious, active and brave; if they are otherwise at present, it is owing to the harrassments of the *Spaniards* and the *French*; but the nature of the soil is still the same, and the mildness and benevolence of a *British* administration may soon restore the present *Floridans* to all the virtues of their ancestors, and render them excellent subjects.

amongst them, they made shift to build and rig out a vessel by an effort of industry, the half a of which, if exerted in cultivating their lands, would have enabled them to have lived comfortably. Putting to sea, they were soon destitute of all the means of subsistence, their provisions and fresh water entirely failing them. At last, their ill constructed vessel being every moment in danger of foundering, they prepared to draw lots who should be killed for the benefit of the survivors. A soldier, one *Lachau*, who had been basely treated by *Albert*, offered to be the victim; upon which, he was immediately butchered and devoured. Soon after this tragedy was acted, just as they were upon the point of repeating it, they were taken up by an *English* ship, on board of which was a *Frenchman*, who told them that the civil wars of *France* had prevented their being relived.

1564. WHEN *Charles IX.* and *Coligny* were, to appearance, reconciled, that admiral strongly solicited reinforcements for his colony; and he obtained three ships well manned and victualled for succouring *Charles* fort, under the command of one *René de Laudonniere*, a good officer, who had before served in that country under *Ribaut*. He carried along with him a number of soldiers, amongst whom were incorporated several gentlemen volunteers, who served at their own expence with a body of excellent artizans, and every man amongst them protestants. The king furnished *Laudonniere* with 50,000 crowns ready money; but *de Morgues*, who served in the same expedition, makes them amount to 100,000 (S). *Laudonniere* sailed with his three ships from *Havre de Grace* the 22d of *April*, 1564, and on the 22d of *June* he arrived at *Florida*, where he landed, and where he was almost worshipped by one of the *Floridan* princes, by the *French* writers named *Paraousti Saturiova* (T). This chief was excessively fond of the *French*, and brought to *Laudonniere* his two sons; the eldest of whom was a most amiable prince^p. At the same time he instructed him in the state of the country, of his friends, his enemies, and of every thing he had either to hope or fear. Without regarding *Charles* fort he made his residence on the banks of the river *May*, and engaged the *Paraousti* to make a sort of an excursion with him up that river, that he might become entirely acquainted with the adjacent lands. When he had proceeded a little way up the stream, he ordered his tent to be pitched, and sent two of his officers, *Ottigny* and *d'Erlac*, to make discoveries higher up. In their journey they met with savages, who were entirely independent of *Saturiova*, and who, recovering from the fright into which the sight of the *French* had at first thrown them, brought them to a *Paraousti*, said to be two hundred and fifty years of age, and had that appearance, though his son did not appear to be above sixty. The two officers having had an interview with this aged prince, returned to the place where they had left *Laudonniere*. As the finding mines of gold and silver was the great motive that brought the colonists to *America*, they applied themselves entirely to that discovery, without minding the culture of the lands, which were there very fertile and inviting. *Laudonniere* assisted them in their madness, and became the dupe of the savage *Saturiova*. He demanded of that chief, how he came by a piece of silver he had presented to him. The sagacious *American* answered him, that his own country afforded no such metal; but that it was the product of a distant land, whose *Paraousti's* name was *Timagoa*, and who was his mortal enemy. *Laudonniere* offered to assist him in subduing this enemy; and the *Paraousti* assuring him that *Timagoa's* country afforded abundance of mines, the bargain was struck.

An aged Paraousti.

A settlement made and fort Caroline built.

LAUDONNIERE either repented his having promised to engage in a war that might prove ruinous to an infant colony, or willing to find out the mines without the assistance of the savages, decamped, and without taking *Saturiova* along with him, sailed up another river, where he met with the *Paraousti* of the province, his wife, and four well-made women, his daughters, and was hospitably entertained by him. Amongst other presents the *Paraousti* made him, was one of a small silver bullet. This confirmed *Laudonniere* in his opinion, that the neighbourhood was full of mines; and assembling his people, it was unanimously agreed to settle near the mouth of the *May*, as being the shortest passage to the country of the mines, and next day their little squadron was ordered to repair to the mouth of that river; and, about two miles within land, fort *Carolina* was built. It was of a triangular form, its strength and situation advantageous enough against any party of the savages, but the place where it was built was sometimes subject to hurricanes. According to *Laudonniere's* relation, *Saturiova* was so well pleased with the company of the *French*, that he ordered his people to assist in building the fort. Other relations say, with greater probability, that all the friendship he shewed the *French* proceeded entirely from his fears, and that he could not bear the

^p Vide THEVET, page 663.

(S) The history of the two voyages made to *Florida* was written by *Laudonniere* himself, and is of better note than that wrote by *de Morgues*, which is printed in the first volume of *India Occidentalis*.

(T) This *Saturiova's* life is the last in the *Vies des hommes illustres* of *Thevet*, who calls him *Saturiona*. *Thevet* was himself in that country about the time we are treating of, and therefore deserves some credit.

thoughts

- a thoughts of their making a settlement upon his territory. His dissimulation went so far, that he not only furnished the *French* with abundance of provisions of every kind, but his subjects made them presents of gold, silver, and pearls, which *Laudonniere* ordered, under pain of death, should be deposited into one common stock.

- As soon as fort *Caroline* was finished, *Laudonniere* dispatched one of his vessels to *Florida* for recruits to his colony, and sent *Ottigny* to improve his discoveries about the country of *Timagoa*, and particularly to learn where the mines lay. *Ottigny* was indefatigable in his researches; and one of his soldiers, whom he had sent out upon distant discoveries, actually brought him some pounds of silver; but, in fact, the *French* were outwitted by the savages. Nothing precise could be learned from them; nor did the natives so much as agree amongst themselves concerning the places where the mines lay, though all of them pretended they were very distant, that they might remove the *French* farther off. Sometimes they said that towards the *Apalachean* mountains there was found yellow iron, which the settlers immediately concluded to be gold, but, in reality, it was only copper, though bits of gold were sometimes found washed down the banks of the rivers by torrents. In short, those savages behaved so artfully, that they soon stripped the *French* of most of their merchandizes, and paid them only in promises. Amongst the nations thro' which *Ottigny* passed, many ridiculous ceremonies prevailed; and he observed that every chief bore the name of his province. By this time *Saturiova* put *Laudonniere* in remembrance of his promise to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies, and asked him whether he was ready to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake against *Timagoa*. *Laudonniere* answered him, that he had not forgot his promise, but that his presence was still necessary amongst the *French*; and that he had not made provision for so long an expedition; nor could he be ready to set out in less than two moons. This evasion was very disagreeable to *Saturiova*, whose army was assembled to the number of 500 men; but at that time he shewed no resentment. Before he set out, he performed a kind of baptismal ceremony amongst his followers, whom he sprinkled with water, and he himself continued for some time under strong agitations in prayer for victory over his enemies.

Laudonniere
urged by *Saturiova*.

- Those indispensable ceremonies being over, the army began its march, and in two days time reached the borders of *Timagoa's* dominions. Here a council was held, and it was resolved that the army should separate, one half to proceed by land, and the other by water, towards the town which they were to attack; and matters were ordered so well, that both divisions arrived at the same instant. All who ventured to oppose them were put to the sword, and *Saturiova* returned with about twenty-four prisoners, women and children; thirteen of whom fell to his own share. The day after his return home, *Laudonniere* sent his compliments to him upon his victory, and to beg him to send him two of his prisoners. *Laudonniere's* intention in this demand was to have made a friend of *Timagoa*, by sending him back his prisoners without ransom; but *Saturiova* flatly refused to comply with his demand. The insolent *Frenchman* upon this, taking along with him forty of his soldiers completely armed, thrust himself into *Saturiova's* cabin, and without paying him any civility, demanded to see his prisoners. At first *Saturiova*, who had added some reproaches to his denial of *Laudonniere's* request, pretended that the prisoners had, upon seeing the *French*, fled into the woods; but perceiving himself to be in danger, he ordered them to appear, which they did, and *Laudonniere* committed them to the care of *d'Erlac* and *le Vasseur* to carry them to their own country, informing *Saturiova* at the same time, that he took this step that he might establish peace between him and *Timagoa*. The two deputies, before they set out, were strongly enjoined to gain over *Timagoa*, and to repair to the country of one *Outina*, who, it seems, was a very powerful prince, and lord paramount of *Timagoa*, and, after doing every thing that could gain his good graces, to contract an alliance with him.

Laudonniere
robs *Saturiova*
of his prisoners.

- f *SATURIOVA*, though touched to the quick at the injury that had been done him by *Laudonniere*, dissimulated so completely, that he gave the *French* more marks than ever of his confidence, and promised to stand by every thing concluded between *Laudonniere* and *Timagoa*. There is little room to doubt that he would have taken a proper time to have wreaked his resentment upon the *French*, had it not been for the following unforeseen accident. On the 21st of August 1564, the most dreadful hurricane happened that ever had been seen in those parts; and if we are to believe the relations of eye-witnesses, the lightning that fell (perhaps assisted by some subterraneous eruptions which are common in those cases) even made the waters of the river boil over, while the woods, for the same reason, were all on fire, and great numbers, both of fishes and birds, were destroyed. The savages, who never had before known such dreadful combustions of nature, ascribed them immediately to the artillery of the *French*, while the *French* imagined that the burning of the forests proceeded from the savages, who wanted thereby to force them out of their country. *Laudonniere*, however, perceiving

Saturiova's
dissimulation.

An uncommon
hurricane,

imputed to the
French,

ceiving the consternation of the savages from a message they sent him, begging him to give orders for the storm to cease, resolved to avail himself of it. This message came by the subjects of one of *Saturiova's* vassals, who had refused to send *Laudonniere* his prisoners; and the latter pretended that the storm was owing to his obstinacy, and that he would burn him in his cabin if he did not instantly deliver up the prisoners. The savage punctually complied with this demand; but was so frightened that he fled to the distance of twenty-five miles, and it was two months before he appeared again in his own dominions. To complete the consternation of the savages, the river was infected by the dead fishes, and many who drank of it fell ill.

On the 10th of *September d'Erlac* and *Fasseur* set out with the captives, under an escort of ten men and a serjeant. Having delivered up their charge to *Timagoa*, they set out for *Outina's* residence, which lay at the distance of one hundred and twenty-seven miles from fort *Caroline*. They were received by *Outina* with transports of joy, who was preparing to set out on an expedition against a neighbouring prince, called *Potanou*, and he invited *d'Erlac* to accompany him, which he agreed to do with half his escort, sending the other half back to fort *Caroline* for fresh instructions how to behave towards *Outina*. That *Paraousti* being in hopes to surprize his enemy, had made no great preparations to take the field, and began his march with a small army; but was terribly disconcerted, when he saw his antagonist marching against him at the head of all his forces. He was reassured by *d'Erlac*, who, on the first onset, shot *Potanou* dead; upon which all his army lost heart and took to their heels. They were pursued by *Outina* and *d'Erlac*, who made a great number of prisoners, and the *Paraousti* nobly rewarded the *Frenchman* for his service. Upon their return, they found a boat from *Laudonniere*, which he had dispatched to recal *d'Erlac* to fort *Caroline*, on account of a growing discontent there upon the following occasion.

*Outina gains
a victory by
the help of the
French.*

*Mutiny at fort
Caroline.*

AMONGST the volunteers were a great many gentlemen, whom *Laudonniere* kept as strictly to hard labour as he did the meanest artizans. They complained of this, and likewise that they had with them no clergyman; so that they were without divine service: but indeed their most real grievance was, that they were threatened with a famine. Those causes of discontent were aggravated by an impostor, who pretended that he had the art of discovering gold and silver mines, and that *Laudonniere* refused to suffer him to put it in practice. Their discontents arose to such a height, that at last it was no secret that a conspiracy had been formed against the governor's life. *Laudonniere* behaved on this occasion with wonderful prudence and intrepidity. He hanged up a fellow who had betrayed his confidence to the conspirators, and sent off to *France* in a ship that happened to be then in the river, some of the most dangerous amongst them. Perceiving that many male-contentments still remained, he sent them off under the conduct of a gentleman, one *Roche-Ferriere* to complete the discovery of *Outina's* canton, and kept *Outigny* and *d'Erlac* about his own person, being assured of their fidelity. He did not, however, as yet, know the whole extent of the conspiracy against him. Of the two barks which he employed for bringing provisions to the colony, one was carried off by thirteen of his people, and the other by two carpenters, who never were heard of more. One *Stephen*, a *Genevois*, and two *Frenchmen*, *des Fourneaux* and *la Croix*, brought over some volunteers, and several soldiers, to the number of sixty-six, to a scheme of cruising upon the *Spaniards*, the plunder of whose least bark they imagined would enrich them all of a sudden. This conspiracy was so strong, that several joined in it, for fear of being ill-treated by the conspirators. At last, while *Laudonniere* was busied in giving orders for the construction of two new barks in the room of those he had lost, and was confined to his bed by sickness, the conspirators entered his cabin in arms, and confined him in a vessel lying in the river. It was in vain for *Laudonniere* to represent to them the danger of the course they were pursuing, his instructions bearing, that he should cultivate a good understanding with the subjects of *Spain* in *America*; for they not only plundered him of every thing that could be useful to them, but forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to sign a commission for their cruising upon the *Spaniards* in the gulph of *Mexico*, and obliged him to furnish them with a pilot. They then embarked on board the two new vessels, and set sail on the 8th of *December*..

*The conspira-
tors turn pira-
tes.*

THEIR intention was to plunder *Yaguana*, and they were in hopes of ordering matters so as that they should appear before the place on Christmas eve, while the inhabitants were at their devotions. Before they left the river *May*, they fell at variance amongst one another, and the two vessels separated, the one steering for the isle of *Cuba*, and the other, which was never heard of again, for the *Lucayan* island. On board the former was the pilot *Trenchant*, and it was commanded by one *d'Oranger*, who took a *Spanish* brigantine, laden with wine and cassava; and he then bore towards the western part of *Hispaniola*, where, in a harbour near *Yuguana*, they careened their prize, which drew water. They then sailed to *Baracoa* in the island of *Cuba*, where they made themselves masters of a caraval between fifty and sixty tons burthen; and holding towards *Hispaniola* they took, near cape *Tiberone*, a pa-
tach

a tache richly laden, on board of which was the governor of *Jamaica*, then in possession of the *Spaniards*, and his two sons, whom they detained prisoners. They then stood for *Jamaica*, but were outwitted by the governor, from whom they expected a large ransom. He pretended to write to his wife a letter, which he shewed to *d'Oranger*, injoining her to send by the bearer, who was to be his own son, the sum which the pirates demanded for his ransom; but he slipped into his son's hand another letter of very different contents; for next morning the pirates saw their two ships beset by three *Spanish* vessels of a superior burthen, which took the largest, wherein were *d'Oranger* and the governor; but the other, on board of which were twenty-five men, slipped her cables, and bore away for the north coast of *Cuba*.

Their ill success.

b *IRENCILANT*, the pilot, who had been forced into the service, in concert with others of the crew, who had been forced likewise, unknown to the others, carried the ship they were in across the *Bahama* islands, to the river *May* in *Florida*, where she threw anchor. *Laudonniere* had timely notice of her arrival, and appearing at the head of thirty well armed soldiers, he made them all prisoners. Four of the most mutinous, amongst whom were the *Genevois*, *le Croix*, and *des Fourniaux*, were instantly condemned to be hanged; but *Laudonniere*, at the earnest request of his own men, permitted them to be shot to death.

And punishment.

In the mean while *la Roche-Ferriere* proceeded with vast success in his discoveries. He had visited the savages lying near the *Apalachean* mountains; and, notwithstanding the reluctance which *Outina* shewed to his undertaking, he had made alliances with them, and returned to *Laudonniere* with abundance of fine presents from the new friends of the *French*, consisting of little plates of gold and silver, curious quivers, furs, arrows ornamented with gold, hangings made of beautiful feathers, hatchets, and the like. A soldier, one *Gambie*, pushed his discoveries on the other side of the country, and was returning well laden with merchandizes, which he had received in exchange for trinkets, when he was murdered in his boat by two savages, who had undertaken to be his guides. From those travellers, *Laudonniere* understood that a *Paracusti*, one *Onathaca*, had in his possession two *Europeans*; and upon *Laudonniere's* promising to pay their ransom, they were sent to fort *Caroline*. They proved to be *Spaniards*, and they had been so long in slavery, that when they were presented naked to the governor, their hair reached to their knees; but one of them had concealed a piece of gold worth twenty-five crowns. Those *Spaniards* reported, that *Onathaca* reigned over the eastern part of *Florida*; but that towards the west reigned another prince called *Callos*, who was far richer, and was master of all the gold and silver mines that *Florida* contained; but that his sea-coasts had been fatal to a great number of *European* ships, which had been wrecked upon them. They affirmed that this savage prince had dug a ditch, six feet deep and three wide, which he had filled with riches: and that he detained in his town four or five *European* women of rank, with their children, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast fifteen years before, and that the savage persuaded his subjects that the fertility of the earth was owing to him; for which reason he sacrificed every year about the time of harvest an unhappy captive, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast. The same *Spaniards* counselled *Laudonniere* not to trust the *Floridans*, who were the most dangerous when they made the greatest expressions of friendship; and they offered with one hundred men to put the *French* in possession of *Callos*, and to make many other discoveries (U).

Further discoveries.

Soon after the arrival of those *Spaniards*, *Saturiova* renewed his solicitations with *Laudonniere*, that he would assist him in his wars against *Outina* and *Timagoa*, and that he would, at least, call home the *French* who were in the service of the former. *Laudonniere* was so far from complying with this request, though it was supported by several other *Paraoustis*, that he did all he could to reconcile the natives to each other, and formed alliances with many of their chiefs, to which he intended to have recourse, in case of new disturbances amongst his colonists. He then applied himself to the storing his magazines, in giving employment to his people, and in dispatching *Ottigny* upon new discoveries. That officer returned with an account of a vast lake he had discovered, and probably was the same that was known to *Ferdinand de Soto*, in his journey to the *Apalachean* mountains; and it was pretended that the sands upon the borders of this lake were mingled with grains of silver. In returning to fort *Caroline*, *Ottigny* visited *Outina*, with whom, at his earnest request, he left some of his acquaintance. Two years after, one of them, *Groutaut*, came to fort *Caroline* with a very plausible proposition made to *Laudonniere* by a *Paracusti*, neighbour to *Outina*, to put the *French* in possession of the *Apalachean* mountains, provided they would assist him in reducing one of his enemies, who then held them. *Laudonniere*, as well as his people, was still haunted with a firm belief that those mountains contained mines of gold and silver; but his colony was now so much reduced,

(U) The account given by the *Spaniards* of the riches of this country receives some countenance from an affidavit, made by one *Sagean* before the regent of *France*, about the time he projected the *Mississippi* company, and which about eight years ago was translated into *English*, and published.

that

The French
assist Outina.

that he forbore returning any answer to the *Paracusi*, till he should receive some succours a which he expected from *France*.

And beat his
own enemies.

In a short time an embassy arrived from *Outina*, desiring *Laudonniere* to send him a reinforcement of twelve or fifteen men, as the war between him and *Potanou* had again broke out. *Laudonniere*, by the advice of his officers, instead of twelve men, sent *Ottigny* with thirty to *Outina*'s assistance, who no sooner received this reinforcement, than he took the field with three hundred of his own subjects. Having marched two days, he had intelligence that his approach was discovered by the enemy, which disconcerted him so much, that he had recourse to his Iona or priest, to know whether he should advance or retire. The juggler advised him to retire, assuring him, that *Potanou* was waiting for him with 2000 men, with cords to bind him and his subjects. This discouraged *Outina* still more, and he was upon the point of returning; but being made ashamed of his cowardice by *Ottigny*, he advanced, and came up with *Potanou*, who, as the juggler had said, was at the head of 2000 men. *Ottigny* immediately attacked them, and his musketry made such havock amongst their foremost ranks, that their whole army was in an instant put to the flight. *Ottigny* vexed at being obliged to serve under such a coward as *Outina* was, left him twelve of his men, and made the best of his way with the rest back to fort *Caroline*. He found *Laudonniere* and the colony in the utmost distress, having been disappointed of the reinforcements and provisions they expected from *France*. The barbarians saw the difficulties they were under, and having now abated in their passion for *European* trinkets, they forced the *French* to pay exorbitantly for every thing they sold them; and when they had nothing more to dispose of, they withdrew to a distance. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the fishes in the river disappeared, as the game did from the woods and mountains; so that they were obliged at first to feed upon acorns, and then upon wild roots and herbs, which they found in the fields. This extremity of misery was attended by insults offered to the *French* on the part of the barbarians, who murdered one of the settlers, and robbed him of some gold he was in possession of. *Laudonniere*, weak as he was, gave orders to set fire to the village where this savage lived; but the *French* found there only empty cabins, the murderers and all the inhabitants having fled to their fastnesses, where they were secure.

Great distress
of the colony.

Outina arrested and distressed.

1565.

THE colony being now reduced to a state of despair, and its best and bravest members being carried off by diseases, the survivors amongst them pressed *Laudonniere* to arrest *Outina*, and thereby to force him to furnish them with some means of subsistence. *Laudonniere* held long out against this proposal; but he was at last obliged to give way to the voice of famine. *Outina* was made a prisoner, but all his subjects took arms for his rescue, and the unhappy settlers found themselves plunged in a war, which they were in no condition to support. A negotiation succeeded, by which *Outina* bought his liberty for a trifle, which was paid in provisions; but they were retaken by his subjects, while they were carrying to fort *Caroline*, two *Frenchmen* being killed, and above twenty wounded. This encounter, which happened on the 27th of *July* 1565, lasted for the whole day, and the savages discovered in it unusual marks of resolution and conduct, by squatting down on their bellies as soon as they saw the *French* soldiers ready to present their pieces; and it was owing to the courage and authority of *Ottigny* and *d'Erlach*, that *Laudonniere* regained fort *Caroline*. Soon after, he received a supply of millet by a *French* ship; and he then formed the resolution of returning to *Old France*, when he discovered four ships on the 4th of *August*. He and his people at first believed them to be *French*, and their joy was excessive. But he soon perceived them to be *English*. They were commanded by capt. *John Hawkins*, and obliged to put into the river to water; but not before the captain had asked the *French* commandant's leave for that purpose. This generous *Englishman* understanding to what a miserable condition the *French* were reduced, and that they were protestants, did all he could to relieve them. He came on shore unattended and unarmed. *Laudonniere* treated him with some wild fowl, which he happened to have by him, and *Hawkins* furnished bread and wine, which neither the *French* commandant, nor any of his people, had tasted of for six or seven months before. The savages, imagining the *English* and the *French* to be but one nation, soon became more tractable towards the colony, and brought provisions from all quarters. *Hawkins* was so humane as to offer to carry the *French* to *France*, and he furnished them with every thing they stood in need of; but they unaccountably refused his kindness, though their own ship was in no condition to carry them. At last, at the earnest request of *Hawkins*, *Laudonniere* purchased one of his vessels, the settlers loudly declaring, that they were determined to leave a country where the prospect of famine was every moment before their eyes. This spirit of despair arose from the bad principles upon which those colonists set out. They had no idea of the habits of industry, and had formed to themselves the hopes of becoming rich all at once, by dropping into mines of gold and silver, the searching after which cost them more time and labour than the clearing, improving, and sowing their grounds could possibly have done, by which they might have lived with comfort and in plenty.

HAWKINS

- a *HARRIS* leaving one of his ships with *Laudonniere*, took leave of him, and, by the 15th of *August*, the settlers were ready to sail, but the wind did not prove fair till the 28th. As they were weighing anchor several ships came in view, and *Laudonniere* sent out a boat to speak with them; but, to his great surprize, it did not return, upon which he shut himself up in his fort, where he was determined to hold out as long as he could. Unfortunately for him, his people, having formed a resolution of leaving the fort, had begun to demolish it, for fear it should be taken possession of by the *English*, the *Spaniards*, or the savages. Next morning *Laudonniere* perceived seven chaloupes full of armed people proceeding up the river, but observing a profound silence, till they came opposite to the fort, from whence some muskets were discharged, but at too great a distance to do any execution. The garrison at last threatened to fire upon them with cannon; and then they understood that the ships were under the command of *Ribaut*. Upon his landing he very fairly laid before *Laudonniere* all that had been said to his disadvantage to ruin him both with the king, and his patron, the admiral *Coligny*. The chief heads of the accusation were his behaving in a haughty tyrannical manner, and his affecting airs of independency; so that if the *French* king had a mind to preserve that country in his own allegiance, he ought instantly to force *Laudonniere* to resign his command, otherwise the settlers must be obliged to cut him in pieces, as they had done captain *Albert*. Such were the motives that had induced the *French* king to send off *Ribaut* with those seven ships, on board of which were many catholics; and their passage had been long and tedious, *Ribaut* having spent some time after he came upon the coast, in treating with the savages. *Laudonniere* soon convinced *Ribaut* of his innocence so thoroughly, that he pressed him to retain his command, and offered to settle himself elsewhere (X). *Laudonniere* persisted in his resolution to vindicate his conduct at the court of *France* in person, and then *Ribaut* put into his hands a letter from admiral *Coligny*, desiring him to return to *France*, that he might advise with the king and his ministry concerning the good of the colony. While *Laudonniere* was preparing to depart, the savages resorted to *Ribaut* in great numbers with presents, amongst which was a large piece of golden ore, which they said they had from a mine in the *Apalachean* mountains, and they offered to conduct him to it. *Ribaut*, probably, by this time, was tired of mine-hunting, and applied himself to repairing the fort; but perceived that there was not water enough upon the bar of the river to carry his four largest ships over it, and therefore he was obliged to let them remain in the road.

Arrival of seven French ships in the road near *Ribaut*.

- THINGS were in this situation on the 4th of *September*, when six *Spanish* ships cast anchor in the same road near the four *French* ones. Those *Spaniards* were commanded by Don *Pedro Menendez de Avilez*. This gentleman was a complete enthusiast; for popery and bigotry had stifled in his breast every sentiment of humanity; but at the same time he was brave and resolute. Those qualities, joined to his extraordinary gravity of behaviour, recommended him to *Philip II.* who gave him the command of a fleet and army, with very full powers to drive the huguenots out of *Florida*, and to settle it with good catholics. He likewise gave him the title of hereditary *Adelentade of Florida*, with considerable appointments. The largest ship of his fleet was the *St. Pelage*, about 1000 tons burthen, and in ten other ships he carried about 1000 men, amongst whom were many workmen for the forts. Most of the armament was at the *Adelentade's* charge, the king only furnishing the *St. Pelage*, about three hundred soldiers, and one hundred mariners; but the whole of his armament consisted of above 2600 men. It was the 29th of *June* before it left *Cales*; but his fleet was very rudely treated on the voyage by the weather; so that several of his ships parted from him, and when he landed at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *August*, he had not with him above the third part of his force. His soldiers were without experience; but he could depend upon his officers, who, like himself, were all of them bigots, and considered the expedition they were engaged in as a holy war, it being given out in *Spain*, not without some appearance of truth, that it was secretly encouraged by the *French* king himself in hatred to the huguenots.
- f *MENENDEZ*, notwithstanding the diminution of his force, bore away for *Florida*, which he discovered the 28th of *August*, and, coming upon that coast, he understood with a good deal of difficulty from some savages, that he was about twenty leagues to the northward of the *French* settlement. At the same time, he gave the name of *St. Augustine* to the river of *Dauphin*, having discovered it on that saint's day. Some of his officers were now for returning to *Hispaniola*, till they could be joined by the rest of the fleet, but he continued firm in his resolution to attack the four *French* ships, which he saw lying in the road of fort *Caroline*. According to the *French* historians, he approached them very softly, and assured *Ribaut*, that the *French* had nothing to apprehend from him; but that all of a sudden he turned short

Arrival of the Spaniards in Florida.

(X) This was a pretty extraordinary offer of M. *Ribaut*, considering the occasion on which he had returned to *America*; but indeed, if we consider the whole com-

plexion of this settlement, the *French* king took very little concern in it; and the management of it was left entirely to *Coligny*.

The four
French ships
escape.

Obstinacy and
misconduct of
Ribaut.

Fort Caro-
line taken by
the Spaniards.

Misconduct of
young Ribaut.

upon their ships, and they had but just time to cut their cables, and to make off. The *Spanish* ^a historian ¹ is more circumstantial. He says, that the *French* fired in the night-time upon *Menendez*, who, in the morning, declared who he was, and demanded of the *French* to know whether they were Lutherans or Catholics. Being answered Lutherans, he told them that he had a strict charge from his master to put every man of them to death, which he would most punctually execute; but that, if any Catholics were amongst them, he would give them quarter: then proceeding to attack the *French* ships, they gave him the slip, without his being able to come up with them. Returning to the mouth of the *May*, he saw the smaller *French* ships drawn up under the fort, and the beach lined with their soldiers; upon which he bore away for the river of *St. Augustine*. In the mean while, the four *French* ships returned to their anchoring place, and *Coffet*, who commanded them, ^b having informed *Ribaut* of what had happened, the latter called a council of war, where the general opinion was, that they ought to complete the works of fort *Caroline*; and that a strong detachment should pass by land to fall upon the *Spaniards*, as they were disembarking. *Ribaut*, upon this, produced a letter from *Coligny*, advising him of *Menendez's* expedition, and injoining him to suffer the *Spaniards* to undertake nothing prejudicial to the crown of *France* in *Florida*, and gave his opinion for attacking the *Spaniards* by sea. ^c All the council opposed this resolution, on account of the approaching hurricanes; but *Ribaut* persisted in it so obstinately, that he obliged *Laudonniere*, to whom he had entrusted the charge of fort *Caroline*, to give him the greatest part of his garrison, and almost all his provisions, and then he went on board of one of the four *French* ships in quest of the *Spaniards*. *Laudonniere* was left in the fort, with about fifty men, besides women and children; but he himself was confined to his bed, and the rest of his garrison were so sickly, that not above twenty of them were in a condition to carry a musket.

In the mean while, *Menendez* had planned out his new fort of *St. Augustine*; and understanding about the 10th of *September*, that he was about to be attacked by the *French* under *Ribaut*, he prepared to stand on the defensive within the bar of the river. It is probable, however, that he must have been taken or destroyed, had not, at the very moment of the charge, a most dreadful hurricane, as had been foreseen, arisen, which drove *Ribaut* and his ships to sea. *Menendez* then called a council of war, and, after ordering abundance of masses to be said, he, like a true enthusiast, concluded that the late hurricane was a divine judgment upon the heretics, and that they ought directly to attack fort *Caroline* by land, ^d and to give no quarter to any of the garrison. This resolution was agreed to. *Menendez* put himself at the head of five hundred men, properly officered and armed, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of several of his officers, who differed from him, he began his march, leaving the charge of his new town to his brother, and of his navy and artillery to his vice-admiral. While he was upon his march, it was with great difficulty he could prevent his troops from open mutinying; but the *Adelantade* obstinately persisted, notwithstanding a continual rain, and the hardships of the road, till they came within a quarter of a league of the fort, when the whole army was in so distressed a condition, that the officers upbraided *Menendez* to his face with leading them like so many beasts to be slaughtered. ^e *Menendez* bore all this with invincible patience; and, though the general voice was for returning to *St. Augustine*, yet he brought over his quarter-master-general, and his serjeant-major, who had great weight with the rest, to agree not to defer the attack one moment. *Menendez*, who all along pretended that he had divine assurances of success, instantly marched towards the place, which was easily surprized, the garrison having retired to rest, little imagining, in so dreadful a night, that their enemies were so near them. At first, they butchered all the sick, the women and children, who fell into their hands, and *Laudonniere*, after making a very brave resistance, was obliged to retire to the woods. The *Spaniards* being now masters of the place, *Menendez* published an order, that all the women, and the children under fifteen years of age, should receive quarter; but all the ^f others were put to the sword.

The three *French* ships were still in the river, and the *Adelantade* summoned the crews to surrender, offering to suffer them to transport themselves in any one of their ships they should chuse; but he threatened, at the same time, if they did not comply, to give them no quarter. This summons was rejected by young *Ribaut*; and the *Spaniards* beginning to play upon the ships from the fort, they were obliged to retire without cannon-shot. All this while *Laudonniere*, who had been joined by about a dozen of his garrison, suffered inexpressible miseries in the woods; but, at last, he gained the *French* ships in the river, and proposed to young *Ribaut* that he should go in search of his father. *Ribaut*, whose con- ^g duct on this occasion was greatly blamed, answered that he was determined to sail directly for *France*, which provoked *Laudonniere* so much, that he went on board another ship; but,

¹ D. ANDRÉ GONZÁLEZ DE BARCIA, Ensayo Chronológico para la Historia de la Florida.

- a though *Ribaut* had four pilots on board his vessel, he refused to spare one of them to *Laudonniere*. As for the third ship, it was without a crew, and *Laudonniere* proposed to set her on fire, which *Ribaut* refused to do; for which reason, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Laudonniere* sent on board her his own carpenter, who secretly stove her in, and sunk her to the bottom. After this, we hear no farther of young *Ribaut*; but *Laudonniere* set sail for *Europe*, and being obliged to land at *Bristol*, after suffering great hardships during his voyage, he remained long ill in *England*, and, when he went over to his own country, notwithstanding all his services, he met with but a cold reception from the *French* king, who was then more embroiled than ever with *Coligny*. *Laudonniere*, before his departure, had not been able to persuade all the *French* to follow him. Some of them fled to the savages, and others surrendered themselves to the *Spaniards*, who chained them along with their countrymen. The *French* accounts agree, without being contradicted by the *Spaniards* themselves, that all of them were hanged upon a tree, to which was fixed the following inscription. “Those persons are not treated in this manner, because they are *Frenchmen*, but because they are heretics, and enemies of God.” After this horrid execution, the *Spaniards* hearing of the *French*, who had retired to the savages, did all they could to find them out, and intimidated those barbarians so much, that the poor wretches were obliged to surrender themselves to their enemies, who hanged them up, as they had done the others. About twenty other *Frenchmen*, who still remained in the woods, were pursued and shot dead like so many wild beasts by the *Spaniards*. The reader is to observe, that fort *Caroline* now lost its name, being changed by *Menendez* into that of *St. Mattheo*, on whose day he took it. Upon his mustering his troops, he perceived that he had not with him four hundred serviceable men, the rest having returned, from the bad opinion they had of his enterprize, to *St. Augustine*, or remained upon the road, either through backwardness or weariness.

The French in fort Caroline hanged.

- MENENDEZ*, having laid out ground for a church, and appointed *Gonzalo de Villareal* to be governor of *St. Mattheo*, with a garrison of three hundred men, returned with no more than thirty soldiers, being all who were in a condition to march to *St. Augustine*, which he was afraid might be visited by *Ribaut*, who still kept the sea. He was received in vast triumph by the garrison; and, notwithstanding his barbarities, he is still spoken of by his countrymen, as a complete hero, statesman, and catholic. Mean while, an accidental fire had almost reduced the fort of *St. Mattheo* to ashes, and the garrison had mutinied against their officers. But this was not all which distracted *Menendez* at this time. He had, upon his arrival in *Florida*, taken some *French* prisoners, whom he sent on board the *St. Pelage* to be carried to *Hispaniola*. In the voyage, the prisoners mastered the *Spanish* crew, put the officers to death, and carried the galleon to *Denmark*. *Menendez* every day expected to be joined by the ships, from which he had separated on his voyage; but he had not so great cause to be uneasy as he imagined. The hurricane which had driven *Ribaut* from his intended attack of the *Spaniards*, carried him into the straits of *Bahama*, where all his ships were wrecked in pieces upon the rocks (Y). The crews and soldiers saved themselves, but nothing else, and arrived on the coast without arms or provisions. As they were entirely unacquainted with the country, and had only the sun and stars to direct them in their return to fort *Caroline*, their miseries were inexpressible. At last, they discovered an empty sloop that was driving along, and *Ribaut* gave the command of it to *Vasseur*, with orders to look into the river *May*. *Vasseur* immediately returned with an account, that he saw the *Spanish* colours flying on the fort. Upon this, it was agreed that two of the *French* officers should march up the banks of the river till they came opposite to the fort, and that they should endeavour to inform themselves what terms they were to expect from the *Spanish* commandant. They were accordingly carried before him, and he told them, that *Laudonniere* and his garrison had been sent in a good ship to *France*; and that if *Ribaut* and his party would surrender themselves to him, he would grant them the same terms. Upon the return of the two officers, the *French* were divided in their opinions, and being sensible how meritorious the *Spaniards* held it not to keep any faith with heretics, they sent one of their officers back, and he obtained an oath from the commandant, who proved to be *Menendez* himself, that, if the *French* would surrender, they

Dismal account of the French fleet under Ribaut.

(Y) The particulars that follow are told in two different manners by the *French* and the *Spanish* writers; though both of them agree as to the inhuman catastrophe. *Charlevoix*, for very obvious reasons, seems somewhat to incline to the *Spanish* relations, rather than that of the *Huguenots*. We cannot be of the same opinion, were it only for one consideration, which is, that the *Spanish* relation is founded only upon the authority of *Salis de las Meras*, brother-in-law of

Menendez, and therefore, as we may easily imagine, interested to give the most softening representations he could; nor was his narrative published, till about an hundred and sixty years after the thing happened. But the protestant account is given by one of the sufferers themselves, and is strengthened by the petition, which the widows and orphans of the sufferers presented next year to the *French* king. We shall not, however, entirely disregard the *Spanish* narrative.

should

should be furnished with a good ship, and every thing necessary to carry them to *France*. They were obliged to trust to this solemn engagement, and chaloupes were sent to carry them cross the river, where they were bound by fours together. *Ribaut* and *Ottigny* endeavoured to expostulate with the *Spaniards*, but could not obtain a sight of the commandant; instead of that, a *Spanish* soldier came up, and gravely asked *Ribaut*, whether he did not expect, that the *French* soldiers under him were to obey his orders? Without doubt, answered *Ribaut*. Then, replied the soldier, you are not to be surprized, if I obey my general's order likewise. Upon which, he plunged a dagger into *Ribaut's* heart. *Ottigny* shared the same fate, and in an instant the throats of all the *French* were cut, excepting those of some workmen, who were employed upon the fortifications at *St. Augustine*.

Spanish account of the same.

SUCH is the relation the *French* have given us of this horrible massacre. The *Spanish* accounts lay the scene of it at *St. Augustine*; and tell us, that *Menendez* never promised or swore to shew them any mercy, and rejected the offer of a large ransom. That the *French* were divided into two parties. The first was of two hundred, whom he brought across the river in boats; and, finding that eight of them were Catholics, he spared them, but gave orders that the throats of the rest should be instantly cut, which were obeyed. Next day, the other party of the *French*, which was the most numerous, consisting of three hundred and fifty souls, was discovered upon a raft; and *Menendez* informed the officer, who came to treat with him, how he had served the former party of his countrymen; and even carried him to the place where their dead bodies lay. After this, he had an interview with *Ribaut* in person, and, after repeating to him all he had said before, he dismissed him back to his party, two hundred of whom threw themselves on shore, but the other hundred and fifty, with *Ribaut* at their head, surrendered themselves, and were all put to death, excepting four Catholics. Soon after, *Menendez*, understanding that the two hundred *French*, who had fled, had begun to build a fort far up the river, surprized them with a party of *Spaniards* on the 1st of *November*; and, upon their flying to a neighbouring mountain, he invited them to surrender themselves upon promise of pardon, and of being treated as his own soldiers, which they did, and he punctually performed his engagements; but we are told, at the same time, that many of them turned *Roman Catholics*.

Reflections upon it.

WHATEVER partiality *Charlevoix* may shew in favour of this *Spanish* relation, it carries upon its face the most palpable marks of forgery. Is it to be imagined, that a brave man, like *Ribaut*, at the head of a force, equal, at least, to that of his enemies, with arms in their hands, (for by the *Spanish* accounts, most or all of them saved their arms) would have tamely given up their throats to be cut, after being again and again refused quarter; and after seeing how punctually cruel the *Spaniards* had been to their companions? There are other inconsistencies equally gross in this relation; but they are too many to be particularized. We shall but just observe, that *Ribaut* and his companions in martyrdom must have been the worst of fools and enthusiasts, not to have gone off with their two hundred countrymen; and to have discovered (as the *Spanish* writers say they did) that they had 100,000 crowns in their possession, which they offered for their ransom.

Account of de Gourgues.

UPON the whole of this dreadful tragedy, it seems almost demonstrable, that *Menendez* acted nothing but in concert with the court of *France*, who considered the huguenots of *Florida* as the very worst of rebels and traitors, though they had been settled there under the charter, and by the authority of the *French* king, *Charles IX.* himself; the public is no stranger to the history of that prince; and that he acted in the same manner by his protestant subjects in *France*, as *Menendez* did by those of *Florida*. All *Europe* was amazed, that, in whatever light he might view the *Floridan* huguenots, he did not resent the insult done to his own dignity; and all that has been said in vindication of his tameness, is, that his connections with *Spain* at that time did not admit of his breaking with her. The cause of his slaughtered subjects was not however neglected, but retaliated by a catholic gentleman, named the chevalier *de Gourgues*. He seems to have been a soldier of fortune, and was by birth of a good family in *Gascony*. He had served with unparalleled intrepidity against the *Spaniards* in *Italy*; and such was the inveteracy they bore to the *French* at that time, that, being taken prisoner, he was chained to a *Spanish* galley, and obliged to work as a slave. This galley was taken by the *Turks*, and, afterwards, by the *Maltese*, by which *de Gourgues* recovered his liberty. After this, he betook himself to the sea-service, and made some voyages to *Africa*, *Brazil*, and other places. Upon his return to *France*, he was looked upon to be one of the ablest navigators in *Europe*; and, hearing of the massacre of his countrymen in *Florida*, he immediately laid a plan for revenging their deaths, and for driving their murderers out of that fine country.

For this purpose, he converted all he had into ready money, and likewise took up large sums upon credit. With this money, he built three frigates, on board of which he put an hundred and fifty soldiers and volunteers, most of them gentlemen, and eighty sailors.

a lers. His ships drew very little water, and were constructed so, as that they could be worked in a calm by oars; so that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers. It was the 22d of *August*, 1657, before he finally sailed from *France*. He had, hitherto, kept his main intention a secret from all the world; and had therefore obtained from M. *de Montluc*, the *French* king's lieutenant in *Gascony*, a commission for going to the coast of *Africa*, upon a slaving voyage. Having traded, or pretended to trade, he, all of a sudden, bore away for the coast of *America*. He first fell in with the little *Antilles* islands, and beat up to *Porto Rico*, and from thence to the small island of *Mona*, where he is said to have victualled and watered. Proceeding to *Florida*, he was obliged to put into *St. Nicholas* harbour, on the east-side of *Hispaniola*, by a storm, which damaged great part of his bread; but the *Spaniards* refused to supply him with any more. Sailing from thence, he met with another storm; and it was with great difficulty that he reached cape *St. Antony*, on the west of *Cuba*. Here, for the first time, he opened his real intention to his company; and painted the cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards his countrymen in so lively a manner, that they resolved unanimously to follow him wherever he should lead them. Sailing through the straits of *Bahama*, he came upon the coast of *Florida*, where the *Spaniards* thought themselves so secure against any attack, that they took their ships for those of their own countrymen, and saluted them accordingly; and they were duly answered by *de Gourgues*, who was unwilling to undeceive them. Next night he entered the river *Tucatacounon*, called by the *French* the river *Seine*, lying within fifteen miles of the river *May*.

c THE *Spaniards*, by this time, had rendered themselves so odious to the natives, that the latter, taking *de Gourgues's* squadron to be *Spanish*, prepared to oppose his landing. But *de Gourgues*, having some notion of their mistake, immediately sent ashore his trumpet, who having served under *Laudonniere*, was master of the savage language, and knew *Saturiova*, whom he met by accident, along with the paraousti of the country. The trumpeter informed them, that the *French* were come back to renew their alliance with them; and next day, *Saturiova* had an interview in person with *de Gourgues*, who found him exasperated much as he could wish against the *Spaniards*. He complained of their pride and cruelty; and offered, if the *French* would attack them, to back him with all his force, and that of his allies and dependents. *De Gourgues*, who, it seems, was well instructed in the manner of treating with the savages, pretended, at first, that he had not come there with any intention to make war, but to pay them a friendly visit, and to renew the former leagues between the *French* and them; and that he intended, if he found they suffered any grievances from the *Spaniards*, to return to *France*, and bring to their assistance a large force. He added, however, that he had now changed his resolution, and was ready to second them with the few soldiers he had on board his ships. His answer won *Saturiova's* heart, and amongst other presents he made *de Gourgues*, he put into his hands *Peter de Bray*, a young *Frenchman*, whom he had preserved from the fury of the *Spaniards*, and whom he had always treated as his own son. A few days after, all the paraousties, who were either allies or vassals of *Saturiova*, assembled to deliberate concerning their future operations. Here it was resolved, that *d'Estampes*, a *French* gentleman, and *Olacotora*, a brave *Indian*, nephew to *Saturiova*, should reconnoitre fort *St. Mattheo*. Before they set out, *de Gourgues* had the precaution to make *Saturiova* put into his hands, as hostages for the safety of *d'Estampes*, one of his sons and his best beloved wife. They returned in three days, with an account, that the *Spaniards* had built two additional forts, one on each side of the river; that all three were in good condition, and garrisoned by four hundred men; but that the *Spaniards* lived in perfect security, as having no idea of any enemy being near them.

Who lands in Florida.

f FROM this report, *de Gourgues* concluded he had no chance for success, but from secrecy and surprize, and ordered a general rendezvous of all his allies upon the river *Somme*, called by the savages *Suraba*. They attended punctually; and, after entering into solemn engagements never to abandon the *French*, they set out on their march; but such heavy rains had fallen, that their expedition was in danger of being defeated. At last, a savage undertook to conduct them by a safe way, though somewhat round about. This he did; but with great difficulty, and in the morning *de Gourgues* found himself so near the fort, that he could reconnoitre it at leisure. At first, he was a little startled at seeing the people in motion; but he afterwards understood that this was occasioned by their being busied in repairing a fountain. About ten o'clock, the *French* passed the river, and so thorough was the hatred of the savages towards the *Spaniards*, that the latter, till the very moment of the attack, knew nothing of the *French* being in *Florida*; an uncommon instance of secrecy in those barbarians. *De Gourgues* divided his little army into two parties, giving the command of the one to his lieutenant *Casenove*, and himself marching at the head of the other. He had advanced so near the platform of the fort, that a *Spanish* engineer discover-

De Gourgues takes fort Mattheo,

ed him, and fired two culverins upon his party. This might have been fatal to the *French*, had not the brave *Olocotora*, creeping near the platform, mounted it all at once, and laid the *Spanish* engineer dead with his lance. So daring an action discouraged the *Spaniards* so much, that they gave over all thoughts of defending the fort, and fled out of it; but happened to run the way by which the other division of the *French* under *Casenove* was advancing. Thus, being put between two fires, all the garrison, consisting of sixty people, were cut in pieces, excepting a few, who were taken and reserved to be hanged.

MEAN while, the second fort was incessantly firing upon the *French*; but *de Gourgues* drawing out the artillery of the first fort, played upon the *Spaniards* so effectually, and the savages seconded him so vigorously, that the *Spaniards* betook themselves to the woods, where all of them but fifteen, who were taken prisoners, were put to death. The main fort, that of *Caroline*, remained only now to be reduced. This being a matter of some difficulty, *de Gourgues* obliged an old *Spanish* serjeant, who was his prisoner, to give him information as to the strength of the place; and he quickly perceived, that he had no means of succeeding against it, but by a scalade. The two following days were passed in preparatives for that purpose, during which time, *de Gourgues* planted such a number of *Indians* around the fort, that it was impossible for the *Spaniards* to come to any knowledge of his real strength. Notwithstanding this, a *Spaniard* disguising himself like an *Indian*, mingled with the besiegers, but was discovered by *Olocotora*, and upon examination proved to be a spy. Upon this, he was destined to the gallows; but the informations he gave were so useful, that great part of the success of *de Gourgues* was owing to him. When every thing was ready for the attack, *de Gourgues* made such dispositions of his *Indians*, as rendered it extremely difficult for any of the *Spaniards* to escape, when the fort should be taken. He then advanced to the attack under the guidance of the *Spanish* serjeant and the spy, who led him to the top of a little hill, from whence he had a full view of the strength and weakness of the fort. His intention was to have delayed the attack till next morning; but the besieged made a sally with fourteen musketeers, who by the disposition *de Gourgues* had made, were completely surrounded, and every man of them put to death; though they fought very bravely. This slaughter being made under the eye of the besieged, they lost all heart, and, without minding any orders, they ran out of the fort towards the woods, where the savages were ambushed, and who gave them no quarter. They then endeavoured to escape another way, but were met full in the front by *de Gourgues*, who laid most of them dead on the spot; and, to complete his revenge, with some difficulty, he saved the rest from the hands of the savages, that he might resign them to those of the executioner. He then reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, and violated faith, and ordered every one of them to be hanged up upon a tree, on which was the following inscription, in imitation of that of *Menendez*. "I do not hang those people as *Spaniards*, nor as the spawn of infidels, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Nothing but the detestable example of the like cruelty, set by the *Spaniards* themselves, could have apologized for this barbarity, which indeed has been variously censured. That the *Spaniards* deserved such a retaliation has been generally allowed; but the law of nations disapproves of its being made by a private person, and in violation of the laws even of his own country; for it is certain, that *de Gourgues* was not legally intitled to sail upon the coast of *Florida*, far less to make such reprisals. It must, however, be acknowledged, that he undertook this expedition from very disinterested motives; for before he entered upon it, he knew that he had neither men to keep the forts, nor money to pay his men, and that it was impossible to procure them subsistence even for money.

All the Spaniards put to death.

DE GOURGUES, therefore, satisfied with the glory of revenging the massacre of his countrymen upon a barbarous enemy, prepared to return to *Europe*; having demolished the three forts, and shipped their artillery on board his vessels. The savages seemed to be sorry to part with him, but he knew he durst not trust to their friendship, and they loaded him with the most extravagant praises for an action, which was so much in their own manner, but far exceeded their abilities to have performed. On the 3d of *May*, he set sail from *Florida*, and, on the 6th of *June*, arrived at *Rochelle*; having suffered a great deal on his voyage by storm and famine; but all his loss, otherwise, consisted only of a few soldiers and five volunteers. Before his arrival in *France*, the court of *Spain* had intelligence of his expedition, and had fitted out a squadron to intercept him, from which he very narrowly escaped. Upon his landing, he was received by his old friend, the marshal *de Montluc*, who highly extolled his valour and conduct, and advised him to go to court. It happened, fortunately for him, that the protestant party was then so powerful in *France*, that the government durst not provoke it by inflicting any unseasonable severity, which the court was inclined, and indeed entitled, to do upon *de Gourgues*; add to this, that the *French* in general, Catholics as well as Protestants, applauded what he had done.

On

- a On the other hand, the friendship of *Spain* happened, at this time, to be necessary to the *French* king and the Catholic part of his government; and a sum had been set upon *de Gourgues's* head at the court of *Madrid*, as being a pirate and a murderer. When he came to court, therefore, he was very ill received, and had secret intimations given him to withdraw, to avoid the fury of the queen-mother, and the *Spanish* faction, who had pressed the king to consent that he should be tried. *De Gourgues*, therefore, was obliged to fly to *Rouen*, where he was concealed by the president *de Marigny*; and so reduced, at that time, were his circumstances, that he owed his daily subsistence to that magistrate's generosity. This persecution served only to encrease his fame, which, at last, made such an impression upon the *French* king, that he restored him, with great demonstrations of esteem and honour, to his favour. His countrymen pretend, but we cannot say upon what authority, that queen *Elizabeth* offered him a considerable post in her service, which he declined. We much question the truth of this report, as he always professed himself to be a strict *Roman* Catholic. It is certain, however, that don *Antonio* offered him the command of the fleet he was then fitting out to recover the crown of *Portugal* from *Philip II* of *Spain*. But while *de Gourgues* was going to take possession of that honourable commission, he fell sick, and died at *Tours*.

De Gourgues
disgraced at
his own
court;

appointed ad-
miral of the
fleet.
Portuguese
His death.

- c THE *Spaniards*, by the evacuation of *de Gourgues*, for some years, had no competitors in *Florida*, and applied themselves to the fortifying and improving their new settlement at *St. Augustine*. As to that at *St. Mattheo*, it was suffered to go to decay, and it now subsists under the name of *St. Juan*; the name which the *Spaniards* had given the river on which it stands (Z). Upon queen *Elizabeth's* going to war against the *Spaniards*, she was advised to attack them in *America*. In consequence of this scheme, some private adventurers in *England*, in 1585, fitted out a fleet consisting of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, with the number of 2300 sailors and landmen on board. The admiral in chief of this fleet was the famous Sir *Francis Drake*; his vice-admiral was *Martin Forbisher*; *Francis Knolles* was his rear-admiral; and lieutenant-general *Carlisle* commanded the land-forces. He attacked fort *St. Mattheo*, now called fort *St. Juan*, which being very weak, was abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and *Drake* found in it fourteen pieces of brass cannon, with about 2000 pounds in money. These seem to have been all the fruits of this attempt upon *Florida*; the rest of the *English* expeditions against it have been mentioned in other places.

C A R O L I N A.

- f THIS country was originally claimed by the *English*, in consequence of *Cabot's* having discovered it; then by the *Spaniards*, because it lay within the pope's grant to that crown; and then the *French*, as we have seen in the preceding article, pretended it was a part of their *Florida*, and even gave names to many places and rivers lying within it: but as it is now indisputably the property of *Great-Britain*, we shall not take up our reader's time by tracing all the fluctuations of property it experienced. We are, however, here to animadvert upon a gross mistake, which the *English* writers in general have fallen into, and indeed many considerable *French* ones, as if fort *Caroline*, which we have already mentioned to have been in the *French* and *Spanish Florida*, had been built in the *English Carolina*. The truth is, both the *French* and *Spaniards*, in those days, had no objects but the mines of gold and silver to induce them to settle in any part of *America*; and, therefore, perceiving that the more northern parts of their *Florida* afforded no such mines, they abandoned the whole tract. We are told, that, in the year 1622, some *English* families, flying from being massacred by the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New England*, settled in a province which they called *Mallica*, near the head of the river *May*, where they converted the inhabitants and the neighbouring *Apalaches*; and that one *Brigstock*, an *Englishman*, in 1653, was received by his countrymen who were settled at *Apalacha*. The description, which we have of *Carolina* about this time is as follows. The nearest river of any note to *Virginia*, falling into the sea, is the *Jordan*, which lies in thirty-two degrees; from whence, about twenty leagues downwards to the south, is the promontory of *St. Helen*, near *Port Royal*, which the *French* chose for the best and surest place to begin their plantations. Between the river *Jordan* and *St. Helens*, are *Oristanum*, *Ostatum*, and *Cayagna*; *Oristanum* lying six leagues from *St. Helens*; *Ostatum* four leagues from *Oristanum*; and *Cayagna* eight leagues from *Ostatum*. From *St. Helens* to *Dos Baxos* haven is five leagues; from thence to the bay *de Asapo* three leagues, thence to *Casanusium* three, to *Capula* five, to *Sanon* nine, to *St. Albany* fourteen, and to *St. Peter* twenty leagues; lying in thirty-one degrees of latitude.

1622.

1653.

First settle-
ment of Caro-
lin.

* British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 459.

(Z) This practice of changing the names of rivers and settlements in *America*, has been very frequent amongst the *European* nations, and occasions vast confusion in history, as well as geography.

The next place is *San Mattheo*, five leagues from *St. Peter*. By this description, though ^a the latitude is inaccurately laid down, it appears that the river *Congarec*, or *Santee*, was originally the boundary of *Carolina* towards the north; but, as to the other places here mentioned, it would perhaps be a difficult matter, at this time, to investigate them, tho' perhaps not absolutely impossible by the assistance of old maps. Be that as it will, convenience, as well as the right of prior possession by *Cabat*, soon after the restoration of *Charles II.* induced numbers of *English* noblemen and gentlemen to throw their eyes upon this country, which was then, we are told, without inhabitants, or, if it contained any, they must have been *English*; as we cannot suppose that those first proprietors could have had their information from any other people. The king, accordingly, on the 24th of *March*, 1663, granted it by patent to *Edward*, earl of *Clarendon*, then lord high chancellor ^b of *England*; *George*, duke of *Albermarle*; *William*, lord *Craven*; *John*, lord *Berkley*; *Anthony*, lord *Ashley*; *Sir George Carteret*; *Sir William Berkley*; and *Sir John Colliton*; who, to use the words of the grand charter, being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God. Wherefore the king granted them all that territory in his dominions in *America*, from the north-end of the island, called *Lucke Island*, which lies in the southern *Virginian* sea, and within thirty-six degrees of north latitude; and to the west, as far as the *South-Seas*; and so southerly, as far as the river *San Mattheo*, which borders on the coast of *Florida*, and is within thirty-one degrees of north latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far ^c as the *South-Seas* aforesaid. This patent was accompanied with the usual investitures of fisheries, mines, power of life and limb, with other requisites for territorial property.

THE state of *England*, at this time, happened to be extremely favourable for a settlement of this kind. The dissenters had undergone some hardships, episcopacy had been restored, and many sober well-meaning *Englishmen* were, by no means, satisfied with the intentions of the court in general. Some of the proprietaries themselves were, at best, but very moderate favourers of the act of uniformity; and they very wisely obtained a clause of toleration in their charter, by which the king granted the proprietaries full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by such legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give unto such person and persons, inhabiting and being within the said province, or any ^d part thereof, who really, in their judgments and for conscience sake, cannot, or shall not, conform to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the church of *England*, and take and subscribe the oaths and articles, made and established in that behalf, or any of them, such indulgencies and dispensations in that behalf for and during such time and times, and with such limitations and restrictions, as they shall think fit.

THE original constitutions, of which there were an hundred and twenty articles, proceeded upon the same plan of toleration, which is very reasonably thought to have been suggested by the lord *Ashley*, afterwards earl of *Shaftsbury*; for it seems to be certain, that they were penned by the great Mr. *Lock*, then an intimate friend to, if not a dependant upon, that nobleman. By the 96th, 101st, 102d, and 106th articles of those fundamental ^e constitutions, it is provided, "That, since the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantations, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, give us no right to expel or use them ill; and, that those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and that it will not be reasonable for us, on this account, to keep them out: therefore, that sure peace may be maintained, amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the pu- ^f rity of the Christian religion, may not be scared, and kept at distance from it; but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and designs of the gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive, the truth: therefore, the said constitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, that no person, above 17 years of age, shall have any benefit or protection of the law, which is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one religious record." Those constitutions, which were signed by the proprietaries, are declared by the last article to be the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government in *Carolina* for ever. But, ^g having thus given the reader a sufficient idea of the religious part of those constitutions, we are now to proceed to the civil part of them.

- a THE first article they contain provides, that a palatine shall be chosen out of the proprietaries, who shall continue during life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other proprietaries. This palatine acted as a kind of a president to a court composed of himself, and three other proprietaries, and who were vested with the execution of all the powers of the charter; and it is called the palatine's court. Each member had a power of nominating a deputy, who acted for him, but according to his directions, in *Carolina*. The fundamental constitutions require that there should be three great hereditary landholders in every county, one called the landgrave, and the others called by the *Indian* name of caciques. Their great assembly, or what some call their parliament, was to consist of their governor, the proprietaries, or their deputies, and the commons, in imitation of kings, lords, and commons of
- b *Great-Britain*. The commoners were to be elective, like those of *England*, by the freeholders of every county; and this assembly was to sit in one house, once in every two years, and oftener if requisite; and the votes of all the members were to be of equal weight.

*Devotions
1670.*

- The understanding reader will easily perceive that this plan of government was too unwieldy and impracticable for an infant, and indeed inconsiderable colony, as that of *Carolina* then was, especially, as it was loaded with the great council, and the hundred courts, the palatine's court, the chief justice's court, the high constable's court, the chancellor's court, the treasurer's court, the chamberlain's court, and the high-steward's court. But he will have a clearer idea of the impracticability of this government, which was intended to be the miniature of the old *Saxon* constitution, from the words of Mr. *Mitchell*, an understanding man, and who, besides having a large property in the province, was governor of it. "The charter, says he, in his description of *Carolina*, generally, as in other charters, agrees on royal privileges and powers, but especially, at that time, it had an overplus power to grant liberty of conscience, though at home was a hot persecuting time; as also a power to create a nobility, yet not to have the same titles as here in *England*; and therefore they are here by patent, under the great seal of the province, called landgraves and caciques, in lieu of earls and lords, and are by their titles to sit with the lords proprietors deputies, and together make the upper house, the lower house being elected by the people. These landgraves are to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of 6000 acres each barony; and the caciques two baronies, of 3000 each, and not to be divided by sale
- c of any part. Only they have power to let out a third part for three lives, to raise portions for younger children."
- d

- To make this government still approach the nearer to the ancient feudal constitutions, the inhabitants and freemen from sixteen to sixty years old, if called upon by the sovereign power there, which was the grand council, were obliged to take the field with proper arms. Every planter, if he did not buy it off, was to pay annually one penny an acre quit rent to his proprietary; and each county had a sheriff, and four justices of the peace. The proprietaries expended above 12000 l. and single proprietors as much in transporting inhabitants and cattle thither, and it was long before either of them received any return from their estates. All free persons, who came over, were to have fifty acres of land for themselves,
- e fifty for each man-servant, and as many for each woman-servant, who was marriageable, and forty for each of either sex, who was not marriageable, and every servant after the expiration of his or her servitude, was deemed to be free, and to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of one penny an acre. But the proprietaries in all their leases took care when, as a great number of them did, the colonists bought off their quit-rents, to except mines, minerals, and quarries of precious stones. About the year 1670, colonel *William Sayle* was appointed by the proprietaries to be governor of *Carolina*. At this time, the lands about *Albemarle* and *Port Royal* rivers, as being most convenient for trade, were the most frequented; but experience soon taught the colonists, that pasturage and tillage were necessary for their establishment; so that *Asheley* and *Cooper* rivers drew thither such numbers,
- f that their neighbourhood became the best inhabited parts of the colony. In 1671 captain *Halshead* arrived with a supply of provisions of all kinds, from the proprietaries in *England*, who created *James Carteret*, Sir *John Yeomans*, and *John Lock*, Esq; landgraves. About this time, some deviations were made from the original constitutions. It was found that the number of landgraves and caciques, required by the original constitution to constitute the upper house, were not to be found; and, therefore, a governor was named by the palatine, the council was to consist of seven deputies of the proprietaries, as many chose by the assembly, or, as it is called, the parliament, and as many of the eldest landgraves and caciques. To those were added (all of them nominated by the proprietaries) an admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief-justice, secretary, surveyor, treasurer, high steward, high-
- g constable, register of births, burials, and marriages, register of writings, and marshal of the admiralty. The quorum of the council was to consist of the governor and six of the members, three of whom were to be proprietary deputies; and the assembly or parliament was to be composed of the governor, the deputies of the proprietors, ten members to be
- Men. Hist. Vol. XV. Z chosen

*Expences of
the proprietaries.*

1670.

chosen by the freeholders of *Berkley* county, and ten by those of *Colliton* county; but the number of this representation was to be encreased according to the encrease of the colony. a

The duke of
Albemarle
and lord Cra-
ven first pala-
tines.

THE first palatine of *Carolina* was the duke of *Albemarle*, but he dying, the earl of *Craven* succeeded him, and was palatine in 1671, when the temporary laws were enacted. It appears at this time, that the proprietaries had conceived very sanguine expectations of their colony; for they ordered captain *Halstead* to sail up *Ashley* river to make discoveries, and the model of a very magnificent town was sent over to be built as the metropolis of the province. Hitherto the bulk of the colonists was dissenters; but the promising appearances of the colony invited over to it many of the old cavalier stamp, and others, whose irregular libertine manners gave vast scandal to the original planters, which, in time, produced a kind of a schism, or rather a civil war in the colony. Sir *John Neomans* succeeded colonel *Sayle* as governor; but the disorders of the colony encreased so much, that the *Indians* were abused, and though, at that time, very numerous in *Carolina*, were provoked into a war, in which many were killed on both sides. Those imprudent steps must have proved fatal to the colony, had it not been for the prudence of the proprietaries; for their party, and that of the planters, besides having the natives on their hands, often came to blows; and one *Culpeper* was sent over prisoner to *England*, where he was tried for high-treason in *Westminster-hall*, for raising a rebellion in *Carolina*, but acquitted. b

Colonel West
governor.

To remedy these disorders, the proprietaries appointed one colonel *West* to be their governor, and by what we can judge of his character or conduct, he was a man of wisdom, moderation, and courage. He found great licentiousness prevailing in the colony, when he came to the government, parties risen to a great height, and the *Indian* war not extinguished. Notwithstanding this, *West*, by taking the popular party, (for it must be allowed, that the proprietaries in the exercise of their power had deviated from their original plan) he, in a great measure, cured the public divisions so much, that the colony united in repelling the *Westoes*, an *Indian* nation, who were very troublesome to the inhabitants. In 1682, he held a parliament in *Charles Town*, where several good laws passed, and particularly an act for highways, for suppressing drunkenness and profane swearing, for observation of the lord's day, and for settling the militia. Those, and other popular acts, were, at this time, displeasing to the chief proprietaries; and *West*, in 1683 (a time when parties ran very high in *England*) was removed from his government, and succeeded by *Joseph Moreton*, Esq; c

Differences
with the In-
dians.

ABOUT this time, the differences between the *Indians* and the colony still continuing, the proprietaries issued a commission to *Maurice Matthews*, *William Fuller*, *Jonathan Fitz*, and *John Boon*, Esqrs; to hear and determine all differences between the *English* and the *Indians* of *Carolina*. This commission did not long subsist; for the commissioners being accused of unfair practices in their decisions, it was dissolved. But notwithstanding all those discouraging disorders, the colony was so inviting, that it still thrived, and *Charles-Town* was built and fortified in a very inviting situation, upon a neck of land between *Ashley* and *Cooper* rivers. Three counties, those of *Berkley*, *Craven*, and *Colliton*, were laid out, and divided into squares of 12000 acres, proportioned to the shares held in them by the proprietaries, landgraves, and caciques. All the while it is certain that the proprietaries found the same fault with the administration of *Carolina*, that the *French* court and council did with that of *Canada*; and that was the colonists trading with the *Indians*, a commerce which they wanted to engross to themselves. Though Mr. *Moreton*, when he entered upon his office, called a parliament, in which several excellent acts passed for the benefit of individuals, as well as that of the colony, yet he was soon removed, and Sir *Richard Kyrle*, an *Irish* gentleman, was made governor in his stead. He lived but a few months after his nomination, upon which Mr. *West* was again appointed governor. As he still maintained a great reputation, his administration was of vast service to the colony, by bringing over many industrious planters, most of whom were dissenters. During the time of Mr. *West*'s second government, lord *Cardross*, afterwards earl of *Buchan*, a *Scotch* nobleman, arrived in *Carolina* with ten families of his countrymen, and settled at *Port Royal*, but disagreeing with the government, he returned to *Scotland*, and the settlement came to nothing. Mr. *West* was succeeded in his government by *James Colliton*, Esq; a *Barbadoes* gentleman, a proprietary and landgrave of *Carolina*. Settling there, he built a fine house on *Cooper* river. His government is said to have been so unpopular, that the people chose members to thwart every thing he should propose, even to the settling the militia, though their own safety depended on it. Disputes about their tenures and quit-rents still continuing, Mr. *Colliton*, in 1687, called a parliament, in which he and his party took upon them to alter the fundamental constitutions, and to substitute, in their place, other articles under the title of standing laws and temporary laws. This proceeding was equally disagreeable to the proprietaries, as to the planters; so that Mr. *Colliton* was not only driven from his govern- d

Kyrle,

West,

Colliton, go-
vernors.

1687.

ment, e

ment, but out of the province. A kind of interregnum seems then to have succeeded, or rather, the administration was put into the hands of gentlemen of the greatest interest in the colony, without any intention of their being continued. Mention is made of colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, colonel Ludwell, and Mr. Smith, who were successively governors. The last was a very worthy man, and finding it impossible to gratify the people in all their demands, he was so ingenuous in the year 1694, as to inform the proprietaries in England, that it was impossible to settle the country, except a proprietary himself was sent thither with full power to hear their grievances. Upon this, the lord Ashley, eldest son to the earl of Shaftsbury, was pitched upon by the proprietaries to go over as their governor. This lord was the famous and elegant author of the Characteristics; but his constitution not agreeing with the more active scenes of life, he declined accepting of the government, which was conferred on Mr. Archdale, to whose printed account of Carolina the public is chiefly indebted for its information as to this province. Being furnished with very ample powers by the proprietaries, he arrived at Carolina in August 1693, and the first measure of his administration was to call a parliament for settling the divisions, and removing the discontents of the colony; and the members chose Jonathan Amory, Esq; for their speaker.

Quarry, Southwell, Ludwell, and Smith, governors.

Archdale

1695.
His official ties.

MR. ARCHDALE found he had a very difficult province to manage; but at last, with good management and patience, he succeeded so well, that the assembly voted him an address of thanks. There was, at this time, an intimate connection between the government of Spain and that of Great-Britain; but it was a common practice for the people of Jamaica and Barbadoes to buy for slaves Spanish Indians, who had been taken prisoners by other savages. The Tammasees were a nation of Indians under the protection of the English, though they had been formerly under that of the Spaniards. They had taken some prisoners from an Indian nation belonging to Spain. Mr. Archdale, hearing of this, immediately ordered the king of the Tammasees to repair to Charles-Town with his prisoners, which he did, and Mr. Archdale then commanded him to march with them to St. Augustine, where he was to present them with a letter from himself, to the Spanish governor; all which the Indian prince most punctually obeyed; and Archdale received a very polite letter from the governor in return. Soon after the English Apalacheans killed three of the Spanish Indians, and the governor of St. Augustine, not to be behind his brother of Carolina in politeness, sent one of his Indians to complain of the injury, upon which orders were sent by the governor of Carolina, enjoining all the English Indians to live in strict friendship with those of Spain. Colonel Bull, one of the most considerable traders in Carolina, at the same time, persuaded the Indians about cape Fear to put themselves under the protection of the English. Those measures had so good an effect, that the Spanish Indians omitted no opportunity of shewing all kinds of respect and hospitality to the English, and fifty-two of the latter being shipwrecked near cape Fear, were relieved with the utmost tenderness and humanity by those savages. Their king, hearing of their misfortunes, invited them to his town, where, after hospitably entertaining them, he dispatched a party of his people to intimate their shipwreck to the governor of Carolina, who immediately sent off a sloop, which brought them safe to Charles Town. This prudent management prevented any quarrel among the English Indians, or between the Carolinians and them, during Mr. Archdale's administration.

He was succeeded by Joseph Blake, Esq; a proprietary, and nephew to the famous admiral of that name. It was now experimentally found that many inconveniences accrued from a strict adherence to the letter of the fundamental constitutions; and therefore during Mr. Blake's government, a set of forty one articles, under the denomination of "the last fundamental constitutions," were sent from England. Those articles provided in as ample a manner as the former did for liberty of conscience, and were signed by John earl of Bath, palatine; Anthony lord Ashley, the lord Craven, the lord Carteret, Sir John Colliton, William Thornburgh, merchant, and Thomas Amy, but they never were confirmed by the Carolina assembly. Mr. Blake was a man very well qualified for that administration; for though he was a dissenter, yet such was his moderation, that he prevailed with the assembly to settle one hundred and fifty pounds a year upon the church of England minister of Charles-Town for ever, and likewise to furnish him with a good house, a glebe, and two servants. Upon Mr. Blake's death in 1700, the deputies of the proprietaries in Carolina, in consequence of their powers in such cases, chose for their governor the eldest landgrave, Joseph Moreton, Esq; who had been governor before. His election was objected to, as being injurious to the proprietaries, because he had accepted of a commission from king William to be judge of the admiralty, though he had before accepted of a like commission from the proprietaries. Though this was a most ridiculous objection, as it did not appear that any admiralty jurisdiction was expressed in the original patent, yet Mr. Moor, who was Mr. Moreton's antagonist, had interest enough to get his election set aside, and himself chosen in his room; nor did the colonists, who very possibly were upon Moor's side, give Moreton any redress.

Blake.

1700.

Moreton,

THE

THE earl of *Bath*, son to the late earl, was now palatine, and he happening to be, next ^a to enthusiasm, a zealot for the church of *England*, his great ambition was to establish that worship in *Carolina*, exclusive of all others; the same doctrine being at that time enforced in *England* by the bill against occasional conformity. Mr. *Moor* was quite pliable to his views; but being himself in mean circumstances, he was, by the assembly, disappointed in an attempt he made to get the *Indian* trade into the hands of the government, and he therefore dissolved it. Towards the end of the year 1701, he called a new assembly, and according to the representation of his antagonists, "he so influenced the sheriff, that strangers, servants, aliens, nay, mulattoes and negroes, were polled and returned." Complaints of this, and many other abuses in his office, were sent to the palatine, especially by *Colliton* county, but no redress was obtained. In short, if we are to believe the representation ^b of the dissenters, *Moor*, who is commonly called colonel *Moor*, was a monster of a governor; but it is plain that the charges against him were exaggerated in several respects.

Attempts upon
St. Augustine
frustrated.

UPON the accession of *Philip V.* to the crown of *Spain*, it was easily foreseen that a war between the *English* and the *Spaniards* must be soon inevitable, and the *Carolinians* had a strong notion that the *Spaniards* were little better than usurpers on their original charter. This opinion was of great service to colonel *Moor*, in promoting a scheme he had for engrossing to his government and himself the profits of the slave trade, by selling the *Spanish Indians* in the *British* islands and plantations, at a less price than what they can be imported for from *Africa*. This, together with the hopes which the inferior planters entertained of the plunder from the *Floridan Spaniards*, who were reported to be immensely rich, encouraged *Moor*, that he might avoid all inquiries into his own conduct, to propose an expedition against *St. Augustine*. As war was not then declared against *Spain*, the more wealthy planters, who looked upon the project as chimerical, had interest enough to get this motion thrown out of the assembly. But though the opposition against *Moor's* government was very strong, yet he soon obtained a majority, and defeated all the attempts that were made for having the last fundamental constitutions recognized by the assembly. This produced fresh representations against his government; and in one of them it was said "that he granted commissions to *Anthony Dodsworth*, *Robert Mackoon*, and others, to set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many *Indians* as they possibly could; the profit and produce of which *Indian* slaves were turned to his private use: whereas such undertakings, unjust and ^d barbarous in themselves, will, in all probability, draw upon us an *Indian* war."

IT is probable that *Moor* could not have got the better of the dissenting interest within his government, had he not been befriended by the palatine and the proprietaries in *England*, and, by the war which soon after broke out with *Spain*, which gave him a handle for renewing his project against *St. Augustine*. It is almost incredible, that a government so lately settled as that of *Carolina* then was, and subject to such mismanagements, should undertake so unpromising an expedition, and be so near succeeding in it, as the *Carolinians* were. The wealthy planters in vain remonstrated against the inability of the province to undertake such an expedition, for so strongly was the majority of the assembly bent upon it, that, to carry it into execution, they voted 2000*l.* to be raised; a sum so small, that it ^e may well surprize a modern reader, who considers the importance of the service, that six hundred *English* and six hundred *Indians* were immediately raised, and that they had above three hundred miles to march between *Charles-Town* and *St. Augustine*. Colonel *Daniel* was sent before-hand up the river with a party with *peruaguas*, from which he was to make a descent upon the land-side, while the governor was to attack it by sea. Every thing succeeded at first. *Daniel* defeated the *Spanish Indians*, and he and *Moor* together killed or took prisoners about six hundred of them. They then proceeded to the town of *St. Augustine*, which they took and plundered, as they had done all the open country; but the inhabitants, by this time, had retired with their best effects to the castle, which was well fortified, and contained provisions for four months. The *English* were unprovided with ^f bombs and mortars, and the whole of their artillery was in other respects very inconsiderable; so that all they could do was to blockade the place till they could receive a supply of bombs and mortars from *Jamaica*. A sloop was dispatched thither for that purpose; but the commander of it trifling away his time, colonel *Daniel*, on whose personal abilities the success of the expedition seems wholly to have rested, undertook to go to *Jamaica*, which he actually did, and procured a supply of bombs. ^g

DURING *Daniel's* absence two *Spanish* ships appeared in the offing of *St. Augustine*, which struck Mr. *Moor*, who had lain there near three months, with such a panic, that he broke up the siege, burnt his ships (though others say they fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*) and made his retreat with a precipitancy that did no honour to his martial abilities. *Daniel*, in the mean while, came back to *St. Augustine*, and, with great difficulty, escaped being

a taken. When the fright of the *Carolinians* was over, it plainly appeared that *Moor* had abandoned a certain conquest; for the two *Spanish* men of war were only two frigates, one of twenty-two, and the other of sixteen guns; and if he had had the resolution to have continued the siege, or rather the blockade, a little longer, the place must have surrendered. *Moor*, in his return to *Carolina*, had a long and a fatiguing land march, which was conducted in a very unsoldier-like manner. One of his *Indian* associates, *Arratommakaw*, king of the *Tanioscaves*, knew the nature of the *Spaniards* too well to be alarmed by any reports of a pursuit, and therefore when he came to his *peruaguas* he there rested himself and his people very contentedly, telling the *English*, who pressed him to be gone, that though their governor left them, he would not stir till he saw all his men before him. It is wonderful, b that in this laborious expedition the *English* lost no more than two men. Colonel *Moor* being returned to *Charles Town*, found the *Carolinians* greatly dispirited by the bad success of their expedition, especially as it had entailed upon them a debt of 6000 l. When the assembly met, the lower house, or the representatives of the people, passed a bill for the better regulating elections, which was disdainfully rejected by the governor and the council, who wanted to raise money to pay off the provincial debt. The members of the assembly were but thirty, and of them fifteen entered a protest (not very regular perhaps) against the governor's proceeding. In short, both parties seem to have been in fault, the governor having got the lower people on his side, with some of his riotous friends, insulted the protesters in the most gross manner, and it is pretty plain that the latter wanted to evade the c payment of the provincial debts. One Mr. *Ash*, who was a member of the assembly, and had been personally abused, was employed by the protesters to draw up a representation of their case while the riot against the members of the assembly continued; but, though great applications were made to the governor, both for quelling and punishing the rioters, nothing of that kind was done.

Dissentions in Carolina.

At last, Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who had been governor of the *Leeward Islands*, in the reign of king *James*, and had, after that, retired to *Carolina*, was appointed governor; but he acted upon the principles of the late governor *Moor*, who was appointed attorney-general of the province, as one of his creatures, *Trott*, was chief-justice of the common pleas, which was then a post of vast power in that province. But, notwithstanding the black colours in which the *English* dissenting writers have represented this governor *Moor*, it ought to be remembered, d that the formation of the colony of *Georgia* was chiefly owing to him. In the year 1703, with the *Carolinians* of his party, he marched against the *Spanish Apalachians*, eight hundred of whom he killed or took prisoners, as he did don *Juan Mexico*, who commanded them. By his progress the whole province of *Apalachia* submitted to the *English*, and he transported from thence to the country now called *Georgia*, about 1400 of the *Apalachians*, who put themselves under the protection of the *English*. This did not prevent the *Carolinians* from vigorously prosecuting their complaints in *England*. They consisted of two heads; first, the riotous proceedings, which had been encouraged and abetted by the governors *Moor* and *Johnson*; and the second regarded the illegal practices of those two governors, in procuring returns to be made to the house of representatives. Those complaints met with a very cold reception in *England*; and the assembly meeting in *Carolina*, a bill was brought in, in express violation of the fundamental charter, for the more effectual preservation of the government, by requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons house of assembly, and sit in the same, to conform to the religious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites and usage of the church of *England*. By this act, all dissenters were disqualified, though legally elected, from sitting in the assembly, and the candidate who had the greatest number of voices after the disqualified dissenter, was to be admitted. The passing of this bill, which to say the truth was illegal and oppressive, f alarmed all the dissenters in the colony, who instructed Mr. *Ash*, their agent, to represent to the lord *Granville* their grievances, which he did in a printed paper; but *Ash* died before he saw any effect of his representations, and his lordship was far from being a man of such a temper and principles, as to give them relief.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

1703.

The dissenting *Carolinians* were thus left without all redress, and, to complete their grievances, a bill passed, which was signed by the governor and deputies for establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*, and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and the building convenient houses for them. The following commissioners were appointed to see this act put into execution, Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; colonel *James Moor*, *Nicholas Trott*, Esq; colonel *Robert Gibbes*, *Job How*, Esq; *Ralph Izard*, Esq; colonel *James Risbee*, colonel *George Logan*, lieutenant-colonel *William Rbett*, *William Smith*, Esq;

A bill passed against occasional conformists.

^c ROBERTS'S account of *Florida*, p. 89.

Mr. John Stroude, Mr. Thomas Hullard, Richard Beresford, Esq; Mr. Robert Seabrook, Mr. a
 Hugh Hicks, John Aslby, Esq; captain John Geafrey, James Scrurier, alias Smith, Esq; and Mr.
 Thomas Barton. In consequence of this act, many foolish, and some of oppressive, things were
 done by the government of *Carolina*, against the dissenters there, and, at last, it drew from
 the merchants trading thither a petition to the lord *Granville* to have it repealed. A board
 of proprietaries was, with great difficulty, assembled; but, notwithstanding all the represen-
 tations of Mr. *Archdale*, who was himself a proprietary, and Mr. *Boon*, agent for the dissen-
 ters, no redress could be obtained. The bill, however, was of such pernicious consequence
 to the colony, that the lower house passed a vote for repealing it; but the governor dissolved
 them for their unsteadiness. About the same time, the society for propagating the gospel b
 in *America* and elsewhere, resolved not to send any missionaries to *Carolina*, till both the act
 and the lay-commission attending it, were repealed. All those measures and representa-
 tions signified nothing; but the colony every day gaining strength, many of the most emi-
 nent merchants in *London* abetted Mr. *Boon* in his agency, and even carried an application
 into the house of lords for the relief of the *Carolinians*. There, the matter was fully de-
 bated, and an address was voted to the queen in behalf of the *Carolinians* in the following
 terms.

An address of
 the house of
 lords in fa-
 vour of the
Carolinians.

“THE house having fully and maturely weighed the nature of these two acts, found
 themselves obliged in duty to your majesty, and in justice to your subjects in *Carolina* (who,
 by the express words of the charter of your royal uncle king *Charles II.* granted to the pro-
 prietors, are declared to be the liege people of the crown of *England*, and to have right to c
 all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were born within this
 kingdom; and who, by the words of the same charter, are to be subject to no laws but
 such as are consonant to reason, and as near as may be to the laws and customs of *England*)
 to come to the following resolutions:

“FIRST, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the assembly of *Carolina*
 lately passed there, and since signed and settled by *John* lord *Granville* palatine, for himself,
 and for the lord *Carteret*, and the lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colliton*, four of the proprie-
 tors of that province, in order to the ratifying, entitled, An act for the establishing reli-
 gious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*, and for the erecting of
 churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and d
 building convenient houses for them; so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a
 commission for the displacing the rectors or ministers of the churches there, is not warrant-
 ed by the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, as being not consonant to reason,
 repugnant to the laws of this realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of
England.

SECONDLY, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the assembly of *Carolina*,
 entitled, An act for the more effectual preservation of the government of this province, by
 requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons house of assen-
 bly, and sit in the same, to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration appointed by this
 act, and to conform to the religious worship in this province, according to the rites and e
 usage of the said church lately passed there, and signed and sealed by *John* lord *Granville*,
 palatine, for himself and the lord *Craven*, and also for the lord *Carteret*, and by Sir *John Col-*
liton, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, is founded up-
 on falsity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of *England*, contrary to the charter
 granted to the proprietors of that colony, is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, de-
 structive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the said province.

“MAY it please your majesty,

WE your majesty's most dutiful subjects, having thus humbly presented our opinion of
 these acts, we beseech your majesty to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said
 province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies; and to order the authors f
 thereof to be prosecuted according to law.”

To which her majesty was graciously pleased to answer;

“I THANK the house for laying these matters so plainly before me; I am very sensible of
 what great consequence the plantations are to *England*, and will do all that is in my power
 to relieve my subjects.”

Their charter
 surrendered.

BESIDES this representation, the commissioners of trade and plantations, who were then
 the right honourable the lord *Dartmouth*, the honourable *Robert Cecil*, Esq; Sir *Philip Mel-*
dows, *William Blathwayte*, Esq; *Matthew Prior*, Esq; and *John Pollexfen*, Esq; to whom the
 matter of the petition was referred, represented to her majesty on the 24th of *May*, 1700,
 that the making such laws is an abuse of the power granted to the proprietors by their char- g
 ter, and had forfeited the same, and offering to her majesty, that she would be pleased to
 give directions for re-assuming the same into her majesty's hands by *force facias*, in her ma-
 jesty's court of queen's bench. On the 10th of *June* following, her majesty approved of
 this

this representation, the laws complained of were declared to be null and void, and the attorney and solicitor-general were ordered to inform themselves about the most effectual method of proceeding against the charter of the colony by *quo warranto*. All this while, public business was almost at an entire stand in *Carolina*, where great abuses were committed in electing a new assembly; and on the 2d of *January* 1705, when the members met, their number was not sufficient for making a house, and chusing a speaker. At last, when their numbers were complete, they chose Mr. *Seabrook* for their speaker, who was approved of by the governor. Next day, when the house met, great debates arose about the qualifications of the members; but before a sufficient number were qualified, they adjourned themselves. At their next meeting they waited upon the governor, who spoke to them in the following terms, "Gentlemen, you are building on a wrong foundation, and then the superstructure will never stand; for you have dissolved yourselves by adjourning before there was a competent number of members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a house. All this I know very well, as being myself many years a member of the house of commons in *England*; and therefore, as I am head, I would advise you to go back no more to the house, but go every man about his own business: for if you should persist in settling and making laws, besides the incurring the penalties of the act, the laws would be of no force." There was a great deal of truth in what the governor said, and the house was accordingly dissolved.

THE next assembly was chosen under vast circumstances of tumult; and not having heard of the blow which their palatine's government had received in *England*, they proceeded to very unwarrantable lengths: for they enacted their own continuance two years after the death of their then governor, and the accession of his successor. The preamble of this act is very remarkable, "Whereas the church of *England* has of late been so happily established among them, fearing by the succession of a new governor, the church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent that calamity befalling them, be it enacted." Col. *Johnson* was succeeded in the government of *Carolina* by major *Tynte*; and he by a variety of other names, *Gibbes*, *Craven*, *Daniel*, *Johnson*, and *Moor*; of all whose governments, nothing falls under our cognizance. In the year 1718, *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; was governor, during whose time the province was terribly harrassed by pirates; so that the planters fitted out at their own expence two sloops under the command of captain *Rbett*, who took a pirate sloop of ten guns and seventy men; and *Johnson*, the late governor, took another, but of smaller dimensions. In the year 1722, four *Indian* nations sent deputies to make peace between their nations and the *English*. They were well received and cloathed, and in return they owned themselves subjects of *Great Britain*. In the year 1730, a dreadful plot was formed by the negroes of the province of *Carolina*, to massacre all the white people, and it might have succeeded, had they not differed amongst themselves about their manner of proceeding. It was reckoned at this time that there were in this province about 28,000 negroes, men, women, and children, and that 10,000 of them were capable of bearing arms. Nothing remarkable happened after this for some time, but an endeavour to deprive the *Carolinians* of their right to chuse juries by ballot; but it was confirmed to them by the *English* government against all the efforts of their proprietaries. At this time it appears, that there was a very bad understanding between them and their governor, *Middleton*, who, in the year 1730, treated the assembly with the following speech. "I cannot think but you must be thoroughly convinced of the necessity there is for granting immediate supplies for the paying the arrears due to the garrisons, the rangers, scouts, and look outs: you will do well to consider the miserable circumstances of those poor people, who have now three years pay due to them. I would fain know, wherein consists the prudence and policy of deferring the payment of public debts year after year, till the burthen becomes heavy, and the country becomes bankrupt. I need not tell you the *Indians* are no longer our friends than you keep them in fear, and who will credit the public in time of danger, when they will pay nothing of what they owe in time of tranquillity? Before I conclude, I must put you in mind, gentlemen, of humbly addressing his majesty with thanks, for purchasing the soil, and taking it under his immediate protection."

Major Tynte.

1718.
Nicholson
governor.

1722:

Middleton
governor.

THE disagreement between the people and their governor, as usual, encouraged the *Indians* to rise against the *English*. It is very probable, that the savages were provoked to this by some oppressive practices of the *English*, and that they were abetted both by the *French* and *Spaniards*. By this time the power and interest of the proprietaries in *Carolina* was dwindled to nothing; and so feeble was their administration, that the *Carolinians* were obliged to apply to the crown to take them under its protection; which the government of *England* pretended implied a resumption of their charter. Notwithstanding this, they made so good a head against the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, that they carried on an offensive war against them in *Florida*, and, according to their own accounts, drove the *Spaniards* in that country to take refuge under the guns of *St. Augustine*, and they destroyed all their houses and cattle, with those of their allies in the open country. But the proprietaries found

found themselves unable to maintain, on their own bottom, any war against the *Indians*, a when the latter were supported by such powerful allies. They therefore resolved to surrender their charter, which they accordingly did to *Edward Bertie*, *Samuel Horsey*, *Henry Smith*, and *Alexias Clayton*, Esqrs; in trust for the crown. The proprietaries then were, *Henry*, duke of *Beaufort*, *William*, lord *Craven*, *James Bertie*, Esq; *Dodington Greville*, Esq; *Henry Bertie*, Esq; *Mary Danson*, *Elizabetb Moor*, Sir *John Colliton*, *John Cotton*, Esq; and *Joseph Blake*, Esq; Those noblemen and gentlemen possessed no more than seven-eighths of the province; the other eighth being in lord *Carteret*, and they received from the crown for their cession 17,500 l. together with 5000 l. more due to them by the province on account of out-standing debts.

1728.

Johnson governor.

THIS surrender and payment was in the year 1728 confirmed by an act of the *British* b parliament, entitled, An act for establishing an agreement with seven of the lords proprietaries of *Carolina*, for surrender of their title and interest in that province to his majesty. One clause of this act runs as follows, " Having and reserving always to *John* lord *Carteret*, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all such estate, right and title to one-eighth part of the share of the said provinces or territories, and to one-eighth part of all arrears." After passing this act the government fell in good earnest to encourage this colony, which now appeared to be one of the most promising of any the *English* had in *North America*, and *Robert Johnson*, Esq; was appointed to be its governor. By the assistance which the province received from *England*, the *Indians* were expelled, and compelled to accept of equitable terms of peace; but it was now evident that a precarious peace was no other than c an ill observed truce, and it therefore became necessary to endeavour to bring over the *Cherokees*, the *Indians* from whom the *Carolians* had most to apprehend, to be cordial friends of the *English*. Sir *Alexander Cumming*, a *Scotch* gentleman, who happened to be in *America* at that time, undertook this arduous task, and set out upon a long and dangerous journey of four or five hundred miles, to persuade those savages to submit to the crown of *Great Britain*. On the first of *March* 1729, he came to *Kecabwce*, which is distant about three hundred miles from *Charles-Town*, from whence he set out. Meeting with an *English* trader he was informed that the lower *Creeks* had given the *Cherokees* an invitation to join the *French* interest. Sir *Alexander*, without loss of time, repaired to the house where about two hundred of the head *Cherokees* were assembled, and was by them received with the d greatest marks of respect. He then issued dispatches for a general meeting of the nation, to confer with him at *Nequeffee* on the third of *April* following. After this he travelled a vast way into their country, and was every where received with so many marks of distinction, that, if we are to believe some writers, several of the nations even offered him their chieftainship. One of their head men was *Moyty*; and, upon the return of Sir *Alexander* to *Nequeffee*, he had honours performed to him next to a divinity. He then made a speech to the assembly, extolling the grandeur and virtues of king *George*, whom all of them swore in the most solemn manner to obey; and they made Sir *Alexander* the compliment of receiving from his hands, *Moyty*, as chief of all their nation. After this, Sir *Alexander* was presented with their sovereign diadem, together with five eagles tails, and four scalps of e their enemies, with a request that he would be pleased to lay all at the feet of his *Britannic* majesty. Every thing being now prepared for his departure, *Moyty* would have attended him to *England* in person, had not his wife, of whom, it seems, he was very fond, been dangerously ill; but he insisted upon the head warrior of the *Tepetchees* with other chiefs attending him to *England*, which they did, and they arrived at *Dover* on the fifth of *June*.

Submission of the Cherokees to the crown of Great Britain.

THIS was undoubtedly a most important service performed by Sir *Alexander*, to the crown of *Great Britain*, and it ought to have been both better improved and rewarded than it was. The chiefs, it is true, were presented to the king, and saw all the magnificence of the *English* court, and at the same time they bore witness to the truth of Sir *Alexander's* f speech, when he laid the *Cherokee* crown at his majesty's feet, and declared the submission of their nation to his authority. But when this idle pageantry was over, the savages soon forgot it; nor indeed do they seem to have the smallest idea of any grandeur of government without the verge of their own country. No benefit arose to them from their subjection, which undoubtedly was the motive of it; neither do we know of any care that was taken after Mr. *Johnson's* government, to keep up the *British* interest among them, though it might have been done at a very trifling expence. Mr. *Johnson* arrived at his government in 1731, and in the first speech he made, said, " The king, our royal master, having been pleased to appoint me his governor of this his province, I took the first opportunity to repair hither, where, on my arrival, finding an assembly newly elected, which g had never sat to do any business, considering how short a time there will be for a session, before the season of the year will make you desire to be at your several plantations, I chose rather to meet you now, than to wait for a new election. His majesty, out of his great goodness

a goodness and fatherly care of you, and at the earnest request and solicitation of yourselves, his been graciously pleased, at a great expence, to purchase seven-eighths of the late lord's proprietors charter, whereby you are become under his immediate government, a blessing and security we have been long praying for, the good effects of which we only experience by the safety we enjoy, as well in our trade by the protection of our ships, as by land in an independent company, maintained partly for our safety and encouragement. The taking off the duty on rice is a peculiar favour."

Mr. JOHNSON then recommended to the assembly, by his majesty's order, the encouragement of a public school in *Charles Town*, and the repairing the fortifications, and declared that he had brought over with him a considerable present for the chiefs of the
b *Cherokees* to confirm them in their good dispositions towards the crown of *Great Britain*; and likewise he communicated a treaty with which he had been charged by the commissioners of trade and plantations to be entered into with those savages. This treaty was approved of by the assembly, and the heads of the *Cherokees* being invited to *Charles-Town*, they were there received in a most brilliant manner, by the gentry of both sexes, and they ratified the treaty with the utmost cordiality. Unfortunately it happened, that the *Virginians* and the *Carolínians* pursued separate interests among the *Cherokees* and the *Carolinian* traders often complained of their being underfold by the *Virginians*. Mr. *Johnson* omitted nothing that could remove all the grievances of his government. On the 25th of *August* 1732, he had an interview with *Mingo Mingo*, a *Chickesaw* Indian, who was attended by eight men and two women, together with two *Natchee* Indians. This savage presented the governor, with whom were some of the principal inhabitants of the colony, with twenty-six Indian dressed deer skins; and in the speech he made the governor, whom he called father, he said, "he had undertaken a very long journey to see him; that he hoped the path between them would never be shut up; that he came from a great town in his nation of which he was king; and that in their way thither they lost one of their men, who was killed by one of the *Cherokee* Indians in friendship with the *English*. That he was sent down by the other head-men of his nation, to receive the talk from him, and that he would faithfully carry it back." The governor apologized in the best manner he could for the *Cherokees*, and understanding that the *Chickesaws* had some difference with the *Chataways*, on account of the
d friendship of the former towards the *English*, he presented *Mingo* with twelve cags of gunpowder, and twenty-four bags of bullets, as he did the two *Natchee* Indians, as well as *Mingo* and his attendants, with a coat, gun, hat, and other apparel. He then dismissed them, after recommending a good understanding between the *Natches* and the *Chickesaws*; and advised the latter to demand satisfaction of the *Cherokees* in a friendly manner, in order to prevent a war. In this governor's time the province of *Georgia* was planned, and he published an advertisement in the *Carolina* gazette for receiving voluntary subscriptions towards its establishment. He and the people of *Charles-Town* gave likewise a most hospitable reception to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and his attendants, upon that gentleman's first arrival there, in his way to *Georgia*; and upon their departure, the general assembly, upon the governor's
e motion, voted, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* should be furnished at the public expence with one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs, and twenty barrels of good rice; that, besides small craft to carry them, the scout-boats, and captain *Macpherson*, with ten of the rangers, who are horsemen kept in pay to discover the motions of the *Indians*, should attend Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and obey his commands, in order to protect the new settlers from any insults. He likewise would have attended Mr. *Oglethorpe* to *Georgia*, had not the assembly of *Carolina* been sitting; but, at his request, colonel *Bull*, who was extremely conversant in those affairs, went to *Georgia*, where he was very assisting to Mr. *Oglethorpe*; and the governor, at the same time, recommended the care of the infant-colony to all the *Indians*, who were in friendship with the *Carolínians*.

Treaty with the Cherokee Indians.

1732.

Settlement of Georgia.

f BEFORE this time, we perceive that there was war between the people of *Carolina* and the *Yamasse* Indians. The *Carolínians* raised an hundred white men, and an hundred *Indians*, with whom they attacked the *Yamasse* village, and killed thirty-two of its inhabitants with a friar. After this, they drove both the *Spaniards*, who were settled there, and the *Yamassees* into *St. Augustine*, where the *English* for some time blockaded them. According to an article then published in the *Carolina* gazette, no fewer than three hundred shot were fired upon the *English* from the castle, but without any effect. At last, the governor of *St. Augustine* demanded what the claims of the *English* were, and received for answer that they required the *Yamasse* Indians to be delivered up to them. To this the governor replied, that the *Yamassees* being subjects of the crown of *Spain*, the demand could not be complied with,
g but that he would make good all the damage the *English* had sustained. Upon this, the *Carolínians* retreated, after lying three days before the town. This war with the *Indians* brought a considerable expence upon many individuals in the province, who very justly

War between the Carolínians and the Yamassees.

complained of the extravagant grants of 12, nay sometimes 24,000 acres, made by the proprietaries to the landgraves and the caciques, by which the complainants, who had defended the province against the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, were prevented from making any advantageous settlements at the established quit-rents. This, upon examination, appeared to be a very great grievance; and the attorney and solicitor-general in *England* gave their opinion against the validity of those exorbitant grants. Two persons were taken into custody on account of this grievance; and the controversy, at last, was ended by an act of the assembly to remedy the same.

1732.
Settlement of
the Swisses in
Carolina.

THE situation and fertility of *Carolina*, and the interest which the crown now took in its prosperity, about the year 1732, rendered it a most flourishing province. We have already mentioned a small settlement, made by the Scotch lord *Cardross*, on the river *Savannah*, and which was abandoned because of its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*; but, at the time we now treat of, the intention of that plantation was resumed. One Mr. *Purry*, a *Swiss* gentleman, born at *Neufchatel*, entered into a treaty with the *British* government for planting the same spot with *Swisses*. A hundred and seventy-two of them accordingly settled there, and, in a few months, they built upon the northern bank of the river *Savannah* a new town, called *Purrysburgh*, which soon contained above three hundred *Swisses*. In 1734, Mr. *Purry*, in consequence of a very laudable scheme, which he had formed in concert with the assembly of *South Carolina*, for raising a barrier of hardy industrious people on the southern frontier of that province, carried over thither two hundred and seventy more of his countrymen: so that above six hundred *Swisses* were now settled in *Purrysburgh*. The assembly voted him 400 l. for every hundred effective men he brought over; and promised to find provisions and tools for three hundred of them for one year. The fund for defraying this expence was the negro duty, which the crown had remitted to the assembly for that purpose. A most noble scheme about the same time for the benefit of the colony was recommended by his then majesty to the governor. It was proposed, that eleven townships should be established, and the forty-third article of the governor's instructions declared, "That it is his majesty's will and pleasure, that each of these eleven townships do consist of 20,000 acres of land to be laid out in square plats of ground; that fifty acres (part of the abovementioned 20,000) shall be granted to every inhabitant at the first settling; and, to the intent, that land near the township may not be wanting for the conveniency of the inhabitants as their substance shall increase, no person, except the inhabitants, shall be allowed to take up any land, within six miles of the said township respectively, to which the said township shall be contiguous." At the same time, the property of 48,000 acres was granted to Mr. *Purry*, for the use of the six hundred *Swisses* he had imported. Some mismanagements, however, seem to have crept into the new *Swiss* plantation, which drew from the governor the following proclamation. "Whereas I have received information from colonel *Peter Purry*, that several persons at *Purrysburgh* have sold the lots and lands, to which they pretend right in that township, although they have obtained no grants for the same; and notwithstanding they have received the benefit and bounty of this province in provision, as also that they have attempted to sell their pretended lots, though they were never at *Purrysburgh*, which is contrary to the king's royal intention in settling the said township; for the preventing of which fraudulent practices, I here issue this my proclamation to inform the public, that no grants will pass of any lands in any of the townships laid out in this province, but only to those in whose names the original warrants were made out, and shall settle there."

1735.
Thomas
Broughton
governor.

Soon after this proclamation was published, governor *Johnson* died May 3, 1735, and was succeeded by *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; It must be allowed, that the government of *England*, at this period, was a little too negligent in their appointments of *American* governors, who, in general, were men that having run out their estates in *Great Britain*, were sent to retrieve them in *America*. The state of the fortifications was in a deplorable condition, and the inhabitants in general, of this as well as the other provinces, gave themselves very little trouble about contributing to the public exigencies, while the legislature of *Great Britain*, being then in profound peace, both with *France* and *Spain*, neglected all the means of obliging them to contribute towards their own defence. But all those mismanagements did not damp the zeal of the protestant *Swisses* and the *Vaudois*, from endeavouring to make settlements in *Carolina*; and the latter, who, in their country, had been accustomed to the manufacture of silk, hearing that *Carolina* was proper for the culture of silk worms, still continued, as well as the *Swisses*, to flock to it; so that, in a few years, another foreign town, called *Wilton*, or *New London*, was built, and rivalled *Purrysburgh*. This competition was of some detriment to the colony, and the foreigners, in general, complained, that the terms upon which they transported themselves to the province were not fulfilled. By this time, the government of *England* had formed a design of splitting the

a the great *American* provinces into subdivisions, and the province of *Carolina* was divided into *South* and *North*, each under a separate governor. South and North Carolina.

NORTH Carolina was, at first, governed by captain *Hyde*, Sir *Richard Everard*, and captain *Burrington*; but the history of it is so barren of any events, that it can only be mentioned here. The governors, it is true, received their salaries; but so little care was taken concerning the police of the country, that no clergyman had settlements there, to the great scandal of the other colonists, even their marriages being performed by justices of the peace. Nothing farther occurs in the history of *Carolina*, till the government of Mr. *Glen*; excepting the common share that the province took in the war between *Great Britain* and *France* and *Spain*, an account of which is to be found in other parts of this work. In 1752, *South Carolina* was in so thriving a condition, that the following is an extract of the governor's speech. "There are, at present, in this harbour of *Charles town*, two ships with upwards of eight hundred foreign protestants on board; and two others are hourly expected with a like number. If they are settled comfortably, they will not only by this means be kept here, and be a considerable addition to our strength, but will encourage many others to come: and even the settling of these in proper places may be made subservient to our security." Soon after this arrived at *South Carolina*, on the 26th of *May*, 1753, escorted by three troops of horse, by the governor's order, upwards of an hundred *Creek Indians*, with about twenty of their chieftains, or warriors, and their emperor *Malachti*, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. *Bosomworth*, and Mr. *Chatie*. This king *Malachti*, was termed the *Red Coat* king; and he was attended by the *Wolf* king, the *Ottassee* king, with other chiefs and warriors, to whom his excellency the governor made a speech, entirely in their own manner, to persuade them to ratify all their treaties with the *English*, and likewise to make peace with the *Cherokees*. This last people, it seems, were then under the protection of the *English*, and had been attacked, and some of them murdered, even in the neighbourhood of *Charles-town*. The *Creeks*, on the other hand, complained that the *Cherokees* had encouraged the northern *Indians* to fall upon them; but the *Cherokees*, in reply, pleaded that those savages were generally so numerous, and so well armed, that they could not keep them back. The governor's speech ended with a desire that there might be a good understanding among all the savages who were in friendship with the *English*. After this *Malachti* made a present of skins to his excellency; and accounted for the conduct of his people towards the *Cherokees*, and the other *English Indians*, which, though of great consequence upon the spot, is too minute to have a place here. Upon the whole, *Malachti* promised every thing that the governor could require, excepting an alliance with the northern *Indians*, which he pretended to be a matter of so great consequence, that he and his nation must deliberate upon it. This interview seems to have had an excellent effect upon the *Cherokees*, as well as the *Creeks*, for after the taking of *Oswego*, four hundred of them joined the *English* forces.

WE have often, in the course of this history, observed the vast advantages which the *French* government had over that of *England*, by a superior influence with the *Indians*. In the year 1739, when *William Henry Lyttleton*, Esq; was governor of *South Carolina*, the *French Louisianians* prevailed upon those savages to attack the *English*, and their *Indian* allies; many of whom they plundered, massacred, and scalped. Mr. *Lyttleton*, having undoubted intelligence of those outrages, with the consent and assistance of the assembly of his province, raised, with extraordinary dispatch, a very considerable body of troops, and marched, at their head, in the beginning of *October*, 1759, into the country of the *Cherokees*, who were under such consternation by so vigorous a measure, that they chose the famous *Attakullakulla* to be their deputy, and to treat with the governor; he being attended for that purpose by several head men and warriors, who met the governor at fort *Prince George*. The savages, instead of disputing the terms, received them from the governor, who was at the head of eight hundred militia, and 300 regulars. He had collected the militia at *Congrees*, about an hundred miles from *Charles-town*, which he had left in the beginning of *October*, and advanced two hundred miles farther to *Keowee*, where the *Indians* made their submissions. The reader, in the note (A), will find the treaty,

1739.
William
Henry Lyttle-
ton governor.

1759.

(A) Treaty of peace and friendship, concluded by his excellency, *William Henry Lyttleton*, Esq; captain-general, and governor in chief of majesty's province of *South-Carolina*, with *Atakullakulla*, or the *Little Carpenter*, deputy of the whole *Cherokee* nation, and other headmen and warriors thereof, at fort *Prince George*, December 26, 1759.

"Art. 1. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his majesty's subjects of this province, and the nation of *Indians* called the *Cherokees*, and the said *Cherokees* shall preserve peace with all his majesty's subjects whatsoever.

Art. 2. The articles of friendship and commerce, concluded by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, with the deputies of the *Cherokees*, by his majesty's command at *Whitehall*, the 7th of *September*, 1730, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

Art. 3. Whereas the *Cherokee Indians* have, at sundry times and places, since the 19th of *November*, 1758, slain divers of his majesty's good subjects of this province; and his excellency the governor having demanded that satisfaction should be given for the same, according to the tenor of the said articles of friendship and commerce afore-mentioned, in consequence whereof

His expedition
against the
Cherokees.

1760.

That of colonel
Montgomery.

then concluded the whole expedition, not taking up above three months. It soon, how-
ever, appeared that the submission of the *Cherokees* was only to avoid the storm that was
ready to break upon them. The *Indian* hostages were lodged in fort *Prince George*, and,
not being very strictly guarded, they had found means to enter into a conspiracy, with
their countrymen without, for massacring the garrison, and getting possession of the fort.
For this purpose they had procured tomahawks, and other arms, and even a bottle of
poison to taint the waters of the fort. About the same time, their warrior, *Ouconnostata*,
attempted with twenty or thirty of his savages to enter the fort, on pretence of a con-
ference, and mortally wounded an *English* officer, and wounded two others. This being
known to ensign *Mills*, who commanded within the fort, the hostages were put in irons, but
they made such a resistance, that one *Englishman* was killed and another wounded; on
which, it was found absolutely necessary to put them all to death. The savages without
the fort, not knowing of this catastrophe, attacked it in the evening; and being repulsed,
they revenged themselves upon the open part of *Carolina*, where they murdered great
numbers of the *English*. Soon after, they assaulted fort *Ninety-six*, from whence they
were repulsed likewise. It now appeared that this insurrection was more dangerous than
it was imagined at first. The *Creeks*, hearing of the *Cherokee* hostilities, gave the *English*
all the security that could be required for their fidelity, and a body of them took the
field against the enemy, under one of their chiefs, called the *Long Warrior*, who crossed
the *Savannah*, on the 22d of *March*, 1760. Seven hundred rangers were raised by the
people of *Carolina*; and governor *Lyttleton*, understanding that the *Cherokees* would be
supported by all the force the *French* could spare, wrote for assistance to general *Amberst*,
who sent on board transports, two hundred of the *Royal Scots*, and the first battalion of
Highlanders, under the command of the honourable colonel *Montgomery*. About the same
time, the *Chickesaws* brought to *Augusta* several *Cherokee* scalps; and many of the inha-
bitants of both the *Carolinas* associated to act offensively against the enemy. There was
the more reason for those precautions, as the *Cherokees* were, at this time, so powerful,
that they could bring to the field, about 3000 warriors, and were headed by several
French officers, disguised like savages, who had obtained a great many advantages over
the *English* Indians.

COL. *Montgomery*, after his arrival at *Charles-town*, marched to fort *Ninety-six*, and from
thence to *Twelve Mile* river, which he passed in the beginning of *June*, without opposition.
Dispatch was the life of this expedition; and the colonel, leaving his heavy baggage at

two *Cherokee* Indians, of the number of those who have
been guilty of perpetrating the said murders, have
already been delivered up, to be put to death, or other-
wise disposed of, as his excellency the governor shall
direct, it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that twenty-
two other *Cherokee*-Indians, guilty of the said murders,
shall, as soon as possible, after the conclusion of this
present treaty, in like manner be delivered up to such
persons as his excellency the governor, or the com-
mander in chief of this province for the time being,
shall appoint to receive them, to be put to death, or
otherwise disposed of, as the said governor and com-
mander in chief shall direct.

Art. 4. The *Cherokee* Indians whose names are herein
after mentioned, viz. *Cbenos*, *Oufanatha*, *Tallichama*,
Tallitabe, *Qarrasattabe*, *Connasoratha*, *Katastoi*, *Otaffite*
of *Watogo*, *Oufanoletab* of *Jore*, *Kataelstab* of *Cowetche*,
Chisquatalone, *Skiagusta* of *Siicoe*, *Tannaesto*, *Wobatche*,
Weyyah, *Oucab*, *Chistanab*, *Nicholehe*, *Tony*, *Totiahboi*,
Shallilofke, *Chistie*, shall remain as hostages for the due
performance of the foregoing articles, in the custody
of such persons, as his excellency the governor shall
please to nominate for that purpose; and when any of
the *Cherokee* Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall
have been delivered up, as is expressed in the said ar-
ticles, an equal number of the said hostages shall forth-
with be set at liberty.

Art. 5. Immediately after the conclusion of this pre-
sent treaty, the licensed traders from this government,
and all persons employed by them, shall have leave from
his excellency the governor to return to their respective
places of abode in the *Cherokee* nation, and to carry on
their trade with the *Cherokee* Indians, in the usual man-
ner, according to law.

Art. 6. During the continuance of the present war
between his most sacred majesty and the *French* king,
if any *Frenchman* shall presume to come into the
Cherokee nation, the *Cherokees* shall use their utmost en-

deavours to put him to death, as one of his majesty's
enemies; or, if taken alive, they shall deliver him up
to his excellency the governor, or the commander in
chief of this province for the time being, to be dis-
posed of as he shall direct; and if any person what-
soever, either white man or *Indian*, shall at any time
bring any messages from the *French* into the *Cherokee*
nation, or hold any discourses there in favour of the
French, or tending to set the *English* and *Cherokees* at
variance, and interrupt the peace and friendship esta-
blished by this present treaty, the *Cherokees* shall use
their utmost endeavours to apprehend such person or
persons, and detain him or them until they shall have
given notice thereof to his excellency the governor, or
to the commander in chief for the time being, and have
received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and seal at fort *Prince*
George, in the province of *South Carolina*, this 26th day
of *December*, 1759, in the 33d year of his majesty's
reign.

William Henry Lyttleton (L. S.)

By his Excellency's command,

William Drayton, Secretary.

We whose names are under-written, do agree to all
and every of these articles, and do engage, for our-
selves and our nation, that the same shall be well and
faithfully performed. In testimony whereof we have
hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year
abovementioned.

Attakullakulla (L. S.)

Ouconnostata (L. S.)

Otaffite (L. S.)

Kitagusta (L. S.)

Oconoeca (L. S.)

Killkanocka (L. S.)

Joseph Axon, William Forster, sworn interpreters,
Witnesses, Henry Vane,

Adjutant-general."

fort

a fort *Prince George*, marched towards *Little Keowee*, and from thence to *Estatoc*, which was twenty-five miles distant. *Little Keowee* was attacked by a detachment of light infantry, who surprized it with bayonets on the muzzles of their guns, and put to death all the men they found in it. It is probable, that the savages there had put those of *Estatoc* upon their guard; for, upon the arrival of the main body at the village, they found the bulk of the inhabitants had fled, so that only a few of them were put to the sword; but new and unexpected scenes every hour presented in this expedition. All the towns the *English* met with were delightfully situated; the houses commodiously built, and stored with every thing that could make savage, or even rural, life agreeable; nor were fire-arms and ammunition wanting. The town of *Estatoc*, consisting of 200 houses, was plundered, and then reduced to ashes; many of the wretched inhabitants, who had sought to conceal themselves, perishing in the flames. A few hours after, *Sugar-town*, which was as large as *Estatoc*, shared the same fate; as did all the towns, villages, and houses, in the lower nation. About eighty *Cherokees* were killed in this expedition, and forty women and children taken prisoners. None of the men received quarter, it being necessary to make severe examples. All the plunder, which was not inconsiderable, and which the soldiers could not carry off, was destroyed, and some money, with watches, fell into their hands. Colonel *Montgomery* then returned to fort *Prince George*, from whence he sent a messenger, one *Tiftowe*, to the *Cherokee* chiefs, particularly to *Attakullakulla*, informing them, that they might yet have peace upon their making proper submissions. *Attakullakulla* was one of the chiefs who had been brought, when young, to *England* by Sir *Alexander Cumming*, and had always pretended the greatest attachment to the *English* nation; but said, that he could, on this occasion, be of no service to them amongst his countrymen. Upon this, colonel *Montgomery* marched his army from their camp at *Mile Creek*, leaving all his tents, waggons, and unnecessary baggage, at fort *Prince George*; on the 22d, they crossed *Keowee* river, with six days provision *per* man, and took with them a drove of cattle, and four hundred pack-horses, laden with flour.

THE colonel pointed his march now to the middle settlements of the *Cherokees*, which consisted of twelve towns. When he was within five miles of *Etchoe*, he was attacked by five hundred *Indians*, very advantageously posted, who killed captain *Morison*, who commanded the van of the *English*, captain *Williams*, captain *Peter Gordon*, an ensign, and several soldiers, besides wounding many, both officers and common men. The dispute lasted between four and five hours, but, at last, the *Indians* were driven into a swamp with the loss of fifty men. Notwithstanding this, when the army resumed their march, the firing on all quarters from the *Indians* proved extremely troublesome; and it then sufficiently appeared that they were under *French* commanders. The *English* arrived at the town of *Etchoe*, which they found forsaken, and stripped of every thing, by the inhabitants, whose parties surrounded them on every side, and killed many of their horses, as well as men. They even attacked the piquet guards, and were with difficulty repulsed. The colonel now found himself reduced to the melancholy alternative of being obliged either to advance without provisions, or to leave his wounded behind him to the mercy of a provoked inhuman enemy, (they having taken particular aim at the horses) or to return. The last was judged the most expedient, and though during the last days of his march, he continued to be molested by the savages, yet, in the beginning of *July*, he reached fort *Prince George*, after losing during the expedition, besides horses, seventy men killed or wounded, including five officers.

To revenge this invasion of their country, the *Cherokees* formed the blockade of fort *Loudon*, situated near the confines of *Virginia*, and commanded by captain *Demere*. This small post, lying in the midst of hostile savages, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from *Charles town*, was cut off from all communication with the *English*; so that, for some time, the garrison had subsisted without bread, upon horse flesh, and was brought in the end to such misery, that many of the soldiers deserted, others submitted to the cruelties of the savages, and the remainder were so emaciated, that they could not do duty, but threatened to retire to the woods. This dreadful situation rendered it necessary to surrender the place, and a capitulation was agreed on, by which the garrison was to march out with powder and ball, and baggage, to be conducted to *Virginia*, or fort *Prince George*; the sick, lame, and wounded, to be kindly treated in the *Indian* towns, till they were in a condition to reach fort *Prince George*; and the *Indians* to furnish horses for the march of the garrison. The *Indians*, on this occasion, professed great friendship to the *English*, and a desire to renew their trade with them; but no sooner had the latter marched about fifteen miles from the fort, than they were surrounded by the savages, who slew twenty-five of the soldiers, made prisoners of the survivors, and murdered all the officers, except captain *Stuart*, who was saved at the earnest request of *Attakullakulla*. After this, the same savages besieged fort *Ninety-six*; but, upon the appearance of a party of provincials,

Who chastise them.

They take for Loudon.

cials, they retired. We perceive, that, at this time, the province of *Carolina* was extremely apprehensive, that the numerous nations of the *Creeks* and *Chataways* would join the *Cherokees*; for which reason they addressed their governor to prevail with colonel *Montgomery* to remain for some time longer among them, and with general *Amberst* to countermand the return of the regulars from thence. Upon this, eight companies of colonel *Vaughan's* regiment, two of the 17th, and two of the 22d, with an hundred and fifty *Mohawk Indians*, embarked for the province of *New York* the 20th of *December*, under the command of lieutenant-colonel *James Grant*, of the 40th regiment. Captain *Quintyne Kennedy*, of the light infantry of the 17th, commanded the *Indians*. About the same time, the forts, *Prince George* and *Ninety-six*, were seasonably reinviguated by major *Thompson*, of the *Carolinian* rangers. a

They are reduced by colonel Grant.

It was not long before colonel *Grant* was obliged to take the field. About the beginning of *July*, he began his march from fort *Prince George*, at the head of about 2600 regulars, rangers, and *Indians*; which the people of *Carolina* thought was a force too weak for the expedition he was to undertake. On the 10th of the same month, a body of the *Indians* attacked him; but, being soon repulsed, he reduced fifteen of their towns to ashes, besides smaller villages and houses, and destroyed about 14,000 acres of corn. This seasonable chastisement spread such consternation amongst the savages, that *Attakullakulla*, and another savage, one *Old Caesar*, used all their interest to prevent the continuance of hostilities. The colonel accordingly informed them of the terms on which he was willing to grant them peace, and *Atakullakulla* agreed to them all, excepting one, by which four *Cherokees* were to be put to death at the head of the army; but this demand being moderated, the treaty was actually drawn up, and formally concluded on the 10th of *December*, since which time nothing remarkable has happened in that province. b

Description of Carolina.

It now remains that we give some account of its natural and commercial state, government, and products. *Carolina*, as has been already observed, contains all the north coast of *America*, between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees of north latitude; but, by the *English* description of it, its breadth is not to be ascertained, because king *Charles II.* in his patent, terminated it westward, only by the *South Seas*. According to some writers, it is the *American* land of *Canaan*, to which it lies parallel, being one of the most temperate, and therefore one of the most pleasant, climates in the world. The *French* comprehended it formerly in their *Florida*; but the claim of the *English* to it afterwards was established beyond all dispute. According to the *French* authors, but their authority seems to be somewhat suspicious, the settlement of *Carolina* was purely fortuitous. They tell us, that a ship on its return from the *East Indies* happened to be cast away there; some bags of rice being taken out of it, a trial was made of sowing them, and the experiment succeeding to admiration, the rice culture was improved so much, that one year with another 50,000 barrels of it, each weighing 400 lb. were sent from thence to *Europe*, which brought in 80,000 l. to the proprietors. Besides rice, the *Carolinians* cultivate some tobacco, but the chief article of their trade lies in provisions; for they supply *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, with beef, pork, grain, pease, butter, suet, raw hides, and leather. They likewise send to the same islands tar, turpentine, timber, masts, and furs; but the latter is of an inferior kind. *Carolina*, likewise, produces prodigious quantities of honey, of which excellent mead is made. Maize or *Indian* corn, likewise, thrives here exceedingly; but in some other respects, the product has not been answerable to the expectations of the soil and climate. Though many parts of *Carolina*, especially on the sea-coast, abound with vines, yet no progress, worth mentioning, has been made in producing wine. Their manufactures of silk, notwithstanding the great quantities of mulberry trees they have, have been hitherto inconsiderable, and though cochineal is said to be found here, yet the inhabitants appear to neglect the profits arising from that insect; and for some years their attention has been chiefly turned towards making indigo. c

Trade of Carolina.

A few years ago, about forty vessels were annually sent to *Carolina* from *Great Britain*, laden with all kinds of woollen and linnen drapery, iron-ware, nails, strong beer, cyder, raisins, potter's earth, tobacco pipes, paper, coverlids, mattresses, hats, stockings, gloves, tin ware, powder and shot, gun-flints, cordage, looking-glasses, and glass-ware, thread, haberdashery, and small wares. Besides those vessels from *Great Britain*, it is computed that two hundred come from other places. Those from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, furnish the *Carolinians* with sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, chocolate, negroes, and silver. Those from *New England*, *New York*, and *Pennsylvania*, with wheat flour, (wheat being very backward in *Carolina*) and hard-wares; and those from *Madeira*, and the other islands in the western ocean, with wine. The quantity of rice which *Carolina* produces is daily improving, as, indeed, are all the other branches of its commerce; so that it would be in vain to form any conjectures concerning the quantity of shipping this colony employs, or the benefit that it is of to its mother country. The price of manual labour in this country d

a country is remarkably dear. Some years ago, the paper currency of *South Carolina* amounted to 250,000*l.* sterling, and that of *North Carolina* to 52,000. The *British* money that circulates amongst the *Carolinians* is very inconsiderable but they have *French* and *Spanish* money in dollars, and pieces of eight.

CAROLINA, in general, is a plain country, though it is every where interspersed with gentle risings; and behind it lye the vast *Apalachean* mountains. *Albemarle* county, towards the north, was first settled upon what is called *Albemarle* river; but most of its planters removed, for conveniency of trade, to *Asbley* river. This country is intersected with rivers, the banks of which contain many *Indians*. South of *Albemarle* is *Clarendon* county; the *Indians* of which are reckoned the most barbarous of any in the province. Those two counties form what is properly called the government of *North Carolina*; and are in a way at present of being greatly improved, and of rivalling, if not exceeding, *South Carolina*. The tobacco, which *North Carolina* produces, is by the inhabitants sold to the *Virginians*, who send it to *England*. *Craven* county is inhabited, besides *English*, by a considerable number of *French* families. It lies upon the borders of *Congaree* or *Santee* river, which divides *South* from *North Carolina*. This little colony very gallantly beat off the *French*, who landed amongst them in 1706; and it sends ten members to the assembly. South of this, lies *Berkley* county, containing the two fine rivers of *Cooper* and *Asbley*. Upon a neck of land, between those two rivers, lies *Charles-Town*, the capital of the province. *Asbley* river is navigable for ships twenty miles above the town, and for near forty for boats and peruegas, or large canoes. *Charles-Town* is the great mart of the province, but no ships of above two hundred tons can pass its bar. Its neighbourhood may vie for beauty with any country in the world, and a little expence would make its fortifications strong, ornamental, and useful. At present, it stands as fair as any city to become the capital of *North America*. Some of its houses are brick, others of wood, but all of them handsome and elegant; and the church is the most magnificent of any protestant one on the continent of *America*. The *French*, the presbyterians, and the quakers, have here places of worship, and the religious heats, that formerly prevailed among the inhabitants, are now said to have subsided. The town of *Charles-Town* is the residence of the governor. Here the business of the province is transacted, the courts of judicature are held, and the assembly sits. *Dorchester* is another thriving town in this county.

d SOUTH of *Berkley* county lies that of *Colliton*; the north-east parts of which are full of *Indians*. The two chief rivers of this county are *North Edistow* and *South Edistow*; the banks of both which are full of wealthy plantations, and on those of *North Edistow* lies *Wilton* or *New London*, built under the direction of a *Swiss* gentleman, called *Luberbuller*, and is said, at present, to rival *Purrysburgh*. *Granville* county is the most southerly of any in *Carolina*, and lies along the river *Savannah*. We have already mentioned the *Swiss* settlement at *Purrysburgh*, and the *Vaudois* who are among them, are assiduously applying themselves to the culture of silk. This county, the most promising of any in *South Carolina*, has been the latest settled, which is owing to its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*. In this county lies *Port Royal* river and harbour, which is one of the finest in all *America*.

Description of Carolina.

G E O R G I A.

THE reasons why *Carolina* has been so lately planted were the same that prevented *Georgia* from being planted at all, till the reign of king *George II.* we mean the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* of *St. Augustine* and *Florida*. In the year 1732, a number of public-spirited gentlemen, taking into consideration the vast benefit which might arise from the tract of land lying between the *Savannah* river, and the river *Alatamaha*, which is contained in king *Charles II.*'s charter, and undoubtedly belonged to *England*, formed a scheme of making it subservient to many noble purposes, by erecting it into a bulwark for our southern colonies against the *Spaniards*; of producing great benefits to the mother-country; but, above all, of giving employment to vast numbers of people, who were burthen-some at home to their friends and parishes; and petitioned the king for a charter, which was accordingly granted them. This charter, which is dated the 9th of *June*, that year, constituted them a corporation, by the name of trustees for establishing a colony, by the name of *Georgia*, including all that country situated in *South Carolina*, which lies from the most northern stream of the *Savannah* river, along the coast, to the most southern stream of the *Alatamaha*, and west from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the *South Sea*. The charter empowered the corporation, which was to subsist for the term of 21 years from its date, to appoint all such governors, and other officers, both by sea and land, as they thought fit, (the custom-house officers excepted) provided every such governor be approved by his majesty; and, that the militia of the country should be subject, in the mean time, to the governor of *South Carolina*; but that, after the expiration of the twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, should be appointed by the crown.

1732.

History of the charter of Georgia.

THE

THE trustees had a power to collect benefactions for fitting out the emigrants, and sup-
 porting them till their houses could be built, and their lands cleared. The names of the
 trustees were *Anthony*, earl of *S Shaftsbury*; *John*, lord viscount *Percival*; *John*, lord viscount
Tyrconel; *James*, lord viscount *Limerick*; *Georgè*, lord *Carpenter*; *Edward Digby*, Esq;
James Oglethorpe, Esq; *George Heathcote*, Esq; *Thomas Tower*, Esq; *Robert More*, Esq;
Robert Hucks, Esq; *William Sloper*, Esq; *Francis Eyles*, Esq; *John Laroche*, Esq; *James*
Vernon, Esq; *Stephen Hales*, A. M. *Richard Chandler*, Esq; *Thomas Frederic*, Esq; *Henry*
L'Apostie, Esq; *William Heathcote*, Esq; *John White*, Esq; *Robert Kendal*, Esq; and *Richard*
Bundy, D. D. Those gentlemen laid it down as a capital principle, that no negro should
 be employed in the colony. This resolution was founded on two reasons. The first was,
 that negro-work not being required in rearing the commodities expected from the colony,
 the planters themselves would, by such a prohibition, be inured to the habits of industry.
 The second reason was, that the introduction of negroes so near to a garrison of *Spaniards*,
 as *St. Augustine* was, would have facilitated the desertion of the *Carolinian* negroes to *Georgia*,
 and from thence to *St. Augustine*. The trustees, at the same time, in laying out their
 towns, resolved to assign to every inhabitant fifty acres of land, as near as possible to his
 town.

First settle-
 ment of the
 colony.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* recommended, in the strongest man-
 ner, to the court of directors of the bank of *England*, the interests of the colony, and,
 among other particulars, observed, that the soil and climate were proper for raising raw
 silk. His speech had the desired effect, and the members of the court, after his example,
 contributed largely towards the undertaking, as did great numbers of the nobility, gentry,
 clergy, and others; and the parliament granted 10,000 l. Those liberalities had so good an
 effect, that, by the beginning of *November*, about an hundred and sixteen colonists had pre-
 sented themselves, being most of them labouring people; and were furnished with work-
 ing tools of all kinds, stores, and small arms. Their provisions on the voyage were plen-
 tiful, and of the best kinds, and nothing was wanting to make their lives comfortable.
 Among other precautions, care was taken to give them some instructions as to the mili-
 tary discipline, which was very proper for their repelling the attacks either of the *Spaniards*
 or the *Indians*. To carry those promising appearances into execution, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, one
 of the trustees, a gentleman of an unbounded benevolence and public spirit, generously
 attended the first set of emigrants to *Carolina*, where they arrived in good health, on the
 15th of *January* following. They were received by the governor of that province, and by
 the *Carolinians* in general, with great marks of affection and humanity. They made them
 a present of an hundred breeding cattle, besides hogs, and twenty barrels of rice, and fur-
 nished them with a party of horse and scout-boats, by the help of which they reached the
 river *Savannah*, where Mr. *Oglethorpe*, ten miles up that river, pitched upon a spot for lay-
 ing out their new town. His own description of this situation cannot fail to give both plea-
 sure and satisfaction to the reader. "The river there forms a half moon, around the
 south-side of which, the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they
 call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country five or six miles, and along
 the river about a mile, ships that draw ten or twelve feet water can ride within ten yards
 of the bank. Upon the river side, in the center of this plain, I have laid out the town.
 Opposite to it is an island of very rich pasturage. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh,
 and, from the key of the town, you see the whole course of the sea, with the island of
Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river; and the other way, you see the river for about
 sixty miles up into the country. The landskip is very agreeable, the stream being wide,
 and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here the 1st of
February, at night their tents were got up; till the 7th, they were taken up in unloading
 and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands, and set
 some to the fortification; and began to fell the woods, as I marked out the town and com-
 mon: half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the
 afternoon, *February* the 9th; not being able to get negroes, I have taken ten of the inde-
 pendent company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. A little *Indian*
 nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to
 his majesty king *George*, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children
 at our schools. Their chief, and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation,
 desire to be instructed in the Christian religion." This town was called by the name of the
 river, *Savannah*, and was originally inhabited by a nation called *Tammacraw*; and its chief
 was *Tomo Chichi*. The situation of *Savannah* was not only pleasant, but healthful; and the
 new colonists were most generously assisted by the *Carolinians*, and their governor, colonel
Bull, not only with their purses, but their labour, in raising and building the new town.
 Great numbers of pines were cut down, and some land was plowed up, which was sown
 with wheat.

Description of
 Savannah.

2 THE *Lower Creek* nation, hearing of this new colony, sent a numerous deputation, making up about fifty persons, to treat of an alliance with it. Those *Creeks* consisted of eight tribes united in a kind of political confederacy, and all speaking the same language, but under separate jurisdictions. Their deputation was composed of their kings or micoes, and their warriors; and Mr. *Oglethorpe* gave them audience in one of the new houses. This meeting was a sufficient proof, that those savages were far from being so ignorant, as some *Europeans* imagine, of their natural rights. When the deputies were seated, *Outekachampa*, or the *Long King*, so called from his tallness, informed Mr. *Oglethorpe*, in the name of all the eight tribes of the *Lower Creek* nation, that they claimed all the lands from the *Savannah* river, as far as fort *St. Augustine*, and up *Flint* river, which falls into the bay of *Mexico*. He then acknowledged the superiority of the *English* and the white men to them; and said, that they were persuaded that the great power, which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and whose immensity he endeavoured to express by throwing abroad his hands, and lengthening his sounds) had sent the *English* thither for their good; and that therefore they were welcome to all the land they did not use themselves. He confirmed this speech by laying eight buckskins, the best things, he said, they had to bestow before Mr. *Oglethorpe*; and thanked him for his kindness to *Tomo Chichi*, who, it seems, had been banished, with some of his friends, from his own nation, but, for his valour and wisdom, had been chosen mico by the *Yamacraws*, and had been very seasonably relieved by the *English*. This being ended, *Tomo Chichi* entered, and returned his thanks in person for the favours that had been shewn him; two *English* gentlemen interpreting all that passed. The articles of agreement were then drawn up. They contained, as usual, stipulations for their liberty of trade, reparations of injuries, and that the *English* should possess all the lands not used by them; but, that at the laying out every town, a certain portion should be allotted to the savages, and that all run-away negroes should be restored to the *English*, who were to pay them a stipulated reward for every head. This agreement being signed, Mr. *Oglethorpe* presented each of their micoes with a laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt. To each of their chiefs, he gave a gun; and a mantle of duffil, and coarse cloth, with other things to their attendants.

Dealings with the Creek Indians.

MR. *OGLETHORPE*, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, set out for *Charles-Town* on his return to *England*; but, in the mean time, he studied to make himself master of the character of the *Creeks*. According to him, they naturally were so moral, that nothing but a clergyman understanding their language was wanting for their conversion to Christianity. They punished murder and adultery with death; but so weak is the executive part of government among them, that, in cases of adultery, the offended party, and in those of murder, the next in blood, are both the judges and executioners. Revenge and drunkenness are their greatest weaknesses. Their eloquence, like that of the other *American* savages, is simple, manly, affecting, and highly emblematical, annexing to every figure of speech, the chief properties of the objects to which the figure alludes, or from which the metaphor is drawn. During Mr. *Oglethorpe's* absence, the fame of the new colony reached the *Natches*, of whom we have already spoken so much; and they likewise made an alliance with the *Georgians*, who, this year, reaped a very plentiful first crop of *Indian* corn. In the middle of *May*, a ship arrived at *Savannah*, with passengers and stores; and the captain received the prize that had been ordered to be bestowed on the first ship, which should be unloaded at that town. Soon after, fifty families were sent over in another ship; and in *March*, 1734, it appeared from the general state of the trustees accounts, that they had received for the use of the charity, 14,822 l. 12 s. 3 d. and expended 8,202 l. 16 s. 6 d. but the reader is to observe, that at this time, besides the colonists sent over by the charity, twenty-one masters, and an hundred and six servants had gone at their own expences; so that the whole of this embarkation amounted to six hundred and eighteen, whereof three hundred and twenty were men, one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred two boys, and eighty three girls.

Their character.

IN 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived in *England*, and brought over with him *Tomo Chichi*, his wife *Lonawki*, and his son *Tooanahowvi*. Along with them were a war captain, and five chiefs, with their interpreter. Being properly dressed, they were introduced to his majesty, then at *Kensington*, and *Tomo Chichi*, presenting him with some eagle's feathers, made the following speech, which we shall communicate to the reader, to justify the character we have given of the *Creek* eloquence.

1734.

“ THIS day I see the majesty of your face, and greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the *Creeks*, to renew the peace they had long ago with the *English*. I am come over in my old days, tho' I cannot live to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the *Upper* and *Lower Creeks*, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the *English*.”

Speech of Tomo Chichi to the king and queen.

“ THESE are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round

round our nations: these feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a sign of everlasting peace.

"O GREAT king! whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the *Creek* nation."

His majesty returned a very gracious answer to this speech, and *Tomo Chichi* addressed her majesty in the following terms: "I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children." During the residence of those savages in *England*, our court and nation omitted nothing that could strike them with the most respectful ideas of their power and magnificence. But whatever effects those are said to have produced, it seems to be certain that those savages can be but slightly impressed with any ideas that are not familiar to them. *Tomo Chichi*, however, while he was in *England*, gave uncommon proofs of his sagacity, and suggested to the *English* many particulars of great service to them, as well as the *Indians*. He desired that the weights, measure, prices, and qualities of the goods they were to purchase with their deer skins, might be settled; and, to prevent impositions, that there should be but one storehouse in every *Indian* town. Those and other particular requests were, by the trustees, thought so reasonable, that they were reduced into three acts, viz. An act for maintaining the peace with the *Indians* in the province of *Georgia*. 2. An act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandy in that province, or any kind of spirits or strong waters. 3. An act for rendering the colony more defensible, by prohibiting the importation of negroes. Those acts being laid before his majesty in council, were referred to the board of trade; and a favourable report of them being made from thence, they were ratified.

He returns to America.

1734.

DURING *Tomo Chichi*'s stay in *England*, his attendants gave daily proofs of their attachments to their own habits; and it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to go to court with any other cloathing than a slight wrapper round their middle. On the 30th of *October* 1734, they embarked for their own country, having had an allowance, while they were in *London*, of twenty pounds a week, of which they spent but little, because they commonly eat and drank at the tables of persons of the highest distinction. Besides this allowance they received presents to a very considerable amount. Being conducted to *Gravesend*, they were embarked in a ship, which carried likewise over a number of *Saltzburghers*, being *German* protestants. These, with others of their countrymen who followed, were settled in a town, which they called *Ebenezer* on the *Savannah*, and by their habits of industry and sobriety they soon became a considerable settlement. About this time, an alarm was spread, as if the *Spaniards* intended to attack the new settlement. *Tomo Chichi* professed great alacrity to have gone in person to oppose them, but his affairs not permitting him, three of his chiefs supplied his place. The intelligence proving groundless, the planters of *Georgia* made a most surprising progress in clearing their lands and building their houses; and, as an encouragement the *British* parliament granted them a supply of 26,000*l.* which, with very great private donations, was expended upon strengthening the south part of *Georgia*. This being a necessary service for the colony, the trustees very properly pitched upon the highlanders of *Scotland*, one hundred and sixty of whom, all of them able men, went over in 1735, and settled themselves upon *Altamaha* river, sixteen miles by water from the island of *St. Simon*, and gave the name of *Darien* to a fort they built there, to which they afterwards added a small town called *New Inverness*. The fort was mounted with four pieces of cannon, and the same *Scotch* settlers built a guard-house, a store-house, and a chapel, to complete their settlement in the beginning of the year 1736. In *February* that same year, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, with about three hundred passengers on board two ships, anchored in the road of *Savannah*. Of those passengers forty-seven were *English*, and settled on the island of *St. Simon*, to which Mr. *Oglethorpe* ordered the independent company there to march, and, at the same time, he set about building another town called *Frederica*. The *English*, however, found it necessary to treat with *Tomo Chichi* and the *Creek Indians*, about the property of this island, which was ceded to them, together with all the adjacent islands by the natives. Mr. *Oglethorpe* in this voyage forwarded the raising the beacon of *Tybee*, the building of a church, the erecting a wharf for landing goods, and providing men for clearing the roads and finishing the fortifications.

1736.
Mr. Oglethorpe arrives a second time at Georgia.

In *September* the same year it was stipulated between Mr. *Oglethorpe* and the *Spanish* governor of *St. Augustine*, that the *English* should evacuate the fort built upon the island of *St. George*, which lies near the influx of *St. John's* river, and the *Atlantic* ocean, forty miles north of *St. Augustine*; but at the same time it was agreed, that this evacuation should not injure his *Britannic* majesty's rights to the said island, or any other of his dominions, or claims upon the continent. By this time, a kind of a deputation of *Swiss* gentlemen from *Purrysburgh* waited upon Mr. *Oglethorpe*; in consequence of which, and another from *Ebenezer*,

a *never*, many regulations were made. The situation of *Ebenezer* was complained of by the inhabitants, who most earnestly requested to be moved nearer the mouth of the river. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went thither to examine the situation of the place, which he found in so good a condition, that he wanted the inhabitants to keep possession of it; but their importunities getting the better of his advice, he marked out a town for them upon the spot they desired. He next turned his attention towards completing fort *Frederica*, which, with proper out-works, formed a regular square with four bastions, and surrounded by a ditch. This fort was situated upon the isle of *St. Simon*, to which *Tomo Chichi* and his *Indians* brought as much venison as fed the *English* for several days. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, after this, went a kind of a progress with the *Indians* to survey their country, chiefly with a view of preventing them from falling upon the *Spaniards* with whom *Great Britain* was then at peace. During this progress he was carried to an island at the mouth of *Jekyl's* sound, where he marked out another fort, and gave the name of *Cumberland* to the island. After this, he visited another island, about sixteen miles long, bearing oranges, myrtles, and vines, all wild, and to this island he gave the name of *Amelia*.

Progress of the colony.

In the year 1737 a very bad understanding subsisted between the courts of *London* and *Madrid*, on account of the depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily committing by sea against the *English*. As this naturally portended a war, advice was sent from *South Carolina* to *London*, that the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustine* and the *Havannah* were making preparations for attacking the infant colony of *Georgia*. Upon this the *British* government, at the request of the trustees, sent thither a regiment of six hundred men, and, for the encouragement of those soldiers, a grant in trust was made to each of them, of five acres of land to be cultivated for the proprietor's use and benefit, during his continuance in that service. A resolution was taken at the same time at the board, that if any soldier was inclined, at the end of seven years, to quit the service, he should have a regular discharge, with a proper certificate, and be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. The parliament this year granted the colony another supply of 20,000*l.* which enabled the trustees to send over another embarkation of persecuted protestants. But it was now found by experience, that some fundamental errors mingled with the original constitution of the colony. A capital one was, the confining the tenure of the colonists lots to heirs male. This was such a discouragement to industry as threw a damp upon the whole constitution of the colony; as no planter, even if he had sons, would chuse to labour for what could not descend to his daughters. The trustees, therefore, made an alteration in this article: and resolved, that in default of such issue, the legal possessor of any land might, by his last will, or other written deed, appoint his daughter, or any other female relation, his successor, provided the lot so granted and devised, should be personally claimed in the proper court in *Georgia*, within eighteen months after the death of the granter or devisor.

1737.

This resolution being found not extensive enough to satisfy all the planters and their relations, in *September* 1739, an advertisement, by authority, was published in the *London* gazette, importing, "That the lands already, or hereafter, to be granted, should not only, on failure of male issue, descend to the daughters of such grantees; but if there were no issue, either male or female, the grantees might devise such lands; and that for want of such devise, such lands should descend to the heirs at law; provided that the possession of the person, who enjoyed such devise, should not be increased to more than five hundred acres; and that the widows of the grantees should hold and enjoy the dwelling-house, garden, and one moiety of the lands their husbands should be dispossessed of, for the term of their lives." At the same time it was resolved by the trustees, that no fee or reward should be taken, directly or indirectly, for entering such claim by any persons whatever. The inhabitants of *Frederica* town had by this time cut a road six miles from them to the soldiers fort, and *Tomo Chichi*, with four *Creek* kings, thirty warriors, and fifty attendants, offered to Mr. *Oglethorpe* to march 1000 *Creek* warriors against the *Spaniards*, to wherever he should command them. They likewise gave him an invitation to see their towns, and insisted upon his ordering them brass weights, and sealed measures, to be lodged with each of their kings to prevent frauds. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who well knew the disposition of those savages, made them presents. They danced all night, and next morning set out on a journey of four hundred miles to their own townships. Mr. *Oglethorpe* next year made a progress of five hundred miles from *Frederica* fort, to possess himself with all the intelligence he could acquire of the savages in those parts. He arrived at the town of *Coweta*, where he conferred with the deputies of that town; and likewise with those of the *Chafaws* and *Chikofaws*, a kind of neutral *Indians*, lying between the *English* and *French* settlements. Those deputies, as a sign of their unanimity, drank black broth, a composition of their own, together, "declared, *nem. con.* that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of *Great Britain*, and to the agreements made in the year 1733, with the trustees established for the colony of *Georgia*; and they farther declared, that all the dominions, territories, and

Encouragement given to it.

1739.

Dealings with the savages.

and lands, from the *Savannah* river to *St. John's* river, and all the islands between them ;^a and from *St. John's* river to the bay of *Apalache* ; and from thence to the mountains, doth by ancient right belong to the *Creek* nation, who have maintained possession of it against all opposers by war, and can shew the heaps of the bones of their enemies by them slain in defence of their lands. And the said estates further declared, that the said nation hath for ages enjoyed the protection of the kings and queens of *England* ; and that the *Spaniards*, nor no other nation, have any right to any of the said lands ; and that they will not suffer them or any other person, except the trustees of the colony of *Georgia*, to settle on the said lands. And they acknowledge the grant they have already made to the said trustees of all the lands upon the *Savannah* river as far as the river *Ogeeche*, and all the lands along the sea-coasts as far as *St. John's* river, and as high as the tide-flows ; and all the islands as far^b as the said river, particularly the islands of *Frederica*, *Cumberland*, and *Amelia*, to which they have given the names of his *Britannic* majesty's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reserve to the *Creek* nation all the land from *Pipemakers Bluff* to *Savannah*, and the islands of *St. Catharine*, *Ossebau*, and *Sappolo* ; and they farther declare, that the said lands were held by the *Creek* nation, as tenants in common. And Mr. *Oglethorpe*, the commissioner for king *George II.* doth declare, that the *English* shall not enlarge or take up any lands, except those granted as above to the trustees by the *Creek* nation, and doth covenant, that he will punish any person that shall intrude upon the lands so reserved by that nation."

1730.
Georgian silk
exhibited.

IN 1739 a specimen of *Georgian* raw silk was exhibited at *London*, and a *Swiss* gentleman^c deposed before a master in chancery, that he received it from Mr. *Thomas Jones* the trustees store-keeper at *Savannah*, and that it was the produce of *Georgia*. This specimen being shewn to two very eminent merchants, who deal in that commodity, they declared it to be as good as any raw silk that came from *Italy*, and that it was worth at least twenty shillings a pound. The same year the trustees rendered the daughter of any grantee, or any other person, capable of enjoying, by devise or inheritance, any number of acres, not exceeding 2000. About the same time, a licence was granted to all the land-holders in *Georgia* to lease out any part of their lots for any term, not exceeding three years, to any of the residents in that province. To prevent litigious prosecutions, and to render the residence and condition of the settlers as comfortable as possible, a general release was like-^d wise passed, by which no advantage was to be taken against any of the land-holders of *Georgia* for any forfeiture incurred before *Christmas* 1740, on account of the tenure or cultivation of land. By the same release, a possessor of five hundred acres was not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres in twenty years, from the date of his grant, and those who possessed under five hundred acres, and above fifty acres in proportion.

Georgia in-
vaded.

1742.

UPON the breaking out of the war between *England* and *Spain*, the province of *Georgia* became one of the chief objects against which the *Spaniards* directed their hostilities ; and we have in another part of this work given the history of general *Oglethorpe's* attack upon *St. Augustine*. In 1742 about 5 or 6000 *Spaniards* and *Indians* invaded *Georgia* from *St. Au-*^e
gustine, in about fifty vessels of all kinds, but were repulled by general *Oglethorpe* at the head of the *English* forces, and a small body of *Indians* under *Tomo Chichi's* son. It is cer-
tain, that if this descent had proved successful, *Carolina* and all the *English North America* must have been in imminent danger; and the general received congratulatory letters of thanks from the several *English* governors there, for the great and important services he had done them. It perhaps does not belong to us to investigate the secret causes why this promising colony did not answer the most sanguine expectations. It is certain, that, to the amazement of the public, it drooped and languished from the year 1742, till Mr. *Ellis* was appointed go-
vernor, and under his administration it became again of such importance, that his present majesty, upon removing him to another government, rewarded him with a handsome pre-
sent in money for his administration of that of *Georgia*. It now rests for us to give some^f
detail of the advantages arising to *Great Britain* from this infant settlement.

AN inspection of the map in a great measure answers that purpose, and shews the wisdom of filling up the vacuity between *Florida* and *Carolina*, which, more than probably, had it not been critically effected, would have been occupied by the *French*, who thereby must, in a manner, have shut up the *British American* settlements within their own. The town of *Savannah* is every day increasing, and a road has been marked out between that and *Ebenezer*, and the like roads have opened communications between *Georgia* and the neighbouring *Indians*, which have introduced a very considerable trade into the colony. *Augusta* fort, which lies upon the river *Savannah*, contains store-houses for the goods which the *Indians* want, and for the furs and other commodities they give for them in exchange, and which are sent two hundred and thirty miles down the river in boats, each about four ton and a half burthen. The *Saltzburghers*, who are settled at *Ebenezer*, are a sober industri-
ous people, and not only raise great numbers of cattle, but furnish corn and other provi-
sions to the inhabitants of *Savannah*. THE

- a THE islands and forts upon the coast of *Georgia*, as they lie from south to north, are as follow. First, *Amelia* island, lying seven leagues to the north of *St. Augustine*, about two miles broad, and thirteen long. Second, *Cumberland* island, about twenty miles south of *Frederica*. This island commands the inlet of *Amelia* sound, by means of a fort, called fort *William*; which is strongly pallisadoed, and mounts eight pieces of cannon. It likewise contains barracks for two hundred and twenty men, magazines for ammunition and provisions, and fine springs of water. Third, *St. Simon's* island, lying near the northern mouth of the river *Alatamaha*. This island is said to be about three miles in breadth, and forty-five in length. It formerly was fortified towards the south end, and a battery erected upon it defended *Jekyll* sound. In the middle of it stands the town of *Frederica*, which is well fortified and provided with a regular magistracy. The soil of this island is good, and produces plenty of oak and hickory trees. Fourth, *New Inverness*, which is in the south part of the province, where the *Scotch Highlanders* are settled, is a fort lying on the river *Alatamaha*, twenty miles from *Frederica*. After all, the late peace with *France* and *Spain*, has made so many alterations upon the face of this province, that any description, which can be given of its improved state, must be but short-lived and imperfect. We shall therefore finish the history of it, with some account of its original and natural state.

Account of the
islands and
forts of *Georgia*.

- c ACCORDING to the best accounts, the *Indian* natives of *Georgia* had some notion of an omnipotent Being; who formed man, and inhabited the sun, the clouds, and the clear sky. They likewise had some idea of his providence, and power over human race. It is even said, that they believed somewhat of a future state; and that the souls of bad men walk up and down the place where they died; but, that God, or, as they call him, the Beloved, chuses some from children, whom he takes care of, and resides in and teaches. But, though we have given our reader this account of the savage faith, we are far from being ourselves convinced that the ministers and missionaries, from whom it is collected, were not imposed upon, or wanted to impose upon others, and particularly, in the doctrine of election and grace, which some seem to be so fond of, that they want to make it a part of uninstructed religion.

- d As to the natural productions of *Georgia*, though it is in general allowed to be a rich and a delicious country, yet the descriptions of them vary according to different parts of the colony, some being undoubtedly less proper for cultivation than others; it is, however, universally allowed that the soil produces *Indian* corn, wheat, oats and barley, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, green peas, and garden beans, with sallading of all kinds, through the whole year. Nectarines, plumbs, and peaches, grow here in great abundance, and might by cultivation be rendered equal, if not superior, to any in *Europe*. The grapes grow wild, and are ripe in *June*; and *English* apple and pear trees, and sometimes apricot trees, agree with the soil. The white and black mulberry trees send out leaves that are excellent nourishment to the silk worms, the propagation of which was one of the great inducements for settling the colony, and we hear is daily improving. Oranges and olives thrive, especially in the southern parts of *Georgia*, to the greatest perfection. Their chief timber trees are oaks, of which they have six or seven kinds, pines, hickory, cedar, cypress, walnut, saffasfras, beach trees, and many others for which the *Europeans* have no name, besides a great variety of flowering shrubs.

Its natural
productions.

- e *GEORGIA* produces variety of game from the beginning of *November* to *March*; such as a small kind of woodcocks and partridges, turkeys weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, turtle doves, wild-geese, ducks, teal, and widgeons, with great quantities of wild pigeons, not to mention other birds, little known in *Europe*. In the summer-time, the inhabitants kill deer and summer ducks. They have likewise the possum, or as they call it, the opossum, which shuts its young one up in a false belly, and are said to be excellent food, as are also the raccoons. Tygers are common in this country, as are beaues, whose cubs eat like young pigs. Their woods abound with wild cattle, and wolves and snakes; but none of them, except the rattle-snake, are venomous; and, as in *Louisiana*, the natives have a ready and infallible cure for its bite. Their rivers are pestered with sharks and alligators; but, at the same time, their coasts are stored with trout, mullet, whittings, and a vast variety of other fish, which are both cheap and good. They have vast quantities of oysters, which are said to be not so good as those of *England*. They have likewise clams, muscles, and very large prawns. To conclude, the greatest inconveniency which this settlement has hitherto laboured under, arises from the fewness of hands to improve its natural productions. There seems to be no doubt, that, if the same attention in cultivating it was applied to the soil of *Georgia* as to that of *England*, it may be rendered highly beneficial and profitable to the mother-country as well as to the inhabitants.

M A R Y L A N D.

Lord Balti-
more proprie-
tary of
Maryland.

1631.

MARYLAND, to the west, is bounded by high mountains, by *Chesapeak Bay* and the *Northern Sea* to the east, by *Delaware Bay* to the north, and by *Patowmeck* river to the south, and lies between latitude $37^{\circ} 50''$ and 40° N. It was originally included in the patent of the *South Virginia* company, and considered as part of *Virginia*; but, in the year 1631, king *Charles I.* made a grant of it to *Charles Calvert*, lord *Baltimore*, upon the dissolution of that company, with a proprietary power in his government; and this was the greatest grant that was given by the crown, upon the resuming the *Virginian* charters into its own hands. When his majesty signed the patent, he gave the new province the name of *Maryland*, in honour of his queen *Henrietta Maria*, daughter to *Henry the Great*, king of *France*. The lord *Baltimore* held it of the crown of *England* in common soccage, as of the honour of *Windsor*; paying yearly for ever at the said honour, a *reddendo* of two *Indian* arrows of those parts. As to the grant itself, its proprietary power is as independent as that of any of the *British* settlements. b

THE lord *Baltimore*, who was of the *Roman catholic* religion, but a quiet inoffensive subject, and had obtained the grant to be an asylum to himself, and those of his persuasion, from the persecutions of the times, appointed his brother, *Lionel Calvert*, Esq; to be governor of his new colony, and joined in commission with him, *Jeremy Hawley* and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Esqrs. and the first plantation, consisting of about 200 colonists, was sent thither the 22d of *November*, in 1633. They were chiefly, if not wholly, *Roman catholic* lick, many of them gentlemen of fortune; and, like the protestants of *New England*, their settlement was founded upon a strong desire for the unmolested practice of their own religion. The chief of their names are as follows: *George Calvert*, brother to the governor; *Richard Gerard*, *Edward Winter*, *Frederick Winter*, and *Henry Wiseman*, Esqrs. Mr. *John Saunders*, Mr. *Edward Cranfield*, Mr. *Henry Green*, Mr. *Nicholas Fairfax*, Mr. *John Baxter*, Mr. *Thomas Dorres*, captain *John Hill*, Mr. *John Medcalfe*, and Mr. *William Saire*. *George*, lord *Baltimore*, who had obtained the original patent, died before it could be expedited; but his plan was punctually followed by his eldest son, *Cecil*, lord *Baltimore*; and the first embarkation of colonists landed at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, in the beginning of the year 1634. Here, in consequence of recommendatory letters from the king, they met with all possible assistance from the governor of *Virginia*, and they proceeded on the 3d of *March* to *Patowmeck* river, which lies at the distance of about twenty-four leagues. They sailed fourteen leagues up this river, and Mr. *Calvert*, in the *Roman catholic* manner, took possession of several points and islands in the name of the king his master, particularly, the island of *St. Clement*. Proceeding in two pinnaces four leagues higher, he found the inhabitants had abandoned the south shore of the river through fear; and, sailing still nine leagues higher, he came to the town of *Patowmeck*, where the werowance, or chief, being an infant, the territory was governed by his uncle, who was very friendly to the *English*. Pursuing his voyage, he came to *Piscataway*, where he found an *Englishman*, one captain *Henry Fleet*, who had lived for several years in such credit with the inhabitants, that he prevailed with the werowance to go on board the governor's pinnace. The werowance, on being asked the question, whether he was willing the *English* should settle in those parts, bade them do as they pleased, as he would neither consent to, nor oppose their settlement. The werowance's subjects being apprehensive for his safety, crowded in such numbers down to the sea-side, that it was thought proper that he should shew himself to appease them. c

1634-

Adventures of
governor Cal-
vert.

THE werowance's cautious, and perhaps wise answer, together with the situation of the country, determined the governor to seek for a settlement farther down the river; and, taking captain *Fleet* along with him, he sailed down to within four or five leagues of the mouth of the *Patowmeck*, where he met with another river, which he called *St. George*; and sailing four leagues up it in his long boat, he came to the town of *Ycamaco*, where the situation was very inviting for a new settlement. Though the werowance gave him no great encouragement for that purpose, yet he received him with great kindness, and gave him his own bed to lie on. Mr. *Calvert* knew that the werowance's backwardness was owing to his not having consulted his head men, and he made them presents of *English* cloth, houghs, knives, and axes, and the like; which won them so much, that they offered to cede one part of their town to the settlers, and to live in the other part till they could get in their harvest; after which they were to resign the whole to the *English*. It soon appeared, that the *Ycamaco*s, for fear of the *Sasquebanooks*, a race of savages between *Chesapeak* bay and *Delaware* river, had resolved, for a twelvemonth before, to remove higher up the country, as many of them had actually done, and the rest of them would have followed, though the *English* had not appeared amongst them. Mr. *Calvert*, getting thus f

- a thus amicably in possession of the whole town, gave it the name of *St. Mary's*, and applied himself with great assiduity to the cultivation of his new colony. The ships and pinnaces were ordered to lie off the place, and struck the neighbouring savages with great terror. A guard and storehouse were immediately erected; the ships were unladen, and their cargoes brought on shore; the soil was cultivated; and the governor was visited by several of the *Indian* werowances, before whom he made such a display of his state and power, that they advised the *Yoamacoes*, who visited the *English* likewise on this occasion, to be careful of keeping the league they had made with the *English*, which implied that both people should live friendly together, and that all injuries should be satisfied by the offending nation. The governor, on his part, behaved so well, that the natives supplied his colony with corn, and all kind of provisions which the country afforded, in exchange for knives, beads, and other such trifles.

- b THE settling upon a spot where the land had been before cleared by the natives, was a piece of uncommon good fortune for the new colony, and, it is said, that the first settle-
ment of it cost lord *Baltimore* above 40,000 l. so that in a short time, it began to vie with *Virginia* itself. This raised a jealousy in some of the *Virginians*, who, at first, persuaded the neighbouring natives that the new settlers were not *Englishmen*, but *Spaniards*, and enemies to the *English*. This ridiculous suggestion was believed by the simple savages, and, all of a sudden, they withdrew their company from *St. Mary's*. The *English* were alarmed at this alteration of behaviour, and left off building houses, that they might erect a fort for their security; which they did in the space of six weeks, and then finished the houses they had laid out. In a short time, the *Indians* were disabused of their mistake, and resorted to the colony as formerly, while every day brought new accessions of inhabitants from *England*, which were more or less numerous, as the persecution of the *Roman* catholics there raged or abated. The country was now divided into shires or counties, of which five lay on the west-side of the bay of *Chesapeak*, and five on the east. The former were named *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*, to which was afterwards added *Prince George* county. The latter shires were *Somerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil*, and *Kent*. The governor likewise built a house in *St. Mary's* for himself and his successors. The government itself was likewise settled upon a plan resembling, as near as possible, that of *England*. The governor had his council: and the upper-house consisted of them, and such lords of the manors, or others, who, from time to time, were called up thither by writs, by the lord proprietary or his lieutenant; and the lower-house consisted of representatives from the different counties. The acts of both houses, the moment they were passed, became final, nor could they be repealed, but by the same power which passed them; a privilege which was peculiar to *Maryland*. But this original settlement has since met with many alterations, and is susceptible of more, as the affairs and population of the colony improve. The courts of justice have likewise a resemblance to those of *England*. The provincial court is the highest in matters of property, and the lieutenant, or governor, and council, are judges in it, and, subordinate to that, each county has its court, which can decide without appeal in causes that are not capital, nor exceeding the stated value of 3000 lb. weight of tobacco. Those counties, in the year 1752, amounted to fourteen, viz. seven on each side of the bay of *Chesapeak*.

His settlement
in the colony.

- c IT was no wonder if so flourishing a colony, as that of *Maryland* was, under a *Roman* catholic proprietary, and consisting of *Roman* catholics, became obnoxious to the reigning powers, during the time of the great rebellion, who then assumed this government into their own hands. Upon the Restoration, it reverted to the lord *Baltimore*, who, about the year 1662, sent over his son, *Charles Calvert*, Esq; to be his governor of the province, he having previously obtained a confirmation of the grant of 1631. This gentleman, who was afterwards himself lord *Baltimore*, was one of the best governors that any *English* plantation ever had in *America*. Though he was a *Roman* catholic, he passed an act of the assembly, by which all Christians (professing themselves such) of every denomination had liberty to settle in the province; and his administration was so mild, moderate, and impartial, that the *English* inhabitants of *Maryland*, so early as the year 1665, amounted to 16,000. Even the *Indian* nations submitted to his authority; and when a chief, one *Naocosco*, was chosen what they call emperor of *Piscataway*, his election was not thought to be valid, till it was confirmed by the governor of *Maryland*. In every other respect, he kept his promises of protection and encouragement to the protestants as well as papists; nor is there, during all the time of his long government, (for he resided there twenty years) a single instance of an invasion upon the rights, properties, or privileges of any man.

1662.

and flourishing
state.

- d SIR WILLIAM BERKLEY, a violent royalist, was, at this time, governor of *Virginia*, where many severe laws passed against the dissenters there; and he behaved with so much tyranny, that this son of the church of *England* drove great numbers of them into *Maryland*, where they were received with open arms, and kindly entertained by the popish proprietary

1677. prietary there. In the year 1677, the *Indian* war in *Virginia* communicated itself, but in a very small degree to *Maryland*, and tranquillity was soon restored all over that province by the proprietary's wisdom and moderation. The comprehensive maxims of lord *Baltimore* did not suit those of *James II.* when he mounted the throne of *England*. Though he had granted liberty of conscience to all the sectaries in *Great Britain*, that he might the more easily establish the *Roman* catholic religion there, yet his popish counsellors suggested to him, that such a toleration ought not to take place in a province where the bulk of the people were already *Roman* catholics. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive the lord *Baltimore* of the right to nominate a governor to his province of *Maryland*, and had not the Revolution taken place, it is more than probable that it would have been carried into execution. The difference of court-religion made, in this respect, no difference in court policy; and, notwithstanding the inoffensive behaviour of lord *Baltimore* and his family, the resolution of taking from him the right of nominating the governor of *Maryland* was still pursued. Advantage of the acts of parliament against papists was taken against him, but lord *Baltimore* had the spirit to dispute his rights inch by inch at the council-board; and though his lordship retained that of proprietary, he was deprived of that of naming a governor, or a council, both which have been ever since vested in the crown. King *William* appointed Sir *Edmund Andros*, whom we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, to the government of *Maryland*. This gentleman, though said to have been himself a papist, called together an assembly in 1692, who recognized the right of king *William* and queen *Mary* to the crown, and to prevent any inconveniencies arising from the alteration of the judicature in the province, an act was passed, confirming all law-proceedings, excepting where there was any error in process or pleas. When an act of parliament passed concerning the succession of declared papists to paternal inheritances, the *Baltimore* family very wisely declared themselves protestants, and have ever since been eminently attached to our present happy constitution in church and state.

Lord Baltimore deprived of the power of naming a governor.

1692.

New constitution of the colony.

Church of England ministers settled.

Colonel Nicholson governor.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS, who died in a very advanced age at *London*, in 1714, was succeeded in the government of *Maryland* by colonel *Nicholson*. This gentleman is represented by some *, as far from being an unexceptionable governor, though we cannot see for what reason. Under him passed the act of confirmation above-mentioned; in which there is a proviso, that nothing in the act should justify Sir *Edmund Andros* in taking and disposing of the public revenues, or debar the assembly, or any other person, of their right or claims to the same. After this the proprietary enjoyed, as before, the revenues of the province, arising by grants from the assemblies, the exportation of tobacco, the sales of uncultivated and unpurchased lands, and various other articles; all which make up a very considerable income. In the mean while, *Maryland* still preserves the privilege of not submitting her laws to *Great Britain* for confirmation. In her government, there is, in effect, at present four negatives. All bills, before they are carried into acts, take their rise in the lower-house, or house of representatives. The proprietary himself has a negative; the governor has another; and another is lodged in the council, which consists of twelve, and are paid by the province. The lower house of representatives is composed of four from each of the fourteen counties, and two for *Annapolis*, for so the metropolis of the province is now called. It was natural for the government of *England*, after the revolution, and after the crown had appropriated to itself the appointment of the governor, to enquire more nearly into the state of *Maryland*, than into that of any other of the *American* colonies; both as to its ecclesiastical and civil constitution. In 1692, it was thought proper that the bishop of *London* should appoint a commissary in *Maryland*; and he made choice of the famous Dr. *Thomas Bray*, who went over thither to inspect the church affairs of the province, which he found in great disorder, through the influence of the papists on one hand, and that of the quakers on the other. An act of the assembly, that same year, divided the then counties into thirty parishes, sixteen of which were supplied with ministers, who were provided with livings. By the doctor's care, likewise, the people were furnished with many books of protestant practical devotion, and several chapels were erected. The stipends allowed to the ministers were fixed by a perpetual law to be according to the taxables in each parish. Every Christian male of sixteen years old, and negroes, male and female, above that age, pay 40 lb. of tobacco yearly to the minister, which is levied by the sheriff, and thereby each minister, one with another, has an income of about 20,000 lb. weight of tobacco, which answers to about 100 l. sterling a year. This encouragement was greatly owing to colonel *Nicholson's* zeal; for before his time the people of the colony had never seen any divines of the church of *England*, excepting some itinerant preachers, whose morals were a reproach to their profession. This had given the papists, and the other sectaries, a great sway over the bulk of the people; but in a few years the latter were so well reconciled to the church

* DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. II. p. 369.

† Ibid. p. 366.

a of *England*, that it became the chief religion in the province; and their audiences were even crowded.

Colonel *NICHOLSON* left his government with a good character, and was succeeded by colonel *Nathaniel Blakiston*. This gentleman promised to tread in the steps of his predecessors, but he was obliged to return to *England* for the recovery of his health, and in 1703 her majesty was pleased to appoint colonel *William Seymour* to be governor. This gentleman in his passage to *Maryland* in the *Dreadnought* man of war, was forced to put into *Barbades*, and, being afterwards driven off the coasts of *Maryland*, it was above eight months from his departure from *England* before he arrived at his government. He likewise had a good character, and the most remarkable of the succeeding governors were the colonels *Corbet* and *Hunt*, Mr. *Calvert*, Mr. *Bladen* and Mr. *Ogle*, who was governor in 1752. The allowance of the governor's salary is, by agreement, with the proprietary, and therefore uncertain; but the value of the proprietary's own revenue is very considerable. His original quit-rent was two shillings sterling a year for every one hundred acres. In time he patented vacant lands for double that sum, and at last he endeavoured to raise the quit-rent to ten shillings for every one hundred acres; but failed in the attempt, though there is little room to doubt, that in the present flourishing state of *Maryland*, the quit-rents may rise to that sum. Some years ago the assembly, with the consent of the lord proprietary, granted him in lieu of his quit-rents for three years, a revenue of 3s. 6d. sterling duty on every hoghead of tobacco, to be paid by the shipper. By this means the landed interest was eased of the burthen of quit-rents; but this scheme did not hold. The lord proprietary, by this new method of collection, received no more than 5000 l. a year; and therefore, upon the expiration of the three years, he reverted to the revenue arising from his quit-rents. Besides those, he has large estates in many parts of the province, which he lets to farm.

Names of
other gover-
ners.

THE situation of *Maryland*, which secures it in a great measure from the rapines and incursions of the *Indians*, has, at all times, preserved this province in a tolerable state of tranquillity; and consequently it affords but little subject for history; the natives having wisely applied themselves to the culture of their country. Their chief commodity is tobacco, of which some time ago Dr. *Douglass*, in his Summary, tells us, *Maryland*, one year with another, exported upwards of 30,000 hogheads, each seven hundred pounds weight. This commodity forms the medium or currency of *Maryland*, being received in debts and taxes; and the inspector's notes for tobacco delivered to him are transferable. It is said that an industrious man can manage 6000 plants of tobacco, and four acres of *Indian* corn. The next commodity that we shall mention belonging to *Maryland*, is pork. The woods there contain vast droves of wild swine, which are generally small, but when salted and barrelled they make a very considerable article of exports. In 1733, one planter is said to have salted upwards of 3000 barrels of pork. The grain of *Maryland* is subject to the weevil, a small insect of the scarabeus kind, which often takes to the ear when growing. Good land in *Maryland* yields about fifteen bushels of wheat, an acre, or thirty bushels of *Indian* corn. In 1751 the people of the uplands of *Maryland* sent into *Baltimore* town, which lies near the bottom of *Chesapeak* bay, sixty waggons loaden with flax seed, which is a demonstration that their soil is proper for that culture; and indeed they now raise great quantities, both of hemp and flax, which may be manufactured to great advantage by the charity schools, which are every where establishing in that country. The mountains of *Maryland* contain great quantities of iron-ore, and some furnaces are already erected there for running it into pigs and forges for refining it into iron. The *Maryland* oak is not greatly esteemed for building large ships, but is very proper for staves and small craft. Their black walnut is very proper for joiners work. They have likewise poplars, cedars, chesnut, and other woods, which are uncommon to other parts of *North America*.

Tobacco.

Pork.

1733.

Grain.

1751.

Flax.

Hemp.

Iron-ore.

Timber.

f IN proportion as the land is cleared, and the country inhabited, the air of *Maryland*, which before was not very wholesome, must acquire a greater degree of salubrity, and the inhabitants, at present, are computed at near 70,000, exclusive of the negroes, though it is thought that the province is far from being well peopled. It is reckoned, that above 2000 negro slaves are annually imported into *Maryland*; some planters having five hundred, and one Mr. *Bennet* is said to have had 1300 slaves at one time. No planter can plant more than 6000 plants of tobacco per negro, besides raising some barrels of corn. The weekly allowance to each negro is a peck of *Indian* corn, and some salt. The tobacco they raise, which is called the *Orconoko*, is of a strong kind, and not so agreeable in the southern parts of *Europe*, as the mild kind, and therefore exported from *Great Britain* to the northern parts. With regard to other manufactures, the inhabitants apply but little to them; a kind of a woollen cloth is made in *Somerset* county; and a wax is extracted from the fruit of

Air.
Number of in-
habitants, and
of slaves an-
nually im-
ported.

y DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. 2. p. 372.

what they call the wax tree, being a kind of a myrtle, which, when mixed with tallow, makes candles. They likewise make excellent cyder for their own drinking; but they have vast quantities of grapes, that rot upon the ground in the woods, and which it is thought, if properly cultivated, might make a thin and wholesome wine. The inhabitants of *Maryland* have not yet greatly associated themselves in towns, which some people think is a detriment to the province. We are, however, to observe, that, secure as they are from the incursions of the *Indians*, they have not the same temptations, as others have, for flocking to great towns, especially, considering the vast conveniences for water-carriage with which their country every where abounds.

Trade of
Maryland.

THE trade from *Maryland* is of incredible advantage to *Great Britain*. In 1736, it was computed, that *Maryland* employed above one hundred and thirty sail of ships, and that the neat product of tobacco exported from thence and *Virginia*, of which *Maryland* had the greatest share, amounted to 210,000*l.* and, at present, it is computed, that their mother-country gains above 500,000*l.* annually from that trade. The inhabitants import their wines from *Madeira*, *Fyal* and *France*, their rum from *Barbadoes*, and their malt and beer from *England*. Having few manufactures of their own, they likewise purchase from hence their linen, woollen, furniture, utensils of every kind, and, indeed, all the conveniencies and elegancies of life. But, notwithstanding what has been said, their living in detached habitations is, in many respects, a great check upon their industry. It makes the recovery of their debts difficult, and renders the loading their ships very dilatory.

Chief towns.

WE shall not take up our readers time in describing the rivers of this country, and their situation, which may be known by the map; we shall therefore only mention some of the chief places in the province. *St. Mary's* was the original county and seat of government. In 1698, some medicinal wells were discovered there, and the government ordered they should be purchased with the land adjoining, and some houses built for the entertainment of the poor. Though the town of *St. Mary's* is now but inconsiderable, yet it still keeps up its privilege of being governed by a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, and the general court is still held in the statehouse there, and the council for orphans is kept the first *Tuesday* in *September*, *November*, *January*, *March*, and *June*; and the place sends two representatives to the assembly. The parishes of *Bristol* and *Piscataway* are the chief in *Charles* county, which contains nothing in it remarkable; and prince *George* county was laid out so late as the year 1695. In *Calvert* county are three townships or parishes, *Harrington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*. *Ann* county contains *Annapolis*, formerly called *Severn*, but received its present name in 1694, when it was made a port town, and the residence of a collector and naval officer. The county-court was removed hither in 1699, and thenceforth it has always been the chief seat of justice, and held to be the capital of the province. Since that time a free-school was founded there, and after that other schools were erected, of which the archbishop of *Canterbury* was chancellor, and trustees were appointed for them under the denomination of rectors, governors, trustees, and visitors of the free-schools of *Maryland*. *Baltimore* county contains a straggling parish of the same name, and these are all the counties on the west side of the bay.

THOSE on the east side are *Cecil* county and *Kent* county, which contain nothing remarkable. *Talbot* county had for its capital *Oxford*, which name it lost by an act of assembly in 1695, when it was called *Williamstadt*, and made a port town. The inhabitants have a common pasture of one hundred acres of land adjacent to it, and the second school in the province was erected here. It is likewise the residence of a collector and naval officer, and the county contains besides the parishes of *St. Michael* and *Bolingbroke*. The chief town of *Dorchester* county, which is the next, is *Dorchester*, and here the county court was kept. An act of the assembly in 1698 declared the land lying here on the north side of *Nanticoke* river, beginning at the mouth of *Chickacoan* river, and so up to the head of it, and from thence to the head of *Anderton's* branch, and so down unto the north-west fork to the mouth of the aforesaid *Chickacoan* river, to belong to two *Indian* chiefs, *Panquash* and *Annatouquem*, who, with their subjects, were to hold them under the lord proprietary, upon the *reddendo* of one beaver skin a year. This moderate and wise expedient no doubt has contributed to the tranquillity of this county, and indeed of the province in general. *Somerset* county has in it a parish of the same name. Besides those counties, new ones have been lately laid out; but though all of them are in a flourishing condition, they are too inconsiderable to claim a place here.

a

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

THE family history of Mr. Penn, the founder of this great and flourishing colony, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that his father was Sir William Penn, the famous admiral who commanded the naval armament, as colonel Venables did the land forces, which Cromwell sent against Hispaniola, where, though they failed, they conquered Jamaica. The particulars of that expedition are to this day mysterious; but, it is agreed on all hands, that the attempt upon Hispaniola did not fail through the cowardice of either commander; and, it is certain, that the exiled family of the Stuarts, after the failure of the expedition, kept up a close correspondence with them both; and that Venables was very deeply concerned in the unsuccessful insurrection at Chester in their favour. Penn was by principle an independent; but immediately after the Restoration, he became a reigning favourite at court with the two royal brothers. In 1665, he was appointed to command the English fleet under the duke of York; and it was universally thought that the laurels which his royal highness acquired in fighting against the Dutch, were chiefly owing to the great abilities of Sir William Penn as a seaman.

History of
Mr. Penn.

1665.

In the mean while, Sir William's son, William, was adding the advantages of a liberal education to the uncommon sagacity he possessed from nature; but, from being an enemy, next to enthusiasm against the established church of England, he at last professed himself a quaker. While he was studying at Christ Church, Oxford, he and the lord Spencer, afterwards earl of Sunderland, so noted for the duplicity of his conduct, insulted the students and the clergy who appeared in surplices, and becoming thereby obnoxious, they were by their parents sent into foreign parts to enlarge their minds. Young Penn, when he was abroad, received an order from his father, on his being appointed admiral aforesaid, to return home; and it is probable, that, by this time, both father and son had digested within themselves the plan of their future settlement. The juncture and disposition of the court was extremely favourable to their wishes. The royal brothers wanted to send out of England as many sectaries as they could, and thought that the government of them could not be more properly entrusted than with the Penns. The latter, on the other hand, could not without great grief see the harassments which those of their own persuasion every day suffered in England; and they had before their eyes the flourishing examples of New England and Virginia to encourage them in their intention of making like migrations of their own sect and their friends to America, where there were still vast tracts of unappropriated land to settle. Sir William died in the west of England, and was buried in Bristol; but probably left the plan of his settlement, in which it is said he was greatly assisted by a relation residing in America, with his son.

The young gentleman, when his father died, was so much immersed in religious disputes that he had for some time no leisure to solicit the grant, which had actually been promised to his father by Charles II. But the persecution against his sect raging every day more and more, he obtained it in the year 1679; but was not actually invested with it till the 4th of March, 1680-81. The allegations of Mr. Penn's petition were, a commendable desire to enlarge the English empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit thereto, as also to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion. The boundaries granted by the charter to the said William Penn, and his heirs were, "All that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northwards of Newcastle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the river doth extend so far northward: but, if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and, from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle northward, and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then, by a strait line westwards to the limits of longitude above-mentioned."

1679.
1680-81.

and his
charter,

HAVING thus described the bounds laid down by this charter, it is absolutely necessary for the understanding the history of Pennsylvania, that we give a summary of the chief articles of this famous charter, which is justly thought to be a master-piece of provincial legislation, and was the basis of many succeeding disputes between the proprietary and the planters.

THE

Contents of
the same.

THE third section secures the true and absolute property of the said province to Mr. *Penn*, but with the saving of his allegiance and the sovereignty of the *English* crown. The fourth section grants to him, his heirs, &c. full and absolute power, for the good and happy government of the said country; to ordain, make, and enact, and under his or their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or, for any other end appertaining either unto the public state, peace, or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion; by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates and deputies, to be assembled in such sort and form, as to him and them shall seem best, and as often as need shall require. The fifth section gives Mr. *Penn* a power to erect courts of judicature for the administration of the aforesaid laws, provided they be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable, to the laws and statutes and rights of *England*; with a saving to the crown in case of appeals. The sixth empowers Mr. *Penn* to make additional laws, or bye-laws, as occasion shall offer (A), but still agreeable to the laws of *England*; so as the said ordinances be not extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of any person or persons for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels.

By the seventh section it is provided that a transcript or duplicate of all laws, so made and published as aforesaid, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy council for the time being; and if declared by the king in council inconsistent with the sovereignty or lawful prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, shall be adjudged void. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth sections contain little, but what is in common to other proprietary governments. By the fourteenth section Mr. *Penn* is obliged to have an attorney or agent to be his resident-representative, at some known place in *London*, who is to be answerable to the crown for any misdeemeanor committed, or wilful default, or neglect permitted by the said *Penn* against the laws of trade and navigation; and to defray the damages in his majesty's courts ascertained; and in case of failure, the government to be resumed and retained till payment has been made; without any prejudice, however, in any respect to the landholders or inhabitants, who are not to be affected or molested thereby. The sections fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, contain nothing particular. By the twentieth section, his majesty covenants and grants to, and with the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs, and successors, at no time thereafter to impose or levy any tax on the inhabitants in any shape, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of parliament in *England*.

By the twenty-first section, his majesty, on pain of his highest displeasure, commands all his officers and ministers, that they do not presume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do in any sort withstand the same: and, on the contrary, enjoins them to be at all times, aiding and assisting, as was fitting, to the said *William Penn*, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors, and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of the said charter. By the twenty-third and last section, a provision is made, by the king's special will, ordinance, and command, that, in case any doubt or question should thereafter perchance arise concerning the true sense or meaning of any word, clause, or sentence contained therein, such interpretation should be made thereof, and allowed in any of his majesty's courts, as should be adjudged most advantageous and favourable to the said *William Penn*, his heirs, and assigns; provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due to the crown, may suffer any prejudice or diminution.

His concessions
to the adven-
turers.

It is an historical phenomenon, that so excellent a set of constitutions took their rise from an arbitrary court, and a bigotted prince; for, it appeared that all the tract of land, now called *Pennsylvania*, had been previously granted to the duke of *York* by his brother king *Charles*, and was by him regranted in 1682, by deeds of feoffment, to Mr. *Penn*. During the dependency of the charter, Mr. *Penn* had been busied in collecting adventurers for peopling his new province, in which he found no great difficulty; and, in virtue of the sixth section of his charter, he passed his first deed of settlement, under the title of "Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by *William Penn*, proprietary and governor of *Pennsylvania*, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province." But there is nothing particular in this deed, as it contains only the rules of settlement, and trade with the *Indians*, with some general provisions for the peace of the colony. Next year,

(A) Though we only mention Mr. *Penn*, yet his heirs, executors, &c. are included.

Mr.

- a Mr. Penn published a system of government, under the following title: "The frame of the government of the province of *Pennsylvania* in *America*: together with certain laws agreed upon in *England*, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be farther explained and confirmed there, by the first provincial council, if they see meet." The introduction to this celebrated piece is perhaps the most extraordinary compound that ever was published of enthusiasm, sound policy, and good sense, and the author tells us, that it was adapted "to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." By this frame, which consisted of twenty-four articles, the provincial council, which was ordered by rotation, and the general assembly, were to be the great sources of the government. The number of the provincial council was to be seventy-two, and the governor, or his deputy, were to preside in it, with a treble vote. The members were to be chosen by the freemen. One third of them was, at the first, to be chosen for three years, one third for two years, and one third for one year; in such manner, that there should be an annual succession of twenty-four new members. The business of this provincial council lay in the executive part of the government, in preparing, and proposing to the general assembly, all bills, which they shall, at any time, think fit to be passed into laws, within the said province; which bills shall be published and affixed to the most noted places in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the general assembly, in order to the passing them into laws, as the general assembly shall see meet. As to the general assembly, it was, at first, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and it was never to exceed five hundred. Besides those acts and constitutions, a set of laws were agreed upon in *England*, in the nature of an original compact, between the proprietary and the freemen, partly moral, partly political, and partly oeconomical. Some of them are of a very extraordinary kind, and met with great opposition; particularly that, by which the planters, besides paying the purchase money, were obliged to pay a quit rent of one penny an acre to the proprietary, for the support of his dignity as governor. The third law provides, that all elections of members or representatives to serve in the provincial council or general assembly should be free; and that the elector, who should receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, money, or otherwise, should forfeit his right to elect. The rest of those laws are very moderate and plausible, and formed upon the most perfect plan of regulated freedom. Besides those laws, certain conditions were agreed upon between the proprietary and the adventurers, concerning the divisions and laying out of the province and territory; for the reader is to observe, that the province of *Pennsylvania* was bounded, as we have seen; but its territory comprehended other lands granted to Mr. Penn by the duke of *York*, and the lands which he purchased from the *Indians*, and likewise some part of *Nova Belgia*, which he purchased from lord *Berkley* and the heirs of Sir *George Carteret* for 4000 *l.* the possession of which was likewise confirmed to him by a patent.

Government of the province.

- The number of original inhabitants, which Mr. Penn carried over in 1581, are said to have been about 2000, most of them nonconformists, collected at *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*; but, besides those, a considerable number of adventurers were already settled, both in the province and the territory, and he had sent before him a great number of artificers to prepare materials for building houses, and directing other conveniences for the colony. It is certain, that the noble plan of government laid down for this infant colony in *England* was every way so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for all the purposes of civil and religious liberty, that great numbers had embraced it, in firm reliance, that it would be punctually executed. Mr. Penn had formed himself greatly upon *Harrington's* principles, as the reader may see by his scheme of rotation, and had been assisted in drawing up his laws and constitutions by Sir *William Jones*, an eminent *English* lawyer of the same stamp; but, upon his arrival in *America*, he found, or pretended to find, some reasons for altering the frame of his government, and for uniting the province with the territory, or, as it is called, the three lower counties, granted him by the duke of *York*. In the last scheme he succeeded, and brought the people of the province to unite with those of the territory in legislation and government; but it was not till the year 1683, that he introduced another charter.

Its settlement.

- In *December*, 1682, the freemen of the province and territory were convened at a place called *Chester*; but here the insufficiency of the original charter appeared; for, after the counties had returned twelve persons as members of the provincial council, they insisted, because of the fewness of their numbers, and their inexperience in matters of government, that, of those twelve, three might serve as members of the provincial council, and the remaining nine as assemblymen, with the same powers and privileges that were granted by the charter or frame of government to the whole. This request, if not dictated by the proprietary, was extremely consonant to his views. The original charter was considered as being impracticable, and no more than as a probationary law that was alterable, and to be

Its new constitution.

submitted to the explanation and confirmation of the first provincial council and general assembly that was to be held in the province. Therefore the model, as proposed by the petitioners, or remonstrants, was admitted by a new act of settlement, made the 25th of February, 1682-3. At the same time, an act was passed for uniting the province and territory, by which all the benefits and advantages, before granted to the provincials, were to be in common to the inhabitants of the territory, as to them; and both, from that time, were to be considered as one people under one and the same government. This constitution, however, was liable to great objections, unless it could be proved that the same proprietary and provincial powers, that had been granted by the original royal charter to the province, and under which the adventurers had embarked, were legally communicated to the territory, and to Mr. Penn as being proprietary of the same.

Mr. Penn goes to England.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the people, both of the province and territory, seemed to be extremely well contented under his government; but, a territorial dispute happening between him and lord *Baltimore*, the proprietary of *Maryland*, Mr. Penn made use of that as a pretext to return to *England*, and to leave the government under the direction of five commissioners of state, taken out of the provincial council, and who, as we apprehend, were to represent his person, the remainder of that council, and the general assembly. The conduct of Mr. Penn, after he arrived in *England*, and his close connexions with king *James*, gave rise to various surmises; and it has been confidently asserted that, under the mask of a quaker, he was a concealed jesuit. This imputation appears to be groundless; for it may be with equal propriety said, that his majesty was a quaker, because neither of them had the least concern about any matters of religion without the pale of his own profession. Mr. Penn's attachment to king *James*, therefore, was the very same that it would have been to a prince of any other denomination of Christians. It is, however, certain, that after the Revolution, his personal gratitude to that unhappy monarch carried him to such lengths, that he was considered as an inveterate enemy to the protestant establishment, and, on that account, was sometimes excepted out of the proclamations and acts of grace published by king *William* and queen *Mary*. Captain *Blackwell*, during Mr. Penn's absence in *England*, administered the affairs of the infant colony and one *John White* was speaker of the assembly. An attempt was at this time made to dissolve the late charter, but it failed; and one *Moor* was complained of by the assembly to the proprietary, as being a busy meddling fellow. The complaint was signed by *White*, who it seems, thereby became obnoxious to *Blackwell* and the proprietary, who had done all they could to divide the freemen of the colony, but without effect.

Grievance of the province.

THE assembly insisted upon a discussion of their grievances, and upon a conference on that subject with the council, which, upon various pretexts, was evaded. This threw the assembly into a flame, and occasioned their entering not only a kind of protest in their minutes against so flagrant a partiality, but to come to the following resolution, viz. "That no person who is commissioned or appointed by the governor to receive the governor's fines, forfeitures, or revenues, whatsoever, shall sit in judgment in any court of judicature, within this government, in any matter or cause whatsoever, where a fine or forfeiture shall or may accrue to the governor." In the mean time, the deputy-governor and the provincial council gave the assembly a meeting, and he informed them, that the proprietary had given positive directions for letting all the laws, excepting the fundamentals, drop or fall; and, afterwards, for calling together the legislative authority, to revise some of them, or to pass others, as they should think proper. The deputy-governor then complained of the great abuses into which the government had run, the dissention among the members of the provincial council, the uncertain state of affairs in *England*, and the doubtful condition in which Mr. Penn's own right as proprietary stood, the Revolution having then but just taken place. *Blackwell*, at the same time, insisted that Mr. Penn was authorised by himself, and with consent of the freemen, to make laws, and under his seal to publish them.

Difference between the assembly and the deputy-governor.

THE assembly, looking upon the whole of the deputy-governor's speech and conduct to be an invasion of their rights and privileges, steadily opposed them, and contended that the laws which they had made could not be dropt, and that they were in full force, unless declared void by the king under his privy-seal. So violent an opposition obliged the deputy-governor to have recourse to other methods; and he prevailed with some of the members to absent themselves from the house, in order to introduce a nullity in its proceedings. This drew from the assembly a severe remonstrance, which they presented to the deputy-governor, besides their voting such withdrawing to be treacherous. Nothing but the great innate sagacity of Mr. Penn could, at this time, have prevented the ruin of his interest both in *England* and *America*. After obtaining his patent, he had been indefatigable in procuring settlers for his colony; and, to render his possession unquestionable, he bought from the natives all the lands they chose to part with. The *Dutch*, before this time, had been settled at *New York*, and upon the freshes of *Delaware* river; but were often interrupted in their

a their possession by the *Swedes*, so that frequent bickerings happened between the governors of the two nations, who were rivals in trade. The *Dutch*, however, prevailed, and drove the *Swedes* from their possessions, in the same manner as the *Swedes* did them, and great part of them fell to the share of Mr. Penn, to the vast emolument of his colony. After this, every day added to the population and trade of *Pennsylvania*; and the transporting of emigrants, from the west of *England* thither, became a considerable branch of commerce. The town of *Philadelphia* was now laid out, and a company, consisting of Mr. James Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, and Mr. Philip Ford, bought 20,000 acres of Mr. Penn's proprietary; and set up a tannery, a saw-mill, a glass house, and a whalery. The conditions of the sale were, that the buyers paid 20*l.* for 1000 acres, but still the quit rent was re-

b served; but since that time, it is said, that land there has been commonly sold for above twenty years purchase, and reckoning 20*s.* an acre.

The flourishing state of the colony soon enhanced to the proprietary, the price of *Indian* lands, which were purchased, not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. Penn, however, still continued to purchase, and found his benefit from the tranquillity of his possession, in paying the advanced price. The *Indians*, on the other hand, came into new life, and by the vast profits they made of their peltry trade, they soon accommodated themselves with the utensils and conveniencies of the *English* peasantry. This new manner of living kept them entirely quiet; and the mild administration of the proprietary himself reconciled to his government the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, who were as numerous there as the *English* themselves.

c All the rubs, therefore, that Mr. Penn met with in his administration were entirely owing to the circumstances of his affairs, which, after the revolution, detained him at the court of *England*, where, as we have already observed, he was looked upon with a very suspicious eye. This was no secret to the *Pennsylvanians*, and encouraged them in the opposition they made to his deputy, who was a republican, and had been paymaster to the parliament's army. The powers, however, that had been granted by the two royal brothers to Mr. Penn, were after the revolution thought to be derogatory to the royal authority; and, it is more than probable, that Mr. Penn compromised matters with the then government, by consenting to receive a governor for his colony from king *William* and queen *Mary*: and colonel Fletcher was by the same commission appointed governor both of *New*

d *York* and *Pennsylvania*.

The colony flourishes.

Colonel Fletcher appointed governor by the crown.

THIS was a pretty extraordinary transaction; for in Fletcher's commission no manner of regard seems to have been had to the original charter; and queen *Mary* sent over an order, countersigned by the earl of *Nottingham*, then secretary of state, requiring him as governor of *Pennsylvania*, without any mention of the freemen of the colony, to lend aid and assistance, in men or otherwise, to the colony of *New York* against the *French* and *Indians*. In short, it appears, as if the whole original constitution of the colony had been now dissolved. Instead of six members, for each of the six counties before-mentioned, those of *Philadelphia* and *Newcastle* were reduced to four each, and the rest to three, so that sixteen members were struck off at once. Upon the meeting of this new assembly,

e the governor laid before them his commission, and her majesty's letter; but the members were far from being so passive as he imagined. They passed a vote, *rem. con.* "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force: and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governor for a continuation or confirmation of the same." This vote was presented in an address to the governor, in which they intimated that their majesties had appointed him to be their governor, on account of the absence of the proprietary, as if the proprietary's right in appointing a governor had still subsisted. Mr. Fletcher did not suffer the assembly to continue long under this delusion; "The absence, said he, of the proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their majesties letters patent, for their majesties asserting their

f undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province. There are reasons of greater moment: as the neglects and miscarriages in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy; the danger of being lost from the crown.—The constitution of their majesties government and that of Mr. Penn are in direct opposition one to the other if you will be tenacious in sticking for this, it is a plain demonstration, use what words you please, that indeed, you decline the other."

WHATEVER objections could be made to Mr. Penn's grant, or to the constitution of his colony, it is certain, that this language of Fletcher's was intemperate, and derogatory to the rights of the freemen, who, thereupon, presented a remonstrance, in which they said, "That, as to superseding the proprietary's government, they apprehended the reasons were

g founded upon misinformations; for the courts of justice, continued they, were open in all counties in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the determining the lowest differences about property, before the date or the arrival of the governor's commission. Neither do we apprehend, that the province was

Supersedes the proprietary right.

in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles are not for war. And we conceive, that the present governancy hath no direct opposition (with respect to the king's government here in general) to our proprietary's, *William Penn*, though the exercise of thy authority, at present, supercedes that of our said proprietary. Nevertheless, we readily own thee for our lawful governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges." a

His difference
with the
assembly.

This shrewd remonstrance introduced a demand of having their laws, which they sent up by ten of their own number, accepted and ratified by the governor. After an obstinate dispute, they carried their point so far, that Mr. *Fletcher* "sent a message by two of the council to assure the house, in his name, of his confirmation of all the said laws (excepting one relating to shipwrecks) during the king's pleasure." The assembly voted the governor thanks for this message; but, at the same time, they sent a message to the governor, signifying "that aggrievances ought to be redressed, before any bill of supply ought to pass." This message was attended by a petition of right, claiming and desiring the use and benefit of two hundred and three laws, therein specified, as in all respect consonant to their charter, and none of them annulled by the crown in consequence of the power reserved to the sovereign. This warm manner of proceeding drew from the governor an implied menace, that he saw nothing would do but an annexation to *New York*; and this prevailed with the assembly to grant the supply. They had, however, the spirit to resolve *non con.* "that all bills sent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this house, to have their farther approbation upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent to pass into laws." Though it was now plain, that the charter Mr. *Penn* had obtained for his colony was no longer regarded by the government of *England*, yet a committee of the assembly had the courage to enter upon the assembly's books, the following protest: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, representatives of the freemen of this province in assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the governor and council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation or amendments: and that it is as necessary to know the amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills: and that the denial of that right is destructive to the freedom of making laws. And we also declare it is the right of the assembly, that, before any bill for supplies be presented for the last sanction of a law, aggrievances ought to be redressed. Therefore, we, with protestation, (saving our just rights in assembly) do declare, that the assent of such of us, as were for sending up the bill this morning, was merely in consideration of the governor's speedy departure, but that it should not be drawn into example or precedent for the future." b c d

Goes to New
York.

AFTER this, *Fletcher* set out for *New York*, without giving his sanction to the laws required; and, by the total rejection of *Penn*'s charter, it was generally concluded that the crown had got a complete victory over the proprietary right. Next year, *Markham*, the lieutenant-governor, issued writs for an assembly, which accordingly met; but, when they began to talk of redressing grievances, an order was produced from *Fletcher* for their adjournment, in order to supersede their farther proceedings. Notwithstanding this, they appointed a committee of grievances, and entered their complaints against the arbitrary conduct of the governor, asserting their own right to adjourn themselves; that their cases, legally determined by juries, should not be voided by determinations in equity; and that the money which had been voted should be regularly and duly applied, together with many other grievances, which they insisted should be redressed. The state of affairs in *England*, at this time, did not admit of *Fletcher*'s acting strictly up to the tenor of his instructions; and, Mr. *Penn*, who continued still in *England*, had found means to mollify the administration there in his behalf. Upon *Fletcher*'s return from *New York*, he met the *Pennsylvanian* assembly with more than usual complacency; but laid before them the danger they were in of their *Indians* joining in the rebellion of the five *Indian* nations, which had always depended upon *England*, but were then confederated with the *French*. His speech, on this occasion, ended in the following remarkable manner: "Gentlemen, I consider your principles, that you will not carry arms, nor levy money to make war, though for your own defence; yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungry and cloath the naked: my meaning is to supply those *Indian* nations with such necessities as may influence them to a continuance of their friendship to these provinces.—And now, gentlemen, if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the tenor of my commission, in redressing your grievances, if you have any, you shall find me ready to act by the rules of loyalty, with a true regard to liberty and property." e f

Mr. Penn's
right restored.

THOSE soothing expressions did not divert the assembly from their main purpose; and having passed a money-bill, they insisted upon their right of naming collectors for the same, and appropriating it to the purposes for which it had been voted. In this demand, they continued so obstinate, that the governor thought proper to dissolve them. All this while, the assembly had never thought fit to give any answer to the *English* government g

- a concerning the queen's letter, by which they were required to assist the province of *New York*. When the next assembly sat, the same refractiousness, on their part, continued; and they were again dissolved. In 1696, Mr. *Penn* had managed matters so well for himself, at the court of *England*, that he was restored to his right of naming a governor; and he accordingly nominated Mr. *Markham*, who was his nephew, and had been his secretary. The new governor, as deputy to the proprietary, summoned the assembly, and recommended to them *Fletcher's* late request of succouring the *Indians* of *New York*, whose corn and provisions had been destroyed by the *French*. The assembly readily agreed to do this, provided the governor would settle them in their former constitutions, as they stood before *Fletcher's* administration. This request, before the assembly thought proper to grant the
- b *Indian* charity, produced a joint committee of the council and the assembly, who drew up the following expedient. "That the governor, at the request of the assembly, would be pleased to pass an act with a salvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs for choosing a full number of representatives, on the 10th of *March* next ensuing, to serve in provincial council and assembly, according to charter, until the proprietary's pleasure should be known therein; and that, if the proprietary should disapprove the same, that then the said act should be void, and no ways prejudicial to him or the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the said charter."

- THIS expedient was unanimously approved of by the house, and a sum of money was immediately raised for the support of the government, and the relief of the poor *Indians*.
- c In the act of settlement, proposed by the expedient, the rotation principle was entirely set aside, and it was resolved that the elections, both for the council and assembly, should be annual and stated. The members of the council for each county were to be two, and those for the assembly four, with proper qualifications as to fortune and residency. The governor or his deputy was to preside in the council; but no act of government was to be valid, without the concurrence of the council, or a majority of it^a. That two thirds were to be a *quorum* in the upper walk of business, and one third in the lower; that the assembly should have power to propose bills, as well as the council: that both might confer on such terms as either of them should propose: that such as the governor in council gave his consent to, should be laws: that the stile of those laws should be, by the governor, with the
- d assent and the approbation of the freemen, in general assembly met: that duplicates thereof should be transmitted in the king's council, according to the late king's patent: that the assembly should sit on their own adjournments and committees, and continue to prepare and propose bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals, till dismissed by the governor and council; and to remain during the year liable to serve upon his or their summons: should be allowed wages and travelling charges: two thirds to make a *quorum*: all questions to be decided by a majority: affirmations to be admitted in all courts, instead of oaths, where required: all persons in possession of lands, by purchase or otherwise, so to continue: sheriffs and their substitutes to give security for office-behaviour: elections were to be free, regular, and incorrupt: no member being permitted to serve without wages, or for
- e less wages than by this act appointed: neither the form or effect of this act was to be diminished or altered, in any part or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent or meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor, and six parts in seven of the freemen in council and assembly met: it was to continue and be in force, till the proprietary should, by some instrument under his hand and seal, signify his pleasure to the contrary: and it was provided, that neither this act nor any other should preclude or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories from claiming, having, and enjoying, any of the rights, privileges, and immunities, which the said proprietary for himself, his heirs and assigns, did formerly grant, or which of right did belong, unto them the said inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter, or grant whatsoever, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."
- f

New plan of government.

SUCH was the new settlement of *Pennsylvania*; but though governor *Fletcher* repeated his applications for aid and assistance to the colony of *New York* against the *French* and their *Indians*, he could obtain none; and thus stood affairs in the province, when in the beginning of the year 1700, the proprietary Mr. *Penn* came over in person. He immediately convened the assembly, and laid before them the great disrepute which the colony had incurred in *England*, on account of their piratical practices and illicit trade; requiring them to proceed vigorously against both. Those matters were referred to proper committees; and a son-in-law of the late governor *Markham*, being found the most culpable as to piratical practices, was committed, and obliged to give bail for his appearance. As to the charge of illicit trade, the assembly disclaimed it, and effectually justified themselves. After this, some farther regulations with regard to the next assembly being appointed, par-

1700.
Mr. Penn returns to the province.

^a Vide Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, p. 35.

particularly that three members of the council should be chosen in every county, and six for the assembly, they separated. The next assembly proved to be very numerous, and they prolonged their session beyond the time limited by their charter, which probably was occasioned by a new plan of government that was under their deliberation.

THE truth is, Mr. Penn's notions of government were in some respects too refined to be practicable, and were perpetually fluctuating. The next assembly consisted only of twenty-four members, that is four for each county; and instead of *Philadelphia*, they met at *Newcastle*. The governor informed them of the defects of their constitution, and demanded a supply for the support of his government. Those matters, especially the union between the province and the territory, created prodigious debates, and threatened an immediate separation; but, at last, the debate was referred to a future assembly. The settlement of the property was secured by a bill for the effectual establishment and confirmation of the freeholders of both parts of the united colony, and a liberal supply was granted. The assembly met again the following *August* at *Philadelphia*, and a letter from his majesty, requiring a sum of money for raising fortifications on the frontiers of *New York*, was laid before them, but no regard was paid to it, under pretence that the province was exhausted by their former grants. In *September* 1701, Mr. Penn convened another assembly, and informed them of the indispensable necessity he was under to go to *England*, to obviate some ill offices done by his and their enemies with the government there; but offered to do every thing that was in his power to secure them in their privileges and properties. The assembly, in their answer, expressed great dissatisfaction to the state of both, and required some farther security; to which the proprietary gave evasive answers, but offered to leave the nomination of the deputy-governor, who was to act in his absence, to themselves: but they declined that honour, and went upon a new charter of privileges.

This introduced a breach between the members of the province, and those of the territory; the latter insisting upon some particular privileges which, when they were refused them by the others, made them withdraw from the meeting, and it required all the authority and address of the proprietary to make up the breach. At last, after great heart-burnings on both parts, just when Mr. Penn was about to embark, a charter of privilege was presented to him, and, being ratified by him, is now the rule of government in *Pennsylvania*. By this important charter, liberty of conscience is granted; and, all christians, taking the proper oath of allegiance and fidelity, whatever denomination they were of, were enabled to serve the government, either legislatively or executively. By the second article, it is provided that an assembly should be yearly chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability, or of a greater number, if the governor and assembly should so agree, upon the 1st of *October* for ever and should sit on the 14th following, with power to chuse a speaker and other their officers, to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members, sit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances, with all other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the free-born subjects of *England*, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in *America*. If any county or counties should neglect to send deputies, those who met, provided they were not fewer in number than two-thirds of the whole, were to be considered as the legal representatives of the province.

THE freemen of each county were to pitch upon three men, whose names they were to present to the governor, to serve the offices of sheriff and coroner, and he was to pitch upon one with the provisions as usual in such cases. The fourth article provided, that the laws of this government shall be in this stile, *viz.* By the governor, with the consent and approbation of the freemen in general assembly met. The fifth article provides that all criminals shall have the same privileges of witnesses and council as their prosecutors. By the sixth article, all matters of complaint relating to property were to be answered before the governor and council only, in the ordinary course of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by law appointed. By the seventh article, the governor was to grant no licence for any public house, without a recommendation from the justices of the county, who, in case of misbehaviour, were empowered to shut it up, or otherwise punish according to law. By the eighth article, in cases of suicide, all property was to descend to the next heirs, as if the deceased had died a natural death; nor was the governor to be intitled to any forfeiture, if a person should be killed by casualty or accident. The same article provides, that no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, should at any time hereafter be made or done to alter, change, or diminish the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts in seven of the assembly met: and that the first article, relating to liberty of conscience, should be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever: That the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs and assigns, did thereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither he, his heirs, or assigns, should

1701.

and from
return to
England.New char-
ter.Contents of his
last charter.

- a should procure or do any thing or things whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, nor any part thereof, should be infringed or broken; and, that if any thing should be procured and done by any person or persons contrary thereto, it should be held of no force or effect.

- b THIS new constitution differed greatly from the original. The governor might nominate his own council, and he was left single in the executive part of the government, and had liberty to restrain the legislative, by refusing his assent to their bills. The assembly, on the other hand, acquired the important privilege of propounding laws, as well as of amending or rejecting them; but though this new constitution was thankfully accepted of by the province, it was unanimously rejected by the territory; and affairs stood in this untowardly state, when Mr. Penn sailed for *England*, after having named *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; to act as his deputy in his absence. Mr. *Hamilton's* great endeavour, during his administration, was to bring about an union between the province and the territory, but, that being found impracticable, the province met in consequence of their new charter, and came to a resolution confirming their own powers. In the mean while, Mr. *Hamilton* died, and was succeeded in his administration by *John Evans*, Esq;

Hamilton governor.

1704.

- c THIS gentleman, soon after his arrival, affected to be surprized that the representatives of the province, and those of the territory, acted as two distinct bodies, and advised them to unite; intimating, at the same time, that, if they did not, neither of them would be in a condition to act at all. The provincials threw the blame of the disunion upon the territory people, who, at last, offered to receive the charter, and to co-operate with the provincials, who now declined the proposal, to the great disgust of the new governor. The assembly, after this, passed a bill for confirming their charter, but it was sent back to them with amendments, which they voted were destructive to their constitution. This vote was followed by resolutions and addressees, which widened the breach between the governor and the assembly, and the latter resolved, that to admit of the power of dissolution, or prerogation in the governor, will manifestly destroy or frustrate the elections, settled by the charter, which is as a perpetual writ, supported by the legislative authority of this government, and will make way for elections by writs, grounded upon a prerogative, or rather a pre-eminence, which the proprietary and his deputy are by charter debarred to resume. The governor, in his answer, denied that the proprietary by the late charter had granted away that power, and refused to comply with the assembly till he could obtain instructions from *England*; but, in the mean time, he recommended them to dispatch the other business that was before them, which the exigencies of the government necessarily required. The assembly, in their rejoinder to this answer, carried their resentment so high, that they refused to proceed upon any other business, till they received satisfaction as to the great point in dispute. They likewise unanimously came to nine resolutions, in which the proprietary himself was charged as having broken the original charter, and, by his artifices, defrauded them of their privileges. He was likewise charged with having extorted from the province great sums of money, on pretence of negotiating their affairs in *England*, and on relieving them as to oaths; but instead of that, the queen's letter required oaths to be administered to all the members, by which the quakers were disabled from sitting in courts. They made likewise grievous complaints concerning the abuses of surveyors, the clerks of the courts, and justices of the peace, who, they said, were all put in by the proprietary, and thereby he became his own judge in his own cause. Those and other matters were the heads of a representation, or rather remonstrance, drawn up and sent to the proprietary, then in *England*, in which he is represented as an oppressor, and as falsifying his word in almost every respect with the provincials. Many, if not the whole, of those allegations were overstrained, or entirely false; but it seems pretty certain, that Mr. Penn's extreme caution and anxiety to finish a complete model of government, did subject the province to inconveniences, which, by designing men, were represented as intolerable grievances.
- d Amongst other regulations, which the provincials insisted upon, one was, that a royal-commissioner should be established in *Pennsylvania*, for determining all matters wherein the provincials had just cause to complain against the proprietary, his deputies, or commissioners; or that the inhabitants should be restored to their original right, which they had by their first charter, of electing judges, justices, and other officers, as the people of *New England* had by king *William's* charter.

Succeeded by Evans, who breaks with the assembly.

- e FROM the whole of this representation it appeared, that the parties were determined to bring the constitution of the province as near as possible to its first principles. The representation was sent; but the parties themselves acted with such firmness, that, though several of the council, and the governor himself, earnestly demanded a copy of it, they were refused it, under pretence that they were not willing to expose the proprietary to censure. The true reason, however, why they let the affair sleep, notwithstanding their loud out-cries against their proprietary, was their apprehension of falling under the immediate

Mr. Penn obtains a majority in the assembly.

power

power of the crown, in which case they might have evils multiplied upon them, and be charged with the militia duties, both which were highly repugnant to the principles of the majority of the council. It is more than probable that Mr. *Penn*, and his administration in *Pennsylvania*, were fully sensible of the difficulties the provincials lay under in this respect, and they managed so well, that, at last, they obtained a majority in the assembly, who submitted to all the grievances they had formerly complained of. Those disputes were greatly augmented by the intemperance of the quakers themselves, who, notwithstanding all their zeal for liberty of conscience, persecuted *Keith*, one of their most famous preachers, upon his conforming to the church of *England*, and went so far as to throw him into prison. This was looked upon as being highly inconsistent with quaker principles; and his persecutors, by way of apology, (though it is a very trifling one) pretended that they did not punish him for his religious principles, but for having insulted the civil government.

1706-7.
Disputes
between them
and the pro-
prietary.

IN 1706-7, the assembly of *Pennsylvania* was far from being so compliant as of late to the governor and the council; and two parties were formed, the one headed by Mr. *Logan*, secretary to the governor and the council, and the other by *David Lloyd*, speaker of the assembly. Many exasperating motions and messages, not material to be mentioned here, passed between the two parties, and, it is now agreed on all hands, that both of them were so blinded by passion and animosity, it is hard to say which was most to blame. *Logan* insulted the members of the assembly, when they came with messages to the governor, who seems to have been entirely under the direction and influence of *Logan*; and, therefore, they proceeded against him as a delinquent. The governor, on the other hand, treated *Lloyd* as an incendiary, and threatened to make him feel the weight of his power. All this while, three charters were depending for confirmation. One was that of the privileges; another that of the city of *Philadelphia*; and the last that of securing property; and the assembly were given to understand, that the two former must remain in the same precarious state they were then, until the proprietary and his governor were put upon proper establishments, and freed from the invasions of the assembly. As to the last charter, the governor told the assembly, that it was no better than an unjust project of the speaker to encroach upon, and even to ingross, the proprietary's rights. The assembly, in answer to this, maintained that nothing had been inserted in the charter, but, by the proprietary's own direction; but we are to observe, that this happened at a juncture, when the proprietary apprehended that his own powers might be abridged by a bill depending in the *English* parliament; and he found it his interest to strengthen, all he could, the property of the provincials.

They insist on
a redress of
grievances.

By this time, the deputy-governor had received from Mr. *Penn* heavy complaints of the indignity done him by the representation we have already mentioned, and a copy of the same with which he upbraided the assembly; but they excused themselves from taking any cognizance of the paper, as it was the act of a former assembly, for which they were not to answer. They therefore insisted still upon a redress of grievances. The governor in this contest had manifestly the superiority. The assembly had sent him up a bill, which they had passed for establishing courts of justice, and which the governor thought he could not properly agree to, because, at his arrival in *Pennsylvania*, he had found the frame of their government settled by their last charter of privileges, which had been thankfully received and signed by themselves, and therefore he did not apprehend it to be within his commission or instructions to agree to so important a variation from that charter. The assembly, in reply to this answer, alledged, that even the last charter had been violated, and, very inconsistently with themselves, complained of its insufficiency, because it fell far short of the rights they claimed by their original constitution. At last, they drew up two different remonstrances to Mr. *Penn*, complaining of the governor and the secretary, and of the proprietary himself, for having left them to be destroyed without any protection by their injustice and tyranny. They then renewed all their complaints contained in their former representation, and added fresh ones. This new remonstrance, to say the least of it, was worded in terms, and with a spirit which plainly enough evinced that they were not to be satisfied, even if all their demands had been granted them.

THE dispute between *Logan* and the assembly still continued, and they drew up an impeachment, consisting of thirteen articles against him, charging him with malversation in his office, and offering to prove all their allegations; but they were evaded by the governor. This produced a remonstrance against the governor himself, containing twelve articles, and charging him with being loose in his principles, arbitrary in his disposition, and scandalous in his private life and deportment. At last the proprietary thought proper to recal *Evans*, who had the mortification to see an address of thanks passed by the assembly on that account, and was succeeded by *Charles Gookin*, Esq. This new governor was as much under the influence of *Logan* as his predecessor had been. It seems to be pretty plain that

- ^a that all the grievances of the province, and the diffentions between the assembly, and the proprietary, were owing to the unhappy state of Mr. Penn's private affairs in *England*, which did not permit him to reside upon his province. He was an illustrious instance of that public spirit which can form the greatest plans, without the least immediate attention to domestic interest. *Gookin*, as well as *Evans* had been, was in necessitous circumstances, and both of them sought their own emolument with an equal disregard to that of the proprietary as of the provincials. We do not perceive that the change of *Evans* for *Gookin* (B) was of any service towards extinguishing the heats between the governor and the assembly. The latter by this time talked in a more positive haughty strain than ever. This was occasioned by the knowledge they had of the proprietary's distressed circumstances (for we are informed that about this time he was confined for debt in the prison of the Fleet) which threw his governors upon the province for their subsistence. This obliged them to act a most scandalous part; for if they did not obey the orders of the proprietary, they were displaced; if they broke with the assembly, they were in danger of starving. The assembly, therefore, now declared that they expected some more consideration than formerly from the governor, whom they supported at their own expence. *Gookin* at first pretended to act with a high hand, and by *Logan's* advice he disowned the power of the assembly, and refused to hold any correspondence with them. He lived, however, long enough in *Pennsylvania* to repent of this haughty proceeding, and before his return to *England*, he convened the assembly, and made them the following mean proposition, "That, for the little time he had to stay, he was ready to do the country all the service he could; and that they might be their own carvers, in case they would in some measure provide for his going back to seek another employment." All the answer the assembly thought fit to make to this prostituted offer, was to present the governor with 200*l*.

Gookin
Governor.

- The next deputy-governor was Sir *William Keith*. This gentleman, when young, had been engaged in some treasonable practices with *Frazer* afterwards Lord *Lovat*, the same who lost his head on *Tower-hill*, not from any principle either civil or religious, but in hopes of becoming useful to the government, by the discoveries he could make, and thereby repair his ruined fortune; which he never could do, for he died a beggar, in the lowest sense of the word. Tho' a man of no deep parts, yet he was plausible, insinuating, and cunning, and by affecting to be a professed politician, he gained from many, even sensible, people, an opinion of his wisdom. He was sensible of *Penn's* distresses, and he had address enough to get himself recommended by the body of trade as a proper governor for *Pennsylvania*. Having observed the miscarriages of the two last governors, and how little their private fortunes were indebted to their administration, he resolved to observe a conduct very different from theirs. Having called the assembly together, he dropt all the high airs of a governor, and made them a most soothing speech, without mentioning even the name of a proprietary. In short, he insinuated in his speech enough to let the members know, that provided they considered him, he was resolved to refuse them nothing they could decently ask for. They struck in with his meaning; and though *Keith* was a very extensive man, yet he conducted himself with so much address, that they appeared to be entirely satisfied with his administration, as he was with their contributions; and the indulgence he shewed to all their requests, though upon the mercenary motives we have mentioned, greatly contributed to the present flourishing state of the colony.

Sir William
Keith governor.

- One effect which this good understanding between the governor and the assembly produced, was the diminishing the influence of *Logan* in the assembly. Mr *Penn*, in 1718, died at his seat near *Reading* in *Berkshire*, and left his interest in the province in the hands of trustees, who were his widow, *Henry Gouldney*, *Joshua Gee*, and his secretary *Logan*. This share in the trust soon revived the interest of the latter, who by representing *Keith* as a needy man, and as attempting to ruin the proprietary's interest in the province, divided a majority of the council against him. *Keith*, on the other hand, accused *Logan*^b with having vitiated the records of the council, and the latter standing on his own defence, and throwing out great personal abuse against the governor, *Keith* ventured not only to dismiss him from his post of secretary, but to fill it up with another. *Logan* upon this, went over, full of resentment, to *England*, and received from the other trustees letters to *Keith*, whom they reproved for his behaviour to *Logan*, and private instructions for his future conduct. Those instructions turned upon very interesting points. In them, the widow *Penn*, who seems to have taken the lead in the affair, complains bitterly that the power of the legislature having been lodged in the governor and assembly, the absent proprietary had been

1718.

^b See governor *Keith's* letter to the widow *Penn*, September 24, 1724.

(B) The author of the *British empire in America*, is so ignorant of the affairs of this province, that he entirely omits the mention of this governor.

deprived even of his negative, contrary to his intention and his undoubted rights. *Keith* ^a is likewise charged with having transmitted the laws enacted in conjunction with the assembly, directly to the ministry at *London*, without any intermediate check. "Therefore (continues the widow's private instructions) for remedy of this grievance, it is required, that thou advise with the council, upon every meeting or adjournment of the assembly, which require any deliberation on the governor's part: that thou make no speech, nor send any written message to the assembly, but what shall be first approved in council: that thou receive all messages from them in council, if practicable at the time; and shalt return no bills to the house, without the advice of council; nor pass any whatsoever into a law without the consent of a majority of that board."

His artful management,

KEITH, unwilling to enter on any dispute that might disappoint him of his government, ^b had, at his first entering on it, submitted to give a bond of 1000 l. to the proprietary, that he would follow certain conditions of government. This undoubtedly was an unconstitutional measure, and nothing but Mr. *Penn* and his family's distresses, by which they saw themselves become insignificant in the province, could have induced them to exact it. *Keith*, however, stood so well with the assembly, that he not only ventured to disregard this bond; but against all the rules of sound policy, if not in direct violation of his trust, he openly communicated to the assembly all the several instructions he had received, with all the answers he had returned to the same. *Logan*, in the course of the dispute, discovered, that the proprietary, during his absence, had not received one shilling of profit from the government. The assembly pretended, that by their original article of quit-rents, they ^c were exempted from the obligation of paying any thing towards the expences of the government, though, in fact, they had paid a great deal. They therefore closed with *Keith*, without taking notice of the government subsidies, and agreed with him in obstructing all demands of that kind, or any other contained in the said private instructions that were repugnant to their charter, or inconsistent with their privileges, which they grounded, not very consistently with themselves, upon their original constitutions.

KEITH remained after this in so high credit with the provincials, that he could have defeated all *Logan*'s schemes; but he seems to have been too much intoxicated with his popularity. He had, during his dispute, been strenuously supported with the interest, the advice, and the pen (such as it was) of *Lloyd*, the assembly's speaker, whom we have already ^d mentioned; but, thinking himself now above any assistance, he quarrelled with *Lloyd*, tho' he had received four thousand pounds from the assembly for his extraordinary services in joining with them against the proprietary's interest. *Lloyd* and his party then joining with *Logan*, managed so well with the trustees in *England*, that the latter ventured to promise to send a successor to *Keith*. The provincials, having now some hopes of emancipating themselves from the least dependance upon *Keith*, in the next assembly shewed a sudden and surprizing coldness towards all he proposed. Two motions were made, the one for furnishing him with six hundred pounds, and the other with five hundred; but both were overruled, and all he could obtain was four hundred. In all the subsequent part of the session they treated him with remarkable neglect. They delayed the business of the province, which they reserved for the administration of his successor; and when *Keith* warmly insisted upon their giving him a public testimonial of his good government, they were, with great difficulty, brought to give him one that was very scanty, and not adequate to his merits. This raised *Keith*'s indignation so much, that, though he knew he was to lose his government, he did not apply as his predecessor *Gookin* had done for any present. After nine years administration of remarkable tranquillity, *Keith* was reduced to the condition of a private man; but even then he could not submit to a private condition. Being in hopes that he could still embroil the affairs of the government, so as to render it necessary for the proprietaries to reinstate him, he very imprudently procured himself to be chosen an assembly-man; but ^f all the views he had of embarrassing the government, and distressing the proprietaries miscarried; and he was obliged to return to *Edgland*, where he lived without a friend to support him, and spent the very small remains of his fortune in fruitless expectations.

and miserable fate.

Continuance of the differences between the proprietary and the assembly.

It was about this time that the foundation of the dispute was laid concerning taxing the estates of the proprietary. The provincials pretended that the presents which they made to the *Indians*, in a manner, paid for the lands purchased from them by Mr. *Penn*. When those lands were resold, the quit-rents upon them were still retained by the proprietary, who, by the original charter of the province, was the only merchant who could buy them, and by the amazing increase of population in *Pennsylvania*, the value of lands so purchased improved so greatly, that it was easily to be foreseen the quit-rents must, in a short time, ^g amount to an immense sum. As those quit-rents had been reserved by the proprietary, who was likewise governor, under the pretence of their defraying the expences of government, which ever since his residence in *England* had been paid by the province, it was insisted upon by the assembly that the proprietary's estate should be taxable in common with the

a the rest of the property of the province. This claim was vigorously opposed by the proprietaries, there being nothing in the charters to authorize it, and both sides becoming obstinate, the dispute at last brought the province to the brink of ruin.

The reader in the history of a province chiefly peopled by men whose principles disclaimed the use of arms, and who were far from being adventurers in matters of commerce, can expect little entertainment, besides its civil transactions; and indeed they are perhaps more instructive than any other, when we consider the stupendous prosperity of this country, so lately planted, and so flourishing by pacific measures. After the Revolution had taken place, *Pennsylvania* was no longer considered as a refuge for the persecuted, but as one of the chief emporiums of *America*; and it was filled with colonists from all parts of the world. Besides the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, vast numbers of *Palatines* went every year to it from the port of *Rotterdam*; and their example was followed by other *Germans* and *Swedes*, who, notwithstanding their different sects of religion, lived in wonderful harmony together, and the whole formed perhaps the most peaceable and industrious, and therefore the most happy people in the world; nor is it perhaps an over stretched calculation to say, that at this time *Pennsylvania* contains 280,000 souls.

Fast increase of the colony.

This prodigious increase of population, together with the growing power of the *French* in *North America*, introduced into *Pennsylvania* maxims very different from those of its original planters, who, when they sought an asylum there, could not foresee that one time or other they should be in danger, without the use of arms, of falling a prey to their ambitious neighbours. As to Mr. *Penn*, the father of the colony, it is pretty plain by his reserving to himself, in the sixteenth section of his original charter, the office of captain-general, and the power of making war, when necessary, that he was void of those passive sentiments; and his governors had made repeated efforts for establishing a military force in the province; but, for some time, they had not been able to succeed thro' the vast majority which the quakers had in every assembly. We shall, in the course of our history, see the terrible effects which this ridiculous principle of non-resistance introduced.

The next great interesting point that occurs in the history of this province is the case of their currency. *Pennsylvania*, like the other *English* colonies in *North America*, found that its current specie was insufficient to answer the defect that arose upon the ballance of trade between them and *England*; but long resisted the general practice entered into by the other colonies of issuing a paper currency for supplying the topical purposes of gold and silver, which they were obliged to send to *England*. It was not before the year 1722, that they issued 15,000 l. in provincial bills; but even in issuing this inconsiderable sum, they proceeded with vast caution and circumspection. They made no loans but upon land security, or plate deposited in their loan office. They obliged the borrowers to pay five per cent. for the sums they took up; and they made their bills a tender in all payments, under the pain of forfeiting the commodity or vacating the debt. That they might keep their paper currency as near as possible on a par with their specie, they even imposed penalties for those who made extraordinary allowances for being paid in the latter instead of the former; and that they might be more gradually reduced, they provided that one eighth of the principal, as well as the whole interest-money, should be annually paid. The provincials, however, finding by experience, and, in course of time, the insufficiency of so small a paper currency, to answer the exigencies of so populous a province, increased their currency by degrees to 80,000 l. to be current for sixteen years. This measure was attended by one, perhaps, not equally warrantable; because it gave a power to the trustees of the loan office to re-emit the currency as it should be paid off either to the same persons or others, without any due authority for that purpose.

Case of its currency.

At first the proprietaries made no objection to those issues; but finding their interests likely to be affected by them, major *Gordon*, who succeeded Sir *William Keith* in the government, though he approved of the increase of paper currency in general, gave the provincials to understand that they would be no longer gratified in the emission of paper money, unless particular care was taken to pay the quit-rents of the proprietaries in gold and silver; and at least, that as paper, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, was now at discount, that not only the difference between that and specie or bullion, should be made up to them, but likewise the loss arising upon the exchange; and to this demand the province was partly obliged to submit. In the year 1740, the *Pennsylvanians* were included in the complaint which the merchants of *Great Britain* brought into the house of commons, on account of the excessive abuse of paper money in the eastern colonies of *America*, and which, for want of proper funds to support its credit, was greatly depreciated, to the infinite prejudice of the national commerce. The house, upon this, addressed the throne to put a stop to the evil, by instructing the several governors not to give their assent to any farther laws of that nature, without an express proviso, that they should not take effect till his majesty's approbation had been first obtained. A bill was after-

Gordon governor.

History of the
commerce of
Pennsylvania.

afterwards brought in to restrain the northern colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit, but was opposed, and miscarried, chiefly through the influence of the proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*. Notwithstanding the above address, and the general outcry raised by the merchants against a paper currency, the lords of trade and plantations were so well satisfied of the necessity of the circulation of 80,000*l.* paper currency in *Pennsylvania*, that an act for that purpose, then laying before the lords of trade, was, by their recommendation, passed into a law, but not till after the proprietaries demands had been satisfied.

HAVING thus given our readers, we hope, a full view of the civil interests and concerns of *Pennsylvania*, we shall now proceed upon those that are commercial. According to a letter published from Mr. Penn^e in the infancy of the colony, the province of *Pennsylvania* consumed above 180,000*l.* yearly of *English* growth, and the whole of this its commerce added 30,000*l.* a year to the revenue. During Sir *William Keith's* government, he settled in *Pennsylvania* a number of *Palatines*, who had been disappointed of their settlements in *New York*; and those emigrants poured in such numbers into *Pennsylvania*, that the government of that province refused to receive any more, unless they paid a pecuniary tax for their reception, which obliged many ships full of them to go to other *British* settlements. This undoubtedly was bad policy, as the country was then but thinly peopled; and the *Pennsylvanians* themselves were so sensible of their mistake, that the tax was abolished. To give some specimen of the swift increase of population in this country, we need but to mention that from *December 25, 1728*, to *December 25, 1729*, no fewer than 6200 *Germans*, and others, were imported into the colony; and this importation continued till it was thought by many that the proportion of numbers within the province between *British* subjects and foreigners, was too unequal, and would in time require some public regulation. Even the losses of the province were so many proofs of its wealth, for, by a fire which broke out in the year 1730, the loss of houses, goods, and furniture in *Philadelphia*, was greater than several other cities in the *British America* could have suffered without being ruined. In the year following, an association amongst the merchants of *Pennsylvania* was entered into for supporting the paper currency, which had been emitted by the lower counties upon *Delaware* river, and is distinguished by the name of the *Pennsylvanian* territory, which currency was limited to 12,000*l.* This measure proved to be as wise as it was generous, and placed the territory currency upon a par with that of the province. As the population of *Pennsylvania* increased, so did the measures taken for its prosperity. Supplementary laws were made to secure both the liberty and property of the provincials. The act against buying lands of the natives was explained. Hawkers and pedlars were regulated. A tax was imposed upon persons guilty of certain heinous crimes, and an excise laid on all wine, rum, brandy, and other spirits retailed in the province. Precautions were likewise taken against the importation of poor and impotent persons; and for raising good hemp, and imposing penalties upon all who should manufacture into cordage unmerchantable hemp. According to the best accounts we have been able to receive, the *Pennsylvanians* finding that their raising tobacco would be but an unthankful manufacture, because *Maryland* and *Virginia* were sufficient of themselves to supply all *Britain* with it, wisely applied themselves to other home cultivations, in which they have prospered, considering the shortness of the time to a degree exceeding almost belief. This, in a great measure, is owing to the industry and penurious living of the *Germans* and other foreigners. The country produces all kinds of *British* grain, *Indian* corn, buck-wheat, and its soil is particularly adapted for the cultivation of flax and hemp; so that it is thought that nine-tenths of the common people and labourers are cloathed in the linen manufacture of *Pennsylvania*, besides what the inhabitants manufacture for sale to other provinces. At present, the *Pennsylvanian* flax seed is thought preferable to that exported from *Holland*.

Foreign and
domestic.

BESIDES the commodities we have already mentioned, the *Pennsylvanians* export salt beef, and pork, hams, bacon, cheese, butter, soap, wax-candles, starch, powder, apples, cyder, tanned-leather, tallow and tallow-candles, common wax, myrtle wax, strong-beer, linseed-oil, skins, furs, castor, and a very small quantity of tobacco. In order to encourage the culture of hemp, they at first granted a bounty of one penny a pound on its exportation, and then three half pence; but finding all this encouragement to be ineffectual, they at last manufactured their hemp into cordage. They likewise made considerable exports of iron, in pigs, bars, and pots, walnut-logs, planks, staves, heading, and hoops. Ship-building is another very profitable branch of *Pennsylvanian* commerce; but the number of tons of shipping, though amounting to some thousands, which they yearly build, exclusive of those employed in the colony trade, is not in the present flourishing state of the colony, easily to be ascertained. The same may be said with regard to the present state of their trade with their neighbours. It is certain, that the *Pennsylvanians* import dry goods of all kinds

- a from *Great-Britain*, and their wines from *Madeira* and other places. Their salt, by an act of the *British* parliament in 1727, is allowed to be imported duty free. From the western sugar islands, and other *British* colonies, they import sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, indigo, coffee, drying woods, mahogany, plank, and other commodities. They likewise trade with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*; and, by the way of *Jamaica*, with the *Spanish* islands in *America*. Their trade with the *French* and the *Dutch Antilles* islands, though illicit, is very lucrative; and it is said that they return near 6000 pistoles a year from *Curassao* alone, besides what they gain by provisions, which they sell at *Surinam*, and to the *French*. But it is necessary, for the information of the reader, ^d to be a little more explicit. In 1736, the entries in the port of *Philadelphia* were two hundred and twelve, and the clearances two hundred and fifteen vessels. Before the *French* war was broken out, in 1742, the entries rose to be two hundred and thirty, and the clearances two hundred and eighty-one. The number of vessels cleared from that port for twelve months preceding *March* 12, 1750-1, is three hundred and fifty-eight; those that were bound to the northward of the *Delaware* capes, viz. to *New York*, *Rhode Island*, *Boston*, with its out-ports, *Hallifax* and *Newfoundland*, make about ninety of that number; to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *North* and *South Carolina*, and *Georgia*, about twenty-nine; and the remainder sailed for *Europe* and the *West-India* sugar islands and colonies. Their craft that go to the southward, viz. to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are not so valuable as those that go to the northward, some of which carry five or six hundred barrels of bread and flour.

- c BESIDES their trade with the *Europeans* and their colonies, the *Pennsylvanians* carry on no small traffic with their neighbouring *Indians*; of whom it is necessary to say somewhat in this place. The *Indian* traders from *Pennsylvania* find the rivers *Delaware*, *Susquehanna*, and *Potomack*, fordable in the summer-season, which is an infinite conveniency to them. They set out in the beginning of *May*, and continue out three or four months. They buy the skins they trade for, not from the *Indians* themselves, but from a kind of brokers who are settled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold and silver for all they receive. It is observable, that till of late, by the instigation of the *French*, the *Pennsylvanians* never lost a single man by the *Indians*, which ought to be an instructive lesson, that good usage, a peaceable behaviour, and, at least, plausible dealing, will do almost every thing with those

- d savages that can or ought reasonably be desired of them. Though the *Iroquois* savages, of whom we have treated so much in the history of *Canada*, and who now consist of six nations, go by the general name of *Mohawks*, yet the last is reckoned to be the smallest of all the six nations. In the wars among the other *Indians*, of which we have very little knowledge, the tribe called *Tuscarora* being worsted, was adopted and received by the antient five nations, and formed the sixth. Those savages are far from being so heedless as is commonly imagined with regard to their own interest, and they often put the *English* in mind that the *Delaware* and *Susquehanna Indians* had been conquered by them, and that they therefore had no right to dispose of their lands. The *English* not only supply those savages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but mend them gratis, which perhaps is no bad policy, as it prevents them from applying themselves to handicraft operations. We shall have occasion to mention those *Indians* farther when we treat of the congress between them and the *English* at *Lancaster*. To conclude this account of the *Pennsylvanian* trade, its amazing improvement may be known by the imports from *England* to that province, which in the year 1757, amounted to 268,426 *l.* 6s. 6d. sterling. For this they paid annually to *Great Britain*, besides their own natural productions, 60,000 *l.* in specie of bullion; of which they receive 10,000 from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, 25,000 from *Spain* and *Portugal*, 4000 from the *Canaries*, 4000 from *Newfoundland*, and the rest from the *French* and *Dutch* islands.

Its interest with the Indians.

- f THE flourishing state of this colony is a sufficient proof of the sound judgment of its founder *Penn* in his legislative and commercial capacity, however unaccountable he may have been (and such he certainly was) in other points of conduct. Upon his death his family reaped the benefit of all his plans; and notwithstanding the tenaciousness of the assembly in matters of property and independency, they made good their original claims, so far as they were founded on the new constitution of 1704. In *August* 1732, *William Penn*, Esq; the then proprietary, arrived at *Chester* in *Pennsylvania*, and was so cordially received by the inhabitants, in gratitude to their beneficent founder, that he entered his capital (as we may call it) of *Philadelphia*, at the head of almost eight hundred horse, who came out to meet him, and was received by a formal speech from the recorder. Soon after he met the heads of the six *Indian* nations, and renewing the friendship between them and his province, made each of them a present of a curious gun.

Arrival of the proprietary.

- g WHEN, in consequence of the war declared between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, the expedition against *Carthagera*, under admiral *Vernon*, was undertaken, *Pennsylvania*, among the

^d DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. II. p. 333.

other northern colonies, was called upon to furnish soldiers for that service. Mr. Thomas a was then governor of *Pennsylvania*, and he had succeeded to *Logan*, who had acted as president from 1736 to 1738. The reader may easily conceive that such a message was highly disagreeable to an assembly of quakers. The necessity of the juncture, however, induced them to vote 4000 *l.* for the king's service, and they left to the governor the care of raising the soldiers. Here the provincials, it must be admitted, behaved in a mean and disingenuous manner; for though they themselves were sensible, that the governor had no way of raising men, but among the labourers of the colony, who were, most of them, indented servants, the assembly opposed him. Their pretext was, that those servants were part of their property, and as transferable as the rest of their goods. In this ridiculous plea they were joined by the freemen, their representatives, and the dispute was carried on so obstinately, that they brought lawyers from *New York* to plead their cause in the courts of *Pennsylvania*. There they must have been defeated, had not the assembly stepped in and refused to part with the supply they had voted, unless the servants were restored to their masters. This condition was what the governor could not comply with, and the money was accordingly applied to the indemnification of the freemen.

Refractoriness.

So flagrant an insult upon justice and government could not fail of rendering the assembly apprehensive of its consequences, and therefore next year they strove to wipe off all suspicion, by passing the following vote: "The house taking into consideration the many taxes their fellow subjects in *Great Britain* are obliged to pay towards supporting the dignity of the crown, and defraying the necessary and contingent charges of government, and c willing to demonstrate the fidelity, loyalty, and affection of the inhabitants of this province to our gracious sovereign, by bearing a share of the burden of our fellow-subjects, proportionable to our circumstances, do therefore, cheerfully and unanimously resolve, that 3000 *l.* be paid for the use of the king, his heirs and successors, to be applied to such uses as he, in his royal wisdom, shall think fit to direct and appoint." In consequence of this vote, three thousand pounds were actually paid into his majesty's exchequer by the colony's agent. In the year 1745, when the expedition against *Louisburg* was resolved on, it was communicated to the assembly of *Pennsylvania* by governor *Shirley*, and they were required to assist in the same. They accordingly took the message into their consideration, and voted a supply of 4000 *l.* to be laid out in provisions for the troops; but they refused to be any other d ways assisting in the expedition, and expressed great doubts as to its practicability. This supply, however, was extremely seasonable.

And compliance of the assembly.

Their expences towards the war.

NEXT year, the success of the *Louisburg* expedition encouraged the *British* ministry to form a scheme for driving the *French* entirely out of *North America*, and many impracticable calculations were made of the proportions of men or money, or both, which each *American* province was to furnish towards this momentous enterprize. The *Pennsylvanians* among others were called upon by letters from the secretary's office at *Whitehall*, dated the 6th of April, 1746, and they voted 5000 *l.* as their contingent. This, however, they did with a very bad grace; for pretending that the revenue could not furnish the money, they proposed to raise it by adding the like sum to their paper currency. The governor informed e them that he was expressly restrained by his instructions, a matter which the assembly themselves well knew, from agreeing to any extension of the provincial paper currency, and therefore desired that they would raise the money by some less exceptionable method. The assembly, upon this, agreed to issue the supply out of the money dormant in the loan-office, for exchanging torn and illegible bills, and to replace it by a new emission of bills to the same amount, to be sunk out of the product of the excise in ten years. Though this method was not without exception, yet the governor agreed to it, and passed the bill, and five hundred men were raised, and employed for near eighteen months, in defending the frontiers of *New York*. When this expedition, for reasons best known to the ministry at home, was laid aside, a new bill was brought into parliament for restraining the northern f colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit; but it fell to the ground. Mr. *Thomas*, by this time, had been succeeded in the government of *Pennsylvania* by *Anthony Palmer*, Esq; as president, and in the year 1748, he was relieved by *James Hamilton*, Esq; who was appointed governor, a native of the place, and son of the famous barrister, whom we have mentioned on another occasion. Though this appointment was unexceptionable, and though by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Pennsylvania*, as well as the rest of *North America*, was restored to tranquillity, and though the interest of the proprietaries had been greatly instrumental in defeating the above-mentioned bill, yet nothing could reconcile those stubborn provincials to the proprietary government.

THEY saw with a jealous eye the great and astonishing increase of the proprietary's estate g and interest in the province; and they complained that the whole was obtained at their charge by being obliged to defray the expence of the *Indian* affairs, which was every day growing upon them. The governor saw their drift, and would willingly have diverted it, but

a but was unable, and, at last, they formally called upon the proprietaries to take a share of the charge upon themselves. The latter replied, "That they did not conceive themselves to be under any such obligation, even though the people had been taxed for the charges of government: that as not one shilling had been levied on the people for that service, it was to much less reasonable in the people to ask any thing of them: that they had, notwithstanding, charged themselves with paying their interpreter even much more than could be due to him on their account, and were also then at the expence of maintaining his son with a tutor in the *Indian* country, to learn their language and customs for the service of the country, as well as of sundry other charges on *Indian* affairs: that they had been at considerable expence for the service of the province both in *England* and there: that they pay the *Indians* for the land they purchase: and that they are no more obliged to contribute to the public charges, than any other chief governor of any other colony." In answer to this reply the assembly, in *May* 1751, remonstrated upon the justice of their request; upon the vast advantages the proprietaries gained by the *Indian* treaties, and upon the large sums raised by the interest of the paper money and the excise, the last producing 3000*l.* a year, with the tax arising from licences of various kinds; all which was appropriated to the governor's support, and therefore they repeated their request to know what share of the *Indian* expence the proprietaries were willing to bear. It was no wonder, after what had passed, if the proprietaries returned a very sharp answer, in which they threw out some bitter insinuations against the assembly's conduct, as tending to inflame the minds of the people. They denied all the matters of fact advanced by the assembly; they pleaded the authority of the board of trade in *England* on their side; and they asserted, that the province upon an average had not expended above four hundred pounds a year upon the *Indian* affairs, an inconsiderable sum, when compared to the immense advantages it reaped by having those savages for its friends and allies. The rest of the remonstrance is in the same strain. The whole of it is firmly, but decently penned, and signed by the two proprietaries, *Thomas* and *Richard Penn.*

Altercation between them and their governor Hamilton.

WHEN this answer was laid before the assembly, being unable to reply to it, they ordered it with all the papers introductory to it to lie upon their table. They had at this time under consideration the immense increase of their colony, and they had unanimously resolved to strike an additional sum of 20,000*l.* in order to replace defective bills, and increase the provincial capital in proportion to the increase of inhabitants; as also to re-emit and continue the sums already in circulation. It is almost incredible, that men of sound and sober sense should so obstinately insist upon a matter which they themselves knew to be impracticable. When they carried up the bill to the governor, he returned it with his negative, which was softened with several obliging expressions as to the measure itself, but excused himself by the time being too unseasonable, on account of the outcries raised in *Great Britain* about plantation paper currency, for an application to be made to the crown concerning any extension or re-admission of theirs. The assembly treated this answer as an evasion, and seemed to be under no apprehensions of what was suggested by the governor; but they adjourned themselves, that they might take his answer into farther consideration. Upon their meeting towards the end of *May*, the governor sent a message to inform them, "that the country of *Allegheny*, situate on the waters of the *Ohio*, partly within the limits of *Pensylvania*, partly within those of *Virginia*, already was, or soon would be, invaded by an army of *French* and *Indians* from *Canada*; in which case the *Indians* inhabiting there, who were a mixture of the six nations, *Shawanese*, *Delawares*, and *Twigtwees*, lately recommended as allies to the province by the said six nations, would be obliged to leave the country, and his majesty's subjects trading with them would be cut off, unless timely warned by the messengers sent to them by himself for that purpose; that *Montour*, an interpreter, had heard the *French* declaration delivered, and the reply of the *Indians*, which was firm and resolute, but not to be relied upon, as they were in want of all things." The governor then proceeded in the most pathetic manner to recommend to their consideration the danger of the colony.

THE assembly's conduct on this alarming occasion seemed to give grounds for thinking, that they rather rejoiced, than grieved, at the distresses of the colony. They urged that the *British* government had never meant to comprehend *Pensylvania*, a province that had been always remarkable for supporting its public credit, in the prohibitions for extending the paper currency. They remarked, in their answer, that the three years preceding 1739, when their paper currency for 80,000*l.* was under consideration, the exports from *Britain* to *Pensylvania* amounted to no more than 179,654*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* sterling; but that for the years 1749, 1750, and 1751, they amounted to 647,317*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* sterling, which vast increase they very properly urged as an invincible argument for their demand. The governor, though satisfied in his own mind that the measure was right, put off giving them any answer to this representation until their next meeting, which was to be in *August*. This was a well judged delay, for the members of the assembly employed the interval in procuring

State of the colony's commerce.

coming from *Indian* traders intelligence of the state of affairs on the *Ohio*, the designs of the *Canadians*, with the condition of the *Twigtwees*, and other *English Indians*; and finding all that the governor had said to be true, they voted eight hundred pounds to be raised as a present to the savages, of which six hundred was to be distributed by the governor at his discretion. The other two hundred was allotted to cover, as the *Indians* call it, fourteen *Twigtwees*, who had been killed by the *French* and their *Indians*, while they were generously protecting in their village some *English* traders, though there was then no war between *France* and *Great Britain*.

UPON the next meeting of the assembly, the governor passed the currency bill; but with an amendment, to which he was indispensably bound by his instructions, which was, that the act should have no effect till it received the royal approbation. The reading of this proviso set the house in a flame, and they unanimously resolved, "not to agree to this amendment, because they apprehended it to be destructive of the liberties derived to them by the royal and provincial charters, as well as injurious to the proprietaries rights, and without any precedent in the laws of the province." The governor, on the other hand, laid before them the inability he was under from his instructions to pass the bill without the clause. They justified themselves under their charter claims, and insisted upon it, that the instruction was only a thing of course, and that they were exempted from the apparent intention of it, which never was meant to affect them. Notwithstanding this, and a great deal of reasoning to the same purpose, the governor refused to pass the bill without the amendment; as he did not think that the occasion was so extraordinary as to justify his breaking through his instructions. The complexion of this dispute reflects no great honour upon the quakers; because it very plainly appeared that *Pennsylvania* was so well established in its credit at the court of *Britain*, that had the bill gone over with the governor's consent, it would readily have received the royal approbation. The governor during the whole dispute appears to have behaved with all the decency and tenderness possible towards the provincials, and put them in mind how very jealous the ministry of *England* then were of charter-governments. Nothing could convince the quakers, who still unwarrantably insisted upon their governor's breaking into a royal instruction, and one too that was founded on an address of a *British* house of commons, and, rather than accept of an amendment, they unanimously dropt the bill. Not contented with that, they insulted the governor with farther papers and declarations, the reasoning of which, if they contained any meaning, was, that the governor ought to do what the assembly directed, without being bound down to any instructions, either from the crown or the proprietaries. In this sullen disposition they remained till the year 1754, at which time, though the *French* were making the most alarming encroachments upon all the *British* colonies in *America*, they seem to have taken no concern either in resisting them, or securing themselves.

1754.
Intelligence
concerning the
danger of the
province.

IN *February* 1754 the province met, and ordered in a bill for striking 40,000*l.* to be made current, and emitted on loan, and for re-emitting and continuing the currency of the bills already in circulation. While they were proceeding on this bill, the governor sent them down a written message, together with three letters, one from the earl of *Holderness* to himself, a second from the commissioners of trade and plantations, and a third from the *French* commandant on the *Ohio*, to Mr. *Dinwiddie*, deputy-governor of *Virginia*. That from the earl of *Holderness* informed him of an intention the *French* had to invade the *British* settlements with an armed force, and enjoining him to be upon his guard, and to resist by force any hostile attempts made upon the province by a foreign power, and that it was proper all the other provinces should correspond together, and be assisting to each other in repelling such invasion, and that he should call together the assembly, and engage them to grant such supplies as the exigencies of affairs might require. The letter from the commissioners of trade mentioned a sum of money that had been ordered by his majesty for presents to the six *Indian* friendly nations; and his having directed the governor of *New York* to hold an interview with them; "and it having, continues the letter, been usual upon the like occasions formerly, for all his majesty's colonies, whose interest or security were connected with, or depended upon them, to join in such interview; and that, as the present disposition of those *Indians*, and the attempts made upon them to withdraw them from the *British* interest, appear to them to make such a general interview more particularly necessary at that time, their desire was, that he, the governor, would lay this matter before the council and general assembly, or the province under his government, and recommend to them forthwith, to make a proper provision for appointing commissioners, to be joined with those of the other governments for renewing the covenant chain; and that the said commissioners might be men of character, ability, integrity, and well acquainted with *Indian* affairs." The letter to Mr. *Dinwiddie* denied the charge of the *French* encroachments upon the *British* dominions, but asserted that monarch's right to the lands upon the *Ohio*.

a THE governor in the message he sent to the assembly with all this interesting intelligence, endeavoured to rouse the members into a sense of their danger, and to persuade them to raise the force necessary for repelling it, informing them at the same time how willing the other *British* governments were to co-operate with them. He likewise recommended that they should send an agent to the banks of the *Ohio* to reside with the *Indians* there, and prepare a bill for regulating the *Indian* trade. Though nothing could be more wise and just than those admonitions, yet the answer the assembly sent was vague and accompanied by their currency bill, the passing of which they, in fact, made the price of any attention they were to pay either to the letters that had been laid before them, or to the preservation of the province. The governor, in his answer, upbraided them with this, and again rejected their bill; but offered, if they would establish proper funds, to agree to their striking a farther sum in bills of credit, in which he thought he was warranted by the emergency. The assembly, in return, entered upon the most shameful cavils and distinctions, in which it is plain they were still resolved to do nothing for their own security; though at last they promised to send commissioners to *Albany*. The governor shewed wonderful patience at those insults upon his understanding, and that of every man of common sense in the *British America*; and contented himself with remonstrating upon their stubborn disobedience to his majesty's orders at a time when he assured them that his dominions were invaded by the *French*, adding, that their own province was the most immediately in danger.

Message of the governor on the same.

Obstinacy of the assembly.

To explain this last hint, it is to be observed, that the *French* at that very time were fortified upon a spot of ground which always had been foreseen would endanger the province if it came into their possession; and therefore Mr. *Penn*, the proprietary, had actually proposed to have a fort, or strong trading house, erected near that place, and had offered four hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds per annum for twenty years, for building and maintaining it. But this proposal was, for very slender reasons, rejected by the provincials. The governor then proceeded to inform them, that the place fortified by the *French* actually was within the limits of the province, but very properly observed, that they were equally bound to the obedience of his majesty's directions, whether it lay in *Pennsylvania* or *Virginia*. The assembly most ridiculously demurred to this last proposition, under pretence that the governor was only instructed to act upon the defensive, that they had nothing to do with the defence of *Virginia*, and that they were not fully apprized of the boundaries of the two provinces. It was in vain for the governor to combat their obstinacy, by producing gentlemen who had been witnesses of the *French* encroachments, and who gave evidence of their being within the province of *Pennsylvania*. In short, notwithstanding all the tenderness he shewed, and the compliances he made, they adjourned themselves to the sixth of *May*.

On the 2d of *April* they met again by a special summons from the governor, who laid before them fresh advices he had received from the governor of *Virginia*, and the necessity of their granting a speedy supply to obviate the danger of the juncture. This message being laid before the assembly, the sums of 20,000, 15,000, 10,000, and 5,000*l.* were proposed to be given, but all of them rejected by a double majority of voices, and then they adjourned themselves, on pretence of their consulting their constituents. When they met again, the governor communicated to them the news he had received of the *French* assembling upon the *Ohio*, to the number of 1000 regulars, and having taken the *Virginian* fort there. He likewise laid before them the pressing instances of governor *Dinwiddie*, and governor *Delancy* of *New York*, for their coming to speedy and vigorous resolutions. Proposals in consequence of a plan sent from the ministry at *London*, were likewise mentioned for a confederacy of all the *British* provinces in *North America*, so as to act in concert against the common enemy, which the governor likewise recommended, and desired, that they would instruct their commissioners, who were to repair to *Albany*, upon that head. Those sensible, and indeed pathetic representations, had no other effect with this stubborn undutiful assembly, than to raise their demands upon the governor in proportion as his calls arose upon them for their own defence. It is true they offered a joint bill for granting an aid of 10,000*l.* to the king, and 20,000*l.* for replacing torn and ragged bills. This bill was likewise returned, (as they could not but foresee,) by the governor with an amendment, which, though rational and equitable, threw the house into such a flame, that they unanimously rejected the bill with the amendment (C). It is observable, during the whole of this debate, and the reasoning upon it, this assembly of humble quakers put themselves upon the very same footing with a *British* house of commons, and maintained that the governor could no more alter their money bills, than the house of lords could those of the commons. This absurd and ridiculous prepossession influenced all their proceedings. It is foreign to this

Farther danger and a supply granted.

Which is granted, but upon impracticable conditions.

(C) The assembly proposed to sink the money raised by an extension of the excise-act for ten years, but the governor was of opinion that four years were sufficient.

work to take notice of the various altercations those quakers ran into from this principle. It may be proper, however, to observe, that they were at this very time possessed of more public money than could have answered the supply, without burdening the people with a ten years farther extension of the excise. a

Another supply
voted, but up-
on the like
terms.

THOUGH the danger became every day more and more threatening to *Pennsylvania*, yet the assembly, instead of providing against it, entered upon a set of resolutions, in which they endeavoured to throw all the blame of their inactivity upon the governor and the proprietary interest, and to erect themselves into an absolute independent money court. Having come to those resolutions, they, in a civil message to the governor, declined to be concerned in the proposed confederacy, but said they had given a present to be made to the *Indians* at *Albany* by their commissioners. Upon the next meeting of the assembly, which was by special summons, *August* the 7th, the governor acquainted them with *Washington's* defeat upon the *Ohio*, with the duty they lay under of providing for their distressed *Indian* allies, who had been driven to take refuge in *Pennsylvania*, and the necessity of their dropping all farther disputes, and raising an immediate supply, especially as their brother provincials upon the frontiers had applied to him for protection. He likewise acquainted them with the proceedings of the commissioners at *Albany*, with their being unanimous as to the confederacy proposed, and laid before them their plan for putting it in execution. The result of all this intelligence was, that the assembly, after various debates, prepared and presented to the governor a bill for striking 35,000*l.* in bills of credit, of which 15,000 was to be for the king's use, and the remainder for replacing defective bills. The governor, who possibly expected this, in a very polite manner excused himself from passing the bill without amendment, but referred them to his successor, who was expected in a few days. b

Mr. Morris
succeeds Mr.
Hamilton in
the govern-
ment.

THIS was the last act of Mr. *Hamilton's* government. He had desired to be dismissed from so undesirable a service, in which he had behaved with the utmost moderation and equanimity, and with so much tenderness to the absurdities of the provincials he governed, that he acquired the esteem even of the quakers themselves. He was succeeded in the beginning of *October* 1754, the time when a new assembly had been just chosen, by *Robert Hunter Morris*, Esq. The first speech of this new governor contained little besides general professions of his attachment to the interests of the colony, of his readiness to concur with them in passing any additional laws they might think to be for their benefit, and representations of the danger of the colony from the now avowed intentions of the *French* against the *British* provinces. However harmless in the course of things this speech was, it excited wonderful doubts and jealousies among the members of the assembly. They called for a copy of the governor's commission, and the royal approbation of it, and then returned a very dry common place answer; but they gave his excellency, at the same time, to understand, that they were resolved to tread in the footsteps of former assemblies, concluding in a desire to be adjourned, in which the governor concurred. Their next meeting was in the beginning of *September*, when the governor laid before the assembly the annexed letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, the secretary of state (D), to which we refer the reader. The reproaches in this letter, though just, were harmless and ineffectual, and prove the great ignorance of the *British* ministry as to the character of the *Pennsylvanian* quakers. The letter was enforced by a more particular information of the strength and progress of the *French*, and of the wavering condition of the six friendly nations of *Indians*, who certainly would, all of them, go over to the *French*, which many of them had already done, if the *English* did not bring into the field a power sufficient to protect them. All those representations, as they were unbacked by any compulsive power, were treated by the assembly with the usual contempt. They knew the power of money was in their hands, that in that none could controul them, and they were the best judges of their own danger. The old expedient of a currency was again proposed, and the new governor was presented with a fresh bill for striking the sum of 40,000*l.* in bills of credit; one moiety for the king's use, and the other for replacing damaged bills. This bill was attended by a message, in c

(D) *Whitehall*, July 5, 1754.

"Sir,

"Your letter of the 25th of *November* last, in answer to the earl of *Holderness's* of the 28th of *August*, having been received and laid before the king, I am to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's express command, that you should, in obedience thereto, not only act vigorously in the defence of the government under your care, but that you should likewise be aiding and assisting his majesty's other *American* colonies, to repel any hostile attempts made against them; and it was with great surprize, that the king observed your total silence upon that part of his majesty's orders, which relate to a concert with the

other colonies, which you must be sensible is now become more essentially necessary for their common defence, since the account received by you from major *Washington*, with regard to the hostilities committed by the *French* upon the river *Ohio*, which verify, in fact, what was apprehended, when the earl of *Holderness* wrote so fully to you in *August* last, and which might have been, in great measure, if not totally prevented, had every one of his majesty's governments exerted themselves according to those directions, the observance whereof I am now, by the king's command, to enforce to you in the strongest manner." I am, &c.

which

- a which they attempted, in a most scandalous manner, to throw the blame of their province's danger upon their former governors, insisting upon the amendment of their bills; and insinuating, that from Sir *Thomas Robinson's* letter they thought they had been misrepresented to the ministry in *England*.

DURING the dispute between Mr. *Hamilton* and the assembly, Sir *Dudley Rider*, the attorney-general, gave his opinion upon that governor's case in the following manner: "I am of opinion, it is by no means safe or adviseable, or consistent with his duty, to pass such bills without a suspending clause." In consequence of this opinion, to which the quakers paid no regard, the governor refused to give his assent to the bill without the amendment; but, in consideration of the emergency, he offered to join with the assembly in any

Sir Dudley Rider's opinion.

- b bill the members should think the pressing occasions of the province demanded, provided a fund was established for sinking the same in five years. After some other expressions of course, "There is, concluded he, great danger of its being disapproved by his majesty; and what loss and confusion such an event would cause in the province, by the paper-bills becoming of no value, I need not particularly mention." This answer, the latter part of which the members thought struck at their independency and despotism in money matters, threw the assembly into a greater flame than ever, and they charged him with subserviency to the proprietary interest, as he had offered to dispense with the much litigated instruction, if that could be served.

- c WHILE matters remained in this untowardly state between the governor and assembly of *Pennsylvania*, another letter, more explicit than the former, came from the secretary of state to be communicated by the governor to the assembly. It informed them that the ministry having come to some resolutions for the defence of *America*, his majesty had commanded two regiments of foot, consisting of five hundred men each, to repair to *Virginia*, there to be completed to seven hundred each, and that governor *Shirley* and Sir *William Pepperell* had been ordered to raise two regiments more of 1000 each, which were to be officered from *Great Britain*; all of them to be commanded by a general officer of rank and reputation, who happened afterwards to be major-general *Braddock*. The same letter strongly recommends the furnishing the officers and troops with proper necessaries and conveniences. It insists upon the province raising in proportion to its ability, contributing towards establish-

Messages and answers upon a new letter from the secretary of state.

- d ing a common fund for the *American* service, and for levying and paying the men to be raised there. This letter was enforced by a speech from the governor, shewing the expediency and necessity of their compliance. Though nothing could be more plain and reasonable than all that the ministry had required, yet the assembly, instead of complying, fell upon the attorney-general's opinion, as proceeding on wrong principles, and, in a message they sent to the governor, they not only endeavoured to shew that *Pennsylvania* was not comprehended in the instruction insisted upon, but that they had sufficiently provided for the emergency, if the governor would pass the bill. They then demanded of the governor to know whether the royal instruction was the only impediment to his passing the bill, and required him to lay before them the instructions he had from the proprietaries. To this message, which was both voluminous and impertinent, the governor, in answer, evaded laying before them the proprietary instructions, till a proper time, and declined passing the bill, because the supply could be otherwise raised. "Were there, said he, no other method of raising money for the present service, but that by them proposed and insisted upon, their conduct might have appeared in a more favourable light: but that as they had, or ought to have had in bank by the laws in being, 14, or 15,000*l.* together with a revenue of 7000*l.* a year; as the city and province were in rich and flourishing circumstances, the people numerous, and burdened with none, or very trifling taxes, he could not consent to pass the bill proposed." To this, and many other arguments urged by the governor, the assembly returned a rejoinder, justifying the requisition they made of his instructions; and intimating, that an appeal to the crown was the only method left them of being continued in the use and benefit of their birth-right and charter liberties; which they insinuated to be in danger by their being refused a sight of them

- f THE governor had already so far agreed with the assembly's request as to the proprietary instructions, as to acquaint them, that he had it in charge from the proprietaries, to recommend to them in the most pressing manner to provide with all imaginable dispatch for the defence and safety of the province, not only by affording such aids as his majesty from time to time should require, but by establishing a regular militia, providing arms and stores of war, and building proper magazines; all to be done in such a manner as to be least burthen some to the inhabitants, and particularly so, as not to oblige any to bear arms, who were, or might be conscientiously scrupulous against it. But the governor finding the assembly insist upon a sight of the other instructions, as their right, he treated this pretence with some indignation, and put them at defiance, as to any address they intended to present to the crown. He then endeavoured to divert their attention from those ridiculous subjects,

Measures for a militia.

subjects, by informing them that he had lately received intelligence, that 6000 (E) of the best troops of *France* were actually arrived at the lower fort on the *Ohio*, and were there employed in fortifying the country. He therefore once more entreated them to grant the supplies required, and to enable him to raise a considerable body of men to be employed in conjunction with his majesty's troops; to establish a regular militia, and provide the necessary stores of war.

Security of the
assembly.

THE assembly treated this alarm with the utmost contempt and neglect, and in all their subsequent proceedings they rose in their insults upon the governor. They ordered the papers, which had passed between the proprietaries and them, to be printed, which they pretended they had delayed till then, out of tenderness to the proprietaries. Those papers, however, when rightly considered, do no discredit to the proprietaries, as acting under a royal charter. The assembly then came to unanimous resolutions concerning the proprietary instructions, in which they declare it as their opinion, that the said instructions were the principal, if not the sole, obstruction to their bill: and refer to points contained in their reply to the governor's charge against them. They then descend to other particulars, in which they upbraid the governor with his ignorance of their constitution, and after various strictures upon the revenue of their province, they attacked him upon the alarm he had given them upon the *French* invasion, which they endeavoured to ridicule, by fixing it to the limits of *Virginia*. They then shewed the improbability of 6000 *French* troops getting, as it were, by stealth, to the lower fort of the *Ohio*. In the course of their reply they make use of the following strong expressions, which we cannot in justice to the original settlers omit, however little they are applicable to the then assembly. "Under the sanction, say they, of a charter, a sober, industrious people, without any charge to the crown or the proprietary, first settled this wilderness, and by their frugality, and the equity of their laws, laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, which already, within the ordinary life of man, has made a considerable addition to the dominions of the crown, by an increase of dutiful and loyal subjects, and bears no mean rank in contributing to the wealth and trade of our mother country."

Five thousand
pound raised.

AFTER this remonstrance, in consequence of the plan which they had formed of being independent as much as they possibly could, both upon the proprietary and the governor, they unanimously resolved to raise 5000*l.* on the credit of the province, for the accommodation of the king's troops; and empowered certain members of their own to negotiate the loan, and allow such interest as should be found necessary. This resolution produced a tedious contest of very little importance to our readers. At last the assembly came to a resolution to make their appeal to the crown, and that a fair and modest state of their case would recommend them to the royal protection, and screen them from the malignity of their adversaries. Of this resolution they apprized the governor, whom they still accused of being totally ignorant of their constitution and finances; and thus, in the main, stood the state of affairs in this province when general *Braddock* arrived in *America*. Upon that gentleman's arrival, the assembly met again on a special summons from the governor, who repeated the old topics of their danger, the necessity of a supply, the opening roads from the inhabited parts of *Pennsylvania* towards the *Ohio*; the junction of the *Pennsylvanian* forces with those of the eastern provinces, and the cutting off all the supplies, which the *French* had used to receive from the *British* colonies, and which had enabled them to subsist their troops. He added, that it was general *Braddock's* desire, a post should be established between *Philadelphia* and a place called *Winchester*; and that the money, for their quota of the expedition, should be deposited in the hands of a common treasurer, who was to act as such for the contingents of the other provinces. Some ridiculous altercations happened after this, between the governor and the assembly, in which he seems to have been to blame; because the charges he brought against them were frivolous, and served only to exasperate them at a time when their hearty concurrence with public measures was so necessary for public safety.

THE next affair of importance that fell out, was an application from governor *Shirley* to governor *Morris*, to know how far the province of *Pennsylvania* would contribute towards the charge of his building a fort near *Crown Point* upon the *British* territories. The arrival of the troops from *Great Britain* happened about this time, and the governor sent them another message, in which he informed them, among other things, that to render his majesty's measures effectual, it was expected, that the colonies should raise an additional number of forces, and should furnish provisions, and all necessaries, to those employed for their protection: that this being so reasonable in itself, he could not doubt its being complied with by all the provinces, in proportion to their abilities; and he hoped, that as *Pennsylvania*

(E) When we consider the acuteness of those quakers, we are of opinion the governor would have acted more policy if he had not aggravated the danger beyond the truth.

- a *his* was the most interested in the event, they would exert themselves as became the representatives of a province actually invaded, and having their all depending on the success of the present enterprise. The rest of the message ran in the usual exhortatory terms. The return was suitable. Twenty-five thousand pounds were granted to the king's use: five thousand pounds of it were appropriated for the sum borrowed for the service at the last sitting: ten thousand pounds for the purchase of provisions, at the request of the government of *Massachusetts Bay*, for victualling their forces: five thousand pounds to answer the occasional draughts of general *Braddock*: and the remaining five thousand, for the maintenance of such *Indians* as had taken refuge in the province; and other contingent expences. This plausible vote was, however, only an empty sound; because the money was to be raised by an emission of paper-currency, which was to be sunk, according to the former ineffectual proposal, by a ten years extension of the excise. The bill, consequently, was rejected by the governor, who, at the same time, recommended to their encouragement one *Starkey*, an *Indian* chief, of great consequence among the *Ohio Indians*, and so well affected to the *English* interest, that he had raised a company of men for its service. That same day, Mr. *Quincy*, who was commissioner to *Pennsylvania* from the government of *Massachusetts Bay*, presented a memorial to the assembly, begging them to find some other means for rendering their vote of supply effectual; representing, that it was impossible for his province to do more than it had done; it being quite exhausted by its immense expence against the *French*, and putting them in mind that they had not a moment to lose.

- c Nothing can better illustrate the character of those stubborn *Pennsylvanians* than their conduct on this occasion. Devoted enthusiastically, not as they said, to the soil, but the constitution of their province, they had suffered the sword, in a manner, to be put to their throats, rather than agree to a measure they had once declared against, and with a governor as immoderately obstinate as themselves. The latter, perhaps, was the most indefensible, as it cannot be supposed, that in the then urgency of public affairs, he could ever have incurred any blame had he agreed to the quaker's proposal. But no sooner did Mr. *Quincy* apply to them in a mild and pathetic manner, than they voted to raise 15,000 *l.* of which 5,000 *l.* were to repay the sum so before borrowed for victualling the king's troops; and 10,000 *l.* to answer the request of the *Massachusetts* government. This favour was duly acknowledged by Mr. *Quincy*, who won the hearts of the assembly, by seeming not greatly to approve of the governor's conduct. In the mean while, the governor had not thought proper to return, as usual, the last money-bill that had been sent up to him by the assembly; giving for this reason, "That it was a bill of so extraordinary a nature, that he thought it his duty to lay it before his majesty, and should keep it for that purpose."

- d At the same time, the governor informed the assembly, that the *French* had fitted out fifteen sail of the line, on board of which they had put 6,000 land troops; that they were bound to *America*; and that they knew *Pennsylvania* to be a plentiful, but a defenceless, country. After this, the governor accompanied the governors *Shirley* and *Delany* to *Annapolis*, where they had a conference with general *Braddock*, and the governors *Sharp* of *Maryland*, and *Dinwiddie* of *Virginia*. When the assembly met again, squabbles arose between them and the governor upon the most uninteresting points; and he sent them a very sharp message concerning the disposal of the money raised against the *French*, no more than 5,000 *l.* of which were left to the disposal of general *Braddock*; the remainder being 20,000 *l.* and all the surplus of the excise, for eleven years to come, being subjected to some members of their own houses, and to the assembly for the time being. In the answer, which the assembly returned to this charge, it is absolutely denied. In the bill, said they 5,000 *l.* of the sum was appropriated to pay for provisions bought, and given for the use of the forces in *Virginia*, under general *Braddock*; 10,000 *l.* more was given to buy provisions for the *New England* forces under his command; 5,000 *l.* more was subjected to his order, and to be disposed of for the king's service as he should think fit; and the remaining 5,000 *l.* was appropriated for the subsistence of *Indians* taking refuge in this province, payment of posts or expresses, hire of carriages, clearing of roads, and other necessary contingent expences for the king's service, as might be incumbent on this government to discharge. The rest of this answer, which is very long and spirited, bears very hard upon the governor. Upon the breaking up of the house, they were assembled by special summons on the 13th of *June*, and several letters were read from Sir *Peter Halket* and colonel *Dunbar*, officers who served under *Braddock*, acknowledging the receipt of certain presents from the house to the officers of their respective regiments, of the most acceptable kind, and returning thanks for the same.

- g GENERAL *Braddock*, by this time, had set out upon his expedition against fort *Du Quesne*, not without venting severe reproaches against the *Americans* in general, and particularly the *Pennsylvanians*, for their backwardness in not enabling him to take the field before the trees of the woods through which he was to march had put forth their leaves, so as to conceal the

Indian ambushes, to which, in fact, he afterwards owed his defeat, and the loss of his life. Before he set out on his march, he sent messages to the governors of *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, acquainting them with part of his plan of operations, and that he expected they would supply him and his army with whatever they might want. At the same time he sent them intelligence, that he was informed the *French* intended to fall upon their back settlements. Those advices were the grounds of the extraordinary summons of the assembly; and the governor demanded their counsel how to proceed, laying before them, at the same time, the necessities of the juncture, and their own danger. The assembly demanded a copy of *Braddock's* letter, which was refused them; though the governor offered to communicate it to a committee. In a few days after, he sent them another message, that all the money that had been advanced by the province to the commissaries of the army was expended; that the *French* were determined to oppose *Braddock* with the whole force of *Canada*; that *Pennsylvania* was every day threatened with new dangers and invasions, and that men must be raised for public services; a variety of which this message pointed out.

Measures for a militia.

THE quakers of *Pennsylvania*, by this time, began to be sensible how impracticable their pacific system was against a designing and determined enemy like the *French*, and such merciless inhuman savages as their *Indians*. They were, however, too proud to own their error, and though convinced of it, they continued to treat the governor's messages with their usual contempt and distrust. They insinuated, that all those alarms only served to authorise a fresh demand for a militia law, which the governor knew to be incompatible with their principles as quakers. Notwithstanding this, they prepared two money-bills, one for striking 10,000 *l.* for the exchange of defaced bills; and one of 15,000 *l.* more for the king's use. Those bills were drawn upon the model of that which had been passed by governor *Thomas*, and approved of by the crown, even after it had sent the so much litigated instruction. In this, the assembly triumphed greatly, and, indeed, they seem to have then been in earnest. *Pennsylvania* had that year been afflicted with a severe frost and drought, which had subjected the inhabitants to numberless inconveniences; and the assembly earnestly pressed the governor to dispatch the bills, that the members might return to their respective homes, where they were threatened with the calamitous circumstances, not only of war, but of famine. The governor returned the bill, with amendments, which the assembly steadily refused to agree to, (which, to say the truth, he could not but foresee) and he adhered to them with equal obstinacy. The 10,000 *l.* bill, however, at last was passed. The assembly upon this adjourned to *September*; but they had a special summons to meet on the 23d of *July*.

Compliance of the assembly with Mr. Quincy.

THE occasion of this extraordinary meeting was the famous defeat of general *Braddock*; which the governor, in a speech to the assembly, set off with all the horrid circumstances attending it; and represented to them the danger of a province, which, like *Pennsylvania* was unprovided with a militia. "There are, said he, men enough in this province to protect it against any force the *French* can bring, and numbers of them are willing and desirous to defend their country upon the present occasion; but they have neither arms, ammunition, nor discipline; without which it will be impossible to repel an active enemy, whose trade is war.---I therefore hope, that you will, without delay, grant such supplies, as may enable me not only to secure the people of this province, but by reinforcing and assisting the king's troops, enable them to remove the *French* from their present encroachments." The assembly was sensible of their danger, and immediately voted an aid of 50,000 *l.* by a tax upon all real and personal estates in the province. The governor, while this affair was under their consideration, informed them, that colonel *Dunbar* was upon his march from fort *Cumberland* to *Philadelphia*; and that they must fall upon measures for the protection of their western frontier. To this message the assembly replied with great quickness, that they hoped Mr. *Dunbar's* troops would be employed on that service.

Proposal concerning the Allegheny mountains.

NEXT day, while the assembly was deliberating upon the proposal for taxing the proprietary estate in common with others, the governor sent them a message, containing an offer, on the part of the proprietaries, of a thousand acres of land, west of the *Allegheny* mountains, without purchase-money, and for fifteen years clear of quit-rents, to every colonel who should serve on an expedition from that or the neighbouring provinces against the *French* on the *Ohio*; seven hundred and fifty to each lieutenant-colonel and major; five hundred to each captain; four hundred to each lieutenant and ensign; and two hundred to every common soldier: and requiring the house to afford some assistance to such as should accept the same. At the time this message was delivered, the town of *Philadelphia*, and indeed the whole province, was in a prodigious ferment. Not only the defeat of *Braddock*, but the daily accounts which the *Pennsylvanians* received of the *French* and *Indian* cruelties, excited a general indignation against the ill-timed obstinacy of the assembly; and a great number of the inhabitants joined in a remonstrance, which was presented to the members, representing, that 100,000 *l.* was as small a sum as would answer the present exigency; and signifying

- a the willingness of the presenters to contribute their proportion of the same, or of a larger sum if necessary. Bred is this remonstrance, some thousands of inhabitants in other townships joined in petitions to the same purpose, and praying to be furnished with arms and ammunition for the defence of their houses and families. Those representations sunk deep into the minds of the assembly, and produced from the members an address to the governor, of which the following quotation is a part : “ We think it our duty, on this occasion, to be neither parsimonious, nor tenacious of such matters as have been in dispute, and now under the consideration of our superiors ; but reserving to ourselves all our just rights, we have resolved to grant 50,000 *l.* for the king’s use, by a tax on all the real and personal estates within this province, in which we shall proceed with all possible dispatch ; hoping to meet in the governor the same good dispositions he so earnestly recommends to us.”

A grant of 50,000 *l.*

- b Those professions, however, came to nothing, and were calculated only to blind the public ; because the proprietary estate was to be taxed for part of the money that was to be raised ; a provision which the assembly knew would defeat the grant, if the governor should obstinately adhere to the letter of his instructions ; the 50,000 *l.* money-bill, therefore, was returned with an amendment, by which the whole proprietary estate was to be exempted from the tax. The governor, when called upon for his reasons for this exception, gave four. The chief one, next to his instructions and commission, was, “ For that the proprietaries, by their governor, having consented to a law for vesting in the people the sole choice of the persons to assess, and lay taxes, in the several counties, without reserving to themselves, or their governor, any negative upon such choice ; and this concession being made with an express proviso, that the proprietary estates should not be taxed, it will be very unreasonable to empower such persons by a law, without their previous consent, to tax their estates at discretion.” He afterwards repeated his offer of lands to the west of the *Allegheny* mountains to officers. The assembly stuck by their tax, in which they said they were warranted by common sense, and all the general maxims of policy, which led them to lay a tax upon part, in order to save the whole. They said, that if his argument had any force, it had the same force in behalf of the people ; and, consequently, he ought, in duty, to reject both parts of the bill for the same reason : that, for their parts, happening to think otherwise, they laid the tax as cheerfully on their own estates, as on those of their constituents. As to the grant of the *Allegheny* lands, they treated it as a matter of amusement, and as proposed only to make the taxing of the proprietary estate to appear less reasonable, adding, that they did not propose to tax the proprietary as governor, but as a fellow-subject, a land-holder, and possessor of an estate in *Pensylvania* ; whose estate would be more benefited by a proper application of the tax than any other estate in the province : that the proprietary did not govern them : that the province, at a large expence, supported a lieutenant to do that duty for him : that if the proprietary did govern them in person, and had a support allowed him on that account, they should not have thought it less reasonable to tax him, as a land-holder, for the security of his land.

ineffectual, and why.

- c They insisted farther, that the positive law of the province, mentioned by the governor, was no other than the law for raising county rates and levies, which were by the same act appropriated to purposes for which the proprietaries could not reasonably be charged ; such as wages for the assembly-men, rewards for killing wolves, and the like ; and not a general constitutional law of the province. Their remonstrance was closed in a most masterly spirited manner ; and the obduracy of the governor, in adhering as he did to the exemption, was generally condemned. He was unmoved by all the pathetic, and indeed affectionate exhortations to compliance, which they could lay before him, still trusting that the growing danger of the province would oblige them to pass the bill with the amendment. It was easy to foresee the ruin that must attend this obstinacy on both sides ; and that another point, as disagreeable to the quakers as the exemption of the proprietary estate, must soon come upon the carpet, which was a militia-bill. It is to the honour of the more moderate quakers, that perceiving the violence which their agreeing to such a bill must do their profession, some of them resigned their seats in the assembly ; and others of them employed all the interest they had in the province, in procuring members to be elected in their room, who were not quakers ; and some private gentlemen generously struck out a plan for removing the objection of taxing the proprietary estate.

Differences continued between the governor and the assembly.

- d ALL those wise and public spirited purposes were in danger of being defeated by the madness of the lower rank of people, actuated by ignorant enthusiasts and preachers. They no sooner understood that the *French* had not followed the blow they had given *Braddock*, than they despised the danger under which a few hours before they had trembled ; they termed *Braddock*’s defeat a just judgment of God, for disturbing the *French* in the quiet possession of their own country ; and concluding, that *Pensylvania* was under the immediate protection of Providence, they set at nought all military men and measures. On the 9th of *August* 1755, the governor sent the assembly a very alarming message, requiring them to

1755.
The consideration of the militia resumed.

put the province into a posture of defence by establishing a militia ; so as that a due regard a
may be had to scrupulous consciences. Two days after, he informed them that he had
been required by colonel *Dunbar* to provide quarters for his troops ; but had been answered
by the mayor and corporation of *Philadelphia*, that they knew of no law for that purpose,
and recommended it to them to prepare one, those troops being then upon their march in-
to the province, whether they were to remain there or not. Next day, he informed the
assembly, that the *Owendachts* and other *Indians*, who had come to *Philadelphia* on invitation
from the government, expected to be treated with large presents. The assembly, in an-
swer, said, they knew nothing of the matter ; that they never had invited those *Indians* ;
and that his refusing to pass the money-bill, had disabled them from making presents of
any kind. The governor, at the same time, offered to pass a bill for striking any sum in b
paper money, provided funds were established for sinking it in five years. The assembly
refused to alter the bill they had already sent up.

The English
regulars drawn
from the frontiers.

MATTERS stood in this situation, when the assembly was given to understand, that not-
withstanding their application to the governor, that the residue of *Braddock's* troops should
remain upon their frontier, they were, by governor *Stirley's* order, to quit it, as *Pennsylva-*
nia was populous enough to protect itself. The governor, therefore, called upon the as-
sembly to secure the back-settlements. The members treated this alarm as a matter that
had been concerted between the two governors, and were quickened by fresh messages
from their governor ; that his secretary would lay before them the copies of sundry peti- c
tions which had been presented to him from several parts of the province, representing
their naked and defenceless condition ; and praying to be enabled to defend themselves,
which they were sensible was not in his power to comply with : that he would also lay be-
fore them a letter from one *John Harris*, giving an account of a large party of *Indians*,
actually set out from the *French* fort, with design to fall upon, and destroy, the inhabitants
of this and the neighbouring provinces : he therefore advised them to be upon their guard.
The *French*, at *Louisbourg*, at this time were so much distressed for provisions, that it was
thought if they were not supplied from *Pennsylvania*, which was the only *English* province
capable of doing it, they must surrender the place ; for which reason, the governor requir-
ed the assembly to fall upon some measure for preventing such supply. This was, undoubt- d
edly, a very necessary caution. *Pennsylvania* at that time abounded with the necessaries of
life, and many of the inhabitants, though industrious, were mercenary, and had for ready
money supplied the *French* agents. In the mean while, governor *Stirley*, as *Dunbar's* su-
perior, sent him an order to resume the expedition against fort *du Quesne*, with the assistance
he might have from *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, in reinforcements, provisions,
ammunition, artillery, ordnance stores, carriages, horses, and all other things to fit him
out for his march. Governor *Morris*, therefore, recommended the consideration of the
said order to the assembly. It was about this time that a very singular measure took
place.

Five hundred
pounds gene-
rally offered by
private persons.

THIS was an association of private gentlemen of the province, not members of the as- e
sembly, to the following purpose ; which ought to stand on record as a perpetual evidence
of their disinterested public spirit : " We the subscribers observe, with great concern, that
the governor and assembly differ in opinion, in respect to the taxing the proprietaries es-
tate ; and, lest by such difference in opinion, the bill for raising 50,000 *l.* for his majesty's
service should not take effect ; and as the assembly, in their message to the governor, seem
to be of opinion, that were the proprietaries lands to be taxed, the sum would not exceed
five hundred pound : we, rather than the least check should be given to his majesty's ser-
vice at the time of imminent danger, by a matter so very trifling, do hereby promise and
engage to pay five hundred pounds, money of *Pennsylvania*, into the public stock, for the
king's use, in lieu of what the proprietaries would pay as their part of the 50,000 *l.* were
their lands to be taxed. And we declare the absence of the honourable the proprietaries to f
be our motive for making this proposal, being well assured, that were they present, it would
have been altogether unnecessary ; and we doubt not but they will honourably acquit every
subscriber of this expence."

Fresh matters
of contest.

THE assembly refused to take any cognizance of this offer, farther than to order that the
proposal be sent up to the governor, as a farther security to him, in case he should give
his assent to the bill for raising 50,000 *l.* for the king's use. They again, at the same
time, pressed him to pass the money-bill, as the most effectual way of assisting the expedi-
tion against fort *du Quesne* ; and they put him in mind, that there was a law in force against
supplying *Louisbourg*, or any of the *French* settlements with provisions (F). All this did
not reconcile the breach between them and the governor, who still called out for a militia ; g

(F) This law seems not to have been sufficient, as the *French* might have been supplied by the *Indians*, and
other nations, trading in provisions with *Pennsylvania*.

but

- a but at last they came to a resolution to order 1000 *l.* if so much remained in their treasury, to arm the back inhabitants. Matters continuing in this desperate state, they told him that they purposed to adjourn to the 16th of *September*; and that they would refer the discussion of the militia to a new assembly; intimating, at the same time, that both his and their conduct was under the deliberation of the ministry at *London*. At their next meeting, the governor demanded an additional supply of provision to be sent to *Albany*, for the use of the additional forces raised by the province of *Massachusetts Bay*, who were to be employed against *Crown Point*, and this at the request of governor *Phipps*. He likewise demanded a like supply for the additional provincial troops of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, that were to be employed in the same service. Upon this, the assembly demanded a sight
- b of governor *Phipps*'s letter, but it was refused them; though he offered to communicate some part of his information to a few of them. The public business was then agitated with more acrimony on both sides than ever; and fresh disputes arose concerning the expence of 3000 *l.* which had been employed upon the public roads towards the *Ohio*; and which the assembly represented as being extravagant, and triple the estimate which had been laid before them. At last, the assembly, to clear themselves from all possible imputation either of insincerity or backwardness towards raising money, voted a loan, or voluntary subscription, of 10,000 *l.* (G) the same to be paid to the lenders by the ensuing assembly, the time for whose meeting was at hand. But this was not done before they drew up, with the greatest accuracy and precision, a full vindication of themselves from all the bitter charges
- c brought against them by the governor, of their having, by their delay and parsimony, obstructed and hurt the public service; and, particularly, of their having been the occasion of *Braddock's* defeat, and of all the inhumanities that had been perpetrated by the *French* and *Indians* in the back settlements. This they did by producing a variety of testimonials from the gentlemen of *Massachusetts-Bay*, and officers employed in the service, all of them acknowledging the vast benefit they had received from the alacrity of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and the seasonable supplies it had sent them.

- THE vote of 10,000 *l.* by a voluntary subscription was towards furnishing of provisions and blankets, or other warm cloathing, to the troops now at, or near *Crown Point*, on the frontiers of *New York*. A new election being then at hand, it seemed to be the general
- d sense of the province, that something effectual should be done towards establishing a militia, and, as we have already observed, most of the well intentioned quakers procured an assembly of different professions to be chosen in their room. The party, however, continued firm in their resolution to tax the proprietary estates, and the governor had left no means untried to procure a majority of the proprietaries friends to be returned for the ensuing assembly; but his endeavours seem to have been frustrated. Upon the meeting of the assembly, on the 14th of *October*, they were informed by their speaker, that he had seen in the secretary's hands some letters of importance to the assembly concerning *Indian* affairs. Upon this information, they acquainted the governor, after sitting four days, that unless he had something concerning *Indian* affairs to communicate to them, they would adjourn, which they
- e accordingly did to the first of *December*. Fifteen days of this recess were elapsed, when the governor convened them again, and informed them that a party of *French* and *Indians*, to the number of 1500, as he was informed, had passed the *Allegheny* hills, within about eighty miles of *Philadelphia*, and were encamped on the *Susquehanna*. He then reproached them for their inactivity, in terms the best calculated to make them unpopular. He upbraided them for having suffered the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians* to be gained over by the *French*, and informed them, that their parsimony had deprived him of all the means of furnishing the back settlers with money, or forming them into regular bodies to be of service, though they were a very brave and a willing people. He then repeated his demands for a supply, represented the ravages then committing in their province by the
- f *French* and their *Indians* in the most frightful colours, required them to prepare a bill for establishing a regular militia, and declared himself ready and willing to consent to a law for emitting any sum in paper-money the present service may require, if funds were established for sinking the same in five years. But he desired them not to waste their time in offering him such a bill as had been presented to him in the late assembly.

Ten thousand pounds voted for provisions.

- THE conjuncture was now so terrible, that the assembly was staggered by numbers of
- g petitions, which poured in upon them from all quarters of the province. Some of the petitioners applauded the spirit which the assembly had shewn, some condemned it, and recommended a coalition with the governor upon any terms, while some recommended pacific measures, and trusting to Providence. The assembly, after recovering from their alarm, examined the letters and papers that had been laid before them, and declared, that

Different petitions to the assembly.

(G) The names of the trustees for the receipt of the loan, were *Isaac Morris*, *Evan Morgan*, *Joseph Fox*, *John Mifflin*, *Reese Meredith*, and *Samuel Smith*, of the city of *Philadelphia*, gentlemen.

they could not find from them that any such number of *French* and *Indians*, as the governor had mentioned, were encamped upon the river *Susquehanna*; and all that they could discover was, that the back settlers were greatly alarmed and terrified; that cruelties had been committed on the inhabitants by the *Delaware* and the *Shawanese* *Indians*, principally within the lands purchased by the proprietaries at *Albany*, but the year before. They insinuated, at the same time, as if the hostilities of the *Delaware* and the *Shawanese* had been owing to some underhand management, which they did not care to touch upon. The next message the governor sent to the assembly, imported, "That the enemy had fallen upon the settlements at a place called the Great Cove, and slaughtered or made prisoners such of the inhabitants as could not make their escape: that those adjoining were quitting their habitations, and retreating inwards; and that he must therefore most earnestly press them to strengthen his hands, and enable him speedily to draw forth the forces of the province, as any delay might be attended with the most fatal consequences."

They grant
60,000 l.

As the members of the assembly had as good intelligence as he had of what passed in the province, they knew that this was no false alarm; they therefore took the governor's message into immediate consideration, and granted 60,000 l. to the king's use, to be struck in bills of credit, and sunk by a tax of 6d. per pound, and 10s. per head, yearly for four years, laid on all the estates, real and personal, and taxable within the province. This bill, when sent up, was immediately rejected by the governor, who thereby incurred the severest censure of preferring his own safety to that of the province, and the service of the proprietaries to that of the king and the public. He still continued to upbraid the assembly with its inactivity, and informed them that his council had unanimously advised him to repair to the back settlements, where affairs were in a most miserable situation, which he proposed to do, and to take with him a quorum of the council, that he might pass such bills, if agreeable to him, as they should please to send him. All the answer the assembly made, was a desire to know whether he would or would not pass the bill, which he evaded answering, but refused to return it. Soon after, the governor sent the assembly a message, that three hundred of the *Susquehanna* *Indians* had sent to him, proffering their service to act in conjunction with the provincial troops. The governor intimated, at the same time, that if they were not taken at their words, they would certainly join the *French*, which might be attended with the ruin of the province; and that he had delayed his journey to the back settlements, till he should know what support they were willing to give those savages. The assembly sent him nothing in answer, but recriminations, and some suggestions, as if the falling off of the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* *Indians* had been effected by the ill treatment they had received from the proprietaries and their agents. They pressed him to pass the money-bill, in which it was provided, "that if at any time, during the continuance of the act, the crown should declare the said estate exempt as aforesaid, in such case the tax, though assessed, should not be levied, or, if levied, should be refunded, and replaced by an additional tax on the province." The truth is, the assembly was far more justifiable at this period, than the governor or the proprietary interest; as they substantially agreed to every thing he could desire, and he differed from them only as to the form of raising the money. Finding all they did ineffectual, to leave him inexcusable, they sent him the following message, "May it please the governor, We have considered the governor's message of yesterday, relating to the application and pressing instances of the *Indians*, and are glad to find, that he is at length prevailed on to declare himself ready and desirous to do any thing consistent with his duty to the crown, for the protection and assistance, as well of our allies, as of the inhabitants of this province in general. We never have, and we hope never shall, desire him to do any thing inconsistent with that duty. He has it now in his power to do what he may think the exigence requires, for the service of the crown, the protection of our allies, and of the inhabitants of the province. As captain-general, he has, by the royal charter, full authority to raise men; and the bill now in his hands, granting 60,000 l. will enable him to pay the expences. We grant the money cheerfully, though the tax to sink it will be a heavy one; and we hope the bill will receive his assent immediately."

Message concerning the Indian trade.

TOGETHER with this message a bill was sent up for supplying the western and northern *Indians*, friends and allies of *Great Britain*, with goods at more easy rates, supporting an agent, or agents among them, and preventing abuses in the *Indian* trade. During all this dispute, the indecision of the governor still continued; but the danger of the province increasing, the provincials themselves took the alarm. The mayor of *Philadelphia*, and several of the principal inhabitants of the city, to the number of one hundred and thirty-three, presented to the assembly, a representation enforcing the necessity of a militia law. "We hope, said they, we shall always be enabled to preserve that respect to you, which we would willingly pay to those who are the faithful representatives of the freemen of this province. But, on the present occasion, you will forgive us, gentlemen, if we assume characters something higher than that of humble suitors, praying for the defence of our lives

^a lives and properties, as a matter of grace and favour on your side : you will permit us to make a positive and immediate demand of it, as a matter of perfect and unalienable right on our own parts, both by the laws of God and man." They then proceeded as follows : " Upon the whole, gentlemen, we must be permitted to repeat our demand, that you will immediately frame, and offer, a law for the defence of the province, in such a manner as the present exigency requires. The time does not permit many hands to be put to this representation. But if numbers are necessary, we trust we shall neither want a sufficient number of hands nor hearts to support and second us, till we finally obtain such a reasonable demand."

At the time this very extraordinary representation was presented, an address came from *some of the quakers*, which seemed to blame the assembly for raising unnecessary disputes with the governor, and both the address and the representation were referred to a committee. *An accommodation proposed.* The danger of the province became now so apparent, that at last both parties seemed to be sincerely disposed towards an agreement ; but they again split upon the mode of granting the necessary supply. The governor was for passing the bill with a suspending clause. The assembly adhered to what they had done, and came to the following vigorous resolution : " That, in case the governor should persist in refusing his assent to their bill, which was so just and equitable in its nature, and so absolutely necessary at that time for the welfare of the *British* interest in *America*, after he should receive the answer of the house to his message then under consideration, they would make their appeal to the throne by remonstrance, humbly beseeching his majesty to cause their present governor to be removed, or take such other measures as might prevent the fatal consequences likely to ensue from his conduct." The above resolution passed unanimously, and the assembly hinted at some breach of faith that had been committed by the proprietary interest in an *Indian* treaty held with the *Shawanese* in the year 1753. The governor made no other answer than by plying the assembly with messages, and magnifying the massacres committed by the *Indians*, and demanding an immediate supply ; but the assembly justified the bill they had sent him, both in matter and manner.

The militia-bill claimed, if possible, even a more speedy dispatch than the money-bill. Petitions from the quakers themselves came up, that they were willing to defend themselves and country, and desirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpose, under proper officers, with legal authority. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of being united for military purposes. This bill was worded so as not to compel any who could not conscientiously bear arms. The governor, when he received this bill, lost himself in invectives ; he upbraided the assembly with their past conduct, and even reproached them for their delays, which he represented as being the occasion of *Braddock's* defeat. Notwithstanding this, he passed the militia-bill under a precise declaration of its absurdity and impropriety. After this he laid before the assembly a discussion of *Indian* affairs, which had been prepared by his council. He then called the assembly to provide for a number of *French* inhabitants, who had been banished out of *Nova Scotia* by governor *Lawrence*. He next informed them on the part of the proprietaries, that such was their care and regard for the people, that they had no sooner received the account he had sent them of general *Braddock's* defeat, than they sent him an order upon their receiver general for 5000*l.* as a free gift to the public, to be applied to such uses as that event might make necessary for the common security of the province : that he had directed the said receiver-general to have the money ready as soon as possible ; and that it should be paid by such persons as should be appointed by act of assembly for the disposition of any sum they might think necessary to raise for the defence of the province in that time of danger. *As is a militia bill.*

This seasonable act of munificence in the proprietaries rendered their interest so popular, that the mayor of *Philadelphia* and his corporation presented to the assembly another remonstrance, " Reproaching them with losing their time in deliberations, while their fellow-subjects were exposed to slaughter, and in debates about privileges, while they were deprived of the great first privilege of self-preservation, and requiring them to postpone all disputes, grant necessary supplies, and pass a reasonable law for establishing a militia ; and, in the close of it, recommending dispatch, as the people seemed already in a deplorable and desperate state, and they feared it would not be possible to preserve the peace and quiet of the city, or of the province itself much longer." The house drew up a very sharp answer to the governor, which, however, they did not think proper to send him, and contented themselves with one more short and mild. While they were deliberating upon this point, a number of the inhabitants of the county of *Chester* joined those of *Philadelphia*, in representing to the assembly the necessity of a good understanding between them and the governor. Upon this the house came to the resolution, " That in consideration of the governor's message of yesterday, by which it appears, that the proprietaries have sent him an order on the *Present of 5000*l.* by the proprietaries.*

Petition of the Philadelphians and other inhabitants.

the

the receiver general for 5000 *l.* to be paid into the hands of such persons as shall be appointed by act of assembly, and applied with such sums as the assembly should grant, to such uses as may be necessary for the common security of the province; and as it would not be reasonable or just, at this time, to tax the proprietary estate, in order to raise money therefrom, over and above the said grant from the proprietaries, the house will immediately proceed to form a new bill for granting a sum of money to the use of the crown, and therein omit the taxation of the said estate." a

Meeting of the
American go-
vernors at
New York.

In consequence of this resolution, such a bill was ordered in the same day, and received the governor's assent. After that the assembly sent another message to explain the nature of the *Indian* trade bill, and pressing its being passed. The governor evaded a compliance with this message, but soon after informed them that general *Shirley* had, in pursuance of his majesty's orders, appointed to meet him at *New York* upon matters of great importance, but especially to concert a general treaty with the *Indians*, both to the southward and the northward. He therefore requested their advice, whether he should go or not. The assembly offered to pay commissioners to go in his stead, and urged his passing the *Indian* trade-bill. About the same time, in resentment of the remonstrances that had been made to the assembly, they resolved, "That though it was the undoubted right of the freemen of the province, not only to petition, but even to advise their representatives on suitable occasions, yet all applications whatever to the house ought to be respectful, decent, pertinent, and founded in truth." After this preface they proceeded to censure the remonstrators, but in mild terms, for their applications to the house, and rejected the last representation that had been made to them. b

Proceedings
there.

On the 3d of *December* this session ended, and the governor thought proper to attend the assembly at *New York*, from whence returning, he laid before the assembly, under the seal of secrecy, the result of that meeting. He was very sanguine as to the success of it, provided the assembly furnished him with supplies, and told them that every thing possible had been done for the security of the province: that a chain of forts and block-houses, extending from the river *Delaware* along the *Kittatanny* hills (where he had formerly said the 1500 *French* and *Indians* had taken post in their way to *Philadelphia*) to the *Maryland*-line, was then almost complete. He added many other particulars in praise of the measures that had been entered into by the congress for the benefit of the province; but according to the assembly's representation of matters, the whole of his message terminated in a call on them for a supply towards an offensive war. The plan that had been agreed on at the congress was that 10,250 men should be raised among all the *British* provinces, of which 1500 were to be the contingency of *Pensylvania*. Though this, notwithstanding all the suggestions of the government's enemies, was far from being an unequal taxation of men, in a province so populous as *Pensylvania*, yet an accident happened that brought the service into great difficulties, occasioned indeed by the attachment of the *Pensylvanians* to their own interest. General *Shirley* had planted recruiting parties through all *Pensylvania*, and they had enlisted many purchased servants, whose masters complained to the assembly, as if such enlisting was robbing them of their property (H). The *Pensylvanians*, on this occasion, presented to the assembly a very strong remonstrance, setting forth, that their province had furnished as many recruits to the army as any in *America*; and that they were apprehensive, if the practice of enlisting purchased servants went on, it would injure the population of white men in the colony, and that they must have recourse to purchasing negroes, which must lay them under infinite disadvantages. The assembly entered keenly into the interests of the remonstrants, and gave them a favourable hearing. The governor himself acknowledged the equity of their complaints, which were the more just, as the freemen of the province had but a little before made the troops a voluntary present of warm waistcoats, stockings, and mittens. Necessity, however, superseded all other considerations; and *Shirley*, in flat contradiction to a former opinion he had given, cited in favour of the practice, that of his own government, "Where it was common, he said, to impress both indentured servants and others for garrisoning the frontier towns, where they often remained several years." c

Complaints of
the *Pensylvanians*.

A present to the
Indians.

ABOUT this time the king had ordered a present to be made to the *Six Nations*, and it was to be distributed by Sir *Charles Hardy*, governor of *New York*, which province having made a considerable addition to the royal munificence, governor *Morris* put the assembly of *Pensylvania* in mind that they ought to do the like. The *Pensylvanians*, at this very time, had agents with Sir *William Johnson* to give them intelligence of the dispositions of the *Six Nations* towards them; and though they seemed not at all averse to the governor's request, f

(H) The *Pensylvanians* undoubtedly had a right to complain of this practice; but when we consider the circumstances of the province at this time the complaint was very ridiculous. Even in *Great Britain*, necessity

in that very war justified the practice of impressing, the greatest violation that possibly can be offered to personal liberty.

yet

- a yet they did not think proper to give a determined answer to it till their agents returned; especially, as the distribution could not take place sooner than six weeks. In the mean while, they put their governor in mind of the bill that lay before them for regulating the *Indian* trade; and he, on the other hand, prest them to take some measures for preventing the exportation of provisions out of the province. At this time, they sent up two bills, one for regulating the *Indian* trade, and another for continuing the excise; and both of them were returned by the governor with amendments, which were unanimously rejected by the house. The governor took no notice of this rejection, but set out for *Newcastle*, where he said his majesty's service demanded his presence; while the assembly passed a bill for regulating the officers and soldiers in the service and pay of the province, and make a short adjournment until the 5th of *April*.

b Upon their re-assembling, the governor prest them to declare war against the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* Indians, which they declined doing, not more from principles of conscience than of prudence: when the affair came to be debated, a great variety of opinions appeared in the assembly; but the majority being for healing measures, no question was put upon the subject. This produced great perplexities both without and within doors: a large body of *Philadelphian* quakers petitioned the assembly in favour of pacific measures; and, indeed, it was generally thought that an accommodation was not even then impracticable. On the other hand, the governor informed the assembly, that great numbers of the back-settlers were resolved to proceed in a body, to make certain demands upon the legislature of the province; but, he added, "That, by the advice of the council, he should give immediate orders to the provincial, and other magistrates, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the mischiefs which might attend so extraordinary a procedure." The assembly, alarming as this intelligence appeared, instead of taking much notice of it, addressed the governor to lay before them the informations he had received, concerning the views and designs of the insurgents, or wherein they apprehended themselves to be neglected or aggrieved. The governor, without paying any regard to this address, declared war, as by his office he was impowered to do, against the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* Indians. At the same, he published rewards for scalps and prisoners, and demanded fresh supplies, as great part of the 60,000 *l.* that had been raised was then expended.

- d It is evident that the assembly, at this time, paid, perhaps, too little attention to the governor's representations of their danger. He informed them, that the *Indians* upon the frontiers of the province were ready, upon some discontent, as he supposed, to remove to the country of the *Six Nations*; and he advised them to give their two leaders, *Scarroyady* and *Montour*, a present; and to let the others depart in as good humour as possible. The house declined entering upon any fresh money matters, and prest the passing of the *Indian* trade-bill, as the best means of conciliating the affections of the savages to the province. At the same time, they refused to comply with the governor's request for stopping the exportation of provisions. The governor expressed no objection to those resolutions, but put the assembly in mind that they had contributed nothing towards the operations that had been agreed upon for the next campaign; and complained heavily of the small appointments he himself had received from them, though he had done more duty than any of their former governors. The assembly were in no humour for gratifying the governor, and came to a resolution, that, having received no assistance from their mother-country, having expended vast sums in their own defence, and lying under immense grievances in having their indentured servants pressed, and their freemen employed in the war, they could contribute no farther to it. As to his representation of his own situation, they took no notice of it. He reconvened them on the 10th of *May*, and sent them a message, representing the growing calamities of the province, and the inutility of the militia bill, which he had passed for its defence; recommending, at the same time, to pass another. He added, that, as by the latest accounts from *Europe*, a considerable armament from *France* was to be expected in *America*, now to become the seat of war; and, as the enemy would, in such case, depend upon being supplied with provisions from the king's colonies, by the intervention of the *Dutch*, he conceived a general embargo would be necessary. He likewise recommended the building a fort at a place called *Shamokin*. A petition was presented to the house from the officers of the provincial troops, complaining of the insufficiency of the militia law, as it then stood, and praying that a new one might be passed. The assembly considered this petition, and all the governor's representations of their danger, as so many inveigling arts to encrease his own power and importance in the province. He was then at a place called *Harris's Ferry*, at a considerable distance from *Philadelphia*; a circumstance, which the assembly took amiss, and they treated all his alarms of danger with the greatest contempt, nor would they even enter into a consideration of the militia-act. They, however, sent him a bill for prohibiting the exportation of provisions or warlike stores from the province, which he passed; but at the same time informed them, that it would be ineffectual, unless

the territory was put under the same restriction as the province. An end was then put to the session, which lasted no more than four days. a

Disregarded
by the as-
sembly.

WHEN the assembly met again, the governor renewed his alarms of the danger of the province, grounded on the accounts he had received from the governors *Dinwiddie* and *Sbarpe*. He, likewise, laid before them the great things which the other *British* governments had done for his majesty's service; and pressed them to follow their example in pushing vigorous measures. At the same time, commodore *Spry* complained of want of seamen, and desired, "That he might be enabled by bounty, or otherwise, to raise and send him as many men as the province could spare, which would be a very seasonable and acceptable service." A money-bill was ordered in; but, in the mean while, Sir *Charles Hardy* and Sir *William Johnson*, sent intelligence that the *Delaware* and the *Shawane* Indians were disposed towards a reconciliation with the province. The governor, upon this, ordered a suspension of arms to be proclaimed; and the assembly recommended to the managers of the 60,000*l.* supply, that they should furnish him such supplies of money as might be necessary for establishing peace. The assembly then, after dispatching some other business, adjourned themselves, without taking any notice of the governor's repeated request, of having his allowance taken into their consideration. Before this adjournment took place, six members of the assembly desired leave to resign their places; not, as they say in the paper that they gave in on that occasion, "From any design of involving the house in unnecessary trouble; but as many of our constituents seem of opinion, that the present situation of public affairs call upon us for service in a military way, which, from a conviction of judgment, after mature deliberation, we cannot comply with; we conclude it most conducive to the peace of our own minds, and the reputation of our religious profession, to persist in our resolutions of resigning our seats, which we accordingly now do; and request these our reasons may be entered on the minutes of the house." b c

Case of its
resignees.

It must be acknowledged that the assembly, on this occasion, acted very inconsistently with themselves. They had always been fond of comparing their own constitution with that of a *British* house of commons; and yet they supported the validity of those resignations, which never could take place in the *English* parliament (1). The governor's secretary, very properly, refused to issue any writs for filling up the vacancies; upon which, the speaker issued his own writs, which being obeyed by the sheriffs, the returns were made in the usual form; and the house unanimously resolved, that the members, so returned, had been duly elected: we are not apprised as to any farther opposition made by the governor on this point. When the house met again, the governor intimated to them the appointment of the earl of *Loudon* to be commander in chief of all the king's forces in *America*; and acquainted them, that he was commanded to give his lordship, and his troops, all the assistance in his power; and he particularly recommended to them, to appropriate such part of the funds already raised, or to be raised, for the public service, so as to be issued as his lordship should direct. The governor was likewise charged to inform the assembly of the raising the *American* regiment, which, by act of parliament, was to consist of 4000 men, without any exception to foreigners, either soldiers or officers. He likewise recommended to them, to indemnify, out of the funds raised for the public service, the masters of such indented servants as should enlist themselves in the army. He then pressed their passing a bill for the more effectual prohibiting all trade and commerce with the *French*, and desired them to grant farther supplies. d e

Difference be-
tween it and
the governor
continue.

THE assembly treated this message with great coldness, and recriminated upon the governor his having enacted a law in the territory, invalidating the acts of the other colonies, by limiting the continuance of their act against the exportation of provisions to one month only. They, likewise, observed, that the ports of *Maryland*, where greater quantities of provisions were raised, continued still open. As to the governor's demand of a supply, they demanded of him to know whether he had come to any resolution on the excise and *Indian* trade bills. His answer was, that he could not recede from his amendments to the latter; and, to excuse himself from passing the former, he produced the following proprietary instruction: "You shall not give your assent to any law for prolonging the present excise, or laying any other excise, or raising any money on the inhabitants of the said province of *Pennsylvania*; unless there be an enacting clause, that all money arising from the said excise, or other duties, shall be disposed of only as we, or either of us, exercising the office of governor, or the lieutenant governor, or, in case of his death or absence, the president of the council, and the house of representatives, for the time being, shall direct; and not otherwise." The assembly triumphed greatly on the discovery of this instruction, f g

Proprietary
instruction.

(1) A seat may be vacated in the *English* parliament, by a member's accepting a place under the crown, but it cannot be resigned.

a and the proprietaries were accused in no obscure terms of selfishness and tyranny, and of sacrificing the safety of the province to their own interests. They, accordingly, came to some very severe resolutions on that head, and adhered to the excise-bill they had sent up, rejecting the governor's amendments. Even some difficulties, which were removed by a new act, occurred in getting in the 5000 *l.* presented to the province by the proprietaries, and which was to be raised out of the arrears of their quit-rents.

On the same day that the bill was sent up, the house sent up a money bill for granting the sum of 40,000 *l.* for the king's use ; and for striking the said sum in bills of credit, and to provide a fund for sinking the same. The governor, without rejecting this bill, informed the messengers that he was, at that time, obliged to repair to *Newcastle*, to meet the assembly of the three lower counties ; but that he would give it all the dispatch in his power. A few hours after, he alarmed the assembly with fresh intelligence, that the western *Indians* were assembling to fall upon the province about harvest-time ; and they recriminated upon him, that if he pleased to pass their act he would have, in his hands, money enough to provide for the security of the province. About the same time, great difficulties were made under the pretext of the bill against exporting provisions out of the province ; about clearing out two ships, one freighted with provisions for *Newfoundland*, and the other for *Jamaica*. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill to permit the exportation of provisions for the king's service, notwithstanding the prohibition-act. The governor, on this occasion, trifled most egregiously with the assembly, for he evaded passing either of the bills he had sent up ; and they entered upon their journals a kind of a protest that they should bear no part of the blame, whatever might happen, in consequence of the delay. They then adjourned to the 23d of *August* ; but the governor called them together on the 19th of *July*, being the heat of their harvest-time, desiring them to continue the prohibition act. Next day the merchants, owners, and masters of vessels, then lying in the port, presented a petition to the house ; " Setting forth, the damages and losses they had already sustained for want of being allowed proper clearances ; as also the disadvantages, discouragements, and losses, which the whole province would specially and unavoidably be liable to, in case the embargo was to be continued for a longer time than by the late law was provided : recommending bonds, with sufficient penalties, to be discharged only by the certificates of the *British* consuls residing at such foreign ports ; as the several vessels and cargoes were entered for, and consigned to, as the only proper expedient to answer the ends proposed by such laws, without destroying their trade, on which the well being of their province depended ; and requesting such relief and assistance, in the premises, as they, in their wisdom, shall judge most expedient ; as no wise doubting their ready and hearty disposition towards the general good and service of their country."

Case of the
embargo upon
provisions.

THE reader is to observe, that the peculiarity of the case of *Pennsylvania* consisted in that province being the only *British* government that could suffer by the continuance of the embargo. Fish, which was the only commodity that *Boston* could furnish, was excepted out of the act. The troops consumed all the provisions that *New York* could spare, and the ports of *Virginia* and *Maryland* had never been shut up. The assembly were provoked beyond measure at the governor's behaviour, and sent him up a warm remonstrance, which turned entirely upon facts, concerning the embargo, and setting forth the vast detriment accruing to the province by its continuance. Some other differences passed between him and the assembly, concerning the preamble of the bill for supplying 4000 *l.* of the proprietaries present, in which the house had artfully inserted, that it was granted in consideration of the proprietary interest not being taxed. They likewise demanded to know, whether he had come to any resolution concerning the excise-bill, and the 40,000 *l.* bill for the king's use. As to the former, the governor informed them, he neither could, nor would pass it ; and he sent down the latter with amendments, exempting the proprietary estate from taxation, which the house rejected.

Hardships.
upon Pennsylv-
vania.

It must be acknowledged, that the behaviour of both parties were somewhat captious, and that the assembly was too assiduous in catching at every slip of the governor, and in exposing him on all occasions. He had given them an alarm, for which, perhaps, he was not to blame, concerning the hostile intentions of the western savages against the province, during harvest ; but it now appeared, that the same savages, at a conference they had with Sir *William Johnson*, had agreed, not only to lay down the hatchet against the *English*, but to take it up against the *French*. At the same time *Teedyuscung*, king of the *Delawares*, and a number of the *Susquehanna Indians*, agreed upon proper provisions being made for them, to give the governor a meeting, and to renew all their connections with the province. The governor demanded 4 or 500 *l.* the commissioners for the 60,000 *l.* act complained of their inability, and of the governor's refusing to pass the money-bills, and endeavoured to throw the expence upon the proprietaries, who, they said, would be chiefly benefited by the proposed meeting ; but the house offered him 300 *l.* towards his expences, and

and that they inclined to adjourn till the 16th of *August*. The governor, by his answer, accepted of the 300*l.* but informed them, that before his return, he was to meet with Lord *Loudon* at *New York*. About this time, the assembly received from general *Stirley*, who had been recalled from his government, a farewell compliment, and a very honourable acknowledgement of the "repeated instances of their contributing towards the defence of his majesty's just rights and dominions, and to assure them of his hearty wishes for their welfare."

New alarms.

THE assembly met according to their adjournment, and the governor informed them of the taking and burning fort *Granville* upon the *Juniata*. He likewise mentioned barracks for 1000 men, which were wanted by major *Rutherford*, the commanding officer in that province, for the new *American* regiment then raising; "and that his recruits being chiefly indentured servants, it would be necessary for the house to make provision for the payment of their masters, for the residue of the time each had to serve, in conformity to his majesty's instructions." He likewise informed them, that their treasury was exhausted, their troops wanted pay, and that a supply was necessary. This drew fresh recriminations upon the governor from the assembly, which was the last scene of altercation between him and them; he being superseded by captain *William Denny*, who succeeded him in his government.

Governor
Denny suc-
ceeds Morris.

THE new governor was received as the guardian angel of the province, and even the assembly assisted at an entertainment given him by the mayor of *Philadelphia*. They not only complimented him very highly on his arrival and accession (for that was the term) to his government, but made him a present of 600*l.* notwithstanding their distress for money. His first speech undeceived them in all their prepossessions in his favour. He mentioned the *French* encroachments upon the *Ohio*, as lying within their province, (an acknowledgement that had been always carefully avoided by the assembly) and that, therefore, they were peculiarly interested in expelling them (K). The governor, at the same time, after painting, in the most hideous colours, the ravages of the *French* and their *Indians*, recommended unanimity and dispatch in their proceedings, and promised to deny them nothing that he could grant, consistent with his duty to his majesty, and the rights of the proprietaries. This speech gave them to understand, that in fact, the name, but not the government, was changed. Instead of the 40,000*l.* bill, which they had voted under governor *Morris*, they ordered in another, with a blank for the sum. In the mean while, the governor, to quicken them, sent them down dispatches, which he had received from lord *Loudon* and colonel *Armstrong*. They seemed in no great hurry to take notice of all those alarming messages. In their address they observed, that their frontier was so much extended, and the settlers upon it so much dispersed, that the horrors he had mentioned in his speech could not be prevented; that they had conceived their province to be in as good a state of defence as any of the neighbouring colonies; and that they would do all in their power, consistent with their just rights, to enable the government to protect the people. In answer to his request for a supply, they insisted, in order to prevent delays, on a sight of his proprietary instructions, relating to money-bills of any kind.

His proprietary
instructions.

THE governor immediately complied with this demand, and laid before them the 11th, 12th, and 21st articles of his proprietary instructions. By those articles, it appeared, that the proprietaries conceived they had a joint right with the assembly in disposing of the interest-money arising from the provincial bills of credit and from the excise; and the governor was prohibited from giving his assent to any bill or act of assembly, for emitting, or re-emitting, or continuing, any paper-currency, unless the whole of the interest-money arising therefrom should be disposed of only to the very purposes to be specified in such act; or where that could not be conveniently done, by the joint concurrence of governor and assembly for the time being: and the same prohibition is also extended to all excise-laws, unless the disposition of the money, to be raised by them, is also appropriated in the same manner. The governor, by the 12th article, was entrusted with a prudential power of adding 40,000*l.* to the then currency; but still with strict regard to the proprietary interest. The last instruction regarded the proprietary estate, which its owners insisted upon ought to be exempted from all taxes; and here was introduced a long recapitulation of facts and circumstances in defence of the proprietaries conduct, which would be tedious to insert here, but concluding as follows; "and whereas the said assembly appears to us to have been inclined, not only to load and burden our estates with taxes by their authority, directly contrary to former usage, but even to charge the same disproportionably, and in an unequal manner, in order to ease the estates of others, which is a measure we are by no means willing to consent to: and as the present invasion of his majesty's *American* dominions may

(K) The assembly thought it a matter of indifference to them upon what province those encroachments were made, as the ground belonged to the proprietaries, who were therefore, most concerned in recovering it.

make

a make it necessary to raise farther supplies for his service in our said province, the assembly may hereafter propose and offer bills or acts of assembly, to lay additional taxes on real estates there. You are, therefore, hereby required and directed, not to give your assent to any bill or act of assembly of that sort, unless the act be made to continue for one single year only, and no longer." After this paragraph, the governor receives a power to agree to bills, taxing the proprietary manors or lands, which were actually let out on leases, either for lives or years; but the same to be paid by the tenants or occupiers, who were to charge them upon the proprietaries.

b THE house demanded to know of the governor, whether, notwithstanding the above proprietary instructions, he apprehended himself to be at liberty to pass bills that were consistent with his own judgment, and agreeable to the laws enacted by his predecessors, and which had received the royal assent. The governor, in answer, told them, that he could not recede from his instructions; and the house prepared a bill for striking the sum of 60,000*l.* to be sunk by an excise. Ten thousand pounds of this money was to be rendered subject to the orders of the earl of *Loudoun*, and was to go to the general fund that had been raised for the defence of the colonies. Ten thousand pounds were allotted for discharging the debt contracted by the province, for the provisions that had been furnished towards the expedition against *Crown-Point*; (*Pennsylvania* having received no part of the 115,000*l.* that had been granted by parliament for the colonies) and the residue was for the current service of the year. The governor, before he would pass this bill, demanded a conference with a committee of the house, which was accordingly agreed to. There he objected to the term of twenty years, which was fixed for sinking the sum, and to the inconsistency of the bill with his proprietary instructions, by leaving the surplus-money to the disposal of the assembly alone. He excepted to the subjecting the 10,000*l.* for the general fund to the order of lord *Loudoun*, instead of the commander in chief for the time being; and to the applying any part of the money for discharging their debt incurred by the *Crown-Point* expedition; because the sum was issued on a fund already established: for these, and some other reasons, he rejected the bill. The house justified their proceedings, and complained of the dearth of their land, which had thinned the province of inhabitants; and consequently reduced the excise-duty. They inveighed again the proprietary instructions, justified the trust they had put in lord *Loudoun*, which they refused to repose in any other commander, and pleaded that their funds for the *Crown-Point* debt had failed. All this, with a variety of other reasoning justifying the bill, made no impression upon the governor, who again peremptorily rejected it, and told the assembly that he was ready to give his reasons for so doing to his majesty: upon which the house broke up without coming to any conclusion. Three days after, the house came to very severe, and indeed unprecedented, resolutions against the proprietary instructions, as being arbitrary and unjust, an infraction of their charter, a total subversion of their constitution, and a manifest violation of their rights, as free-born subjects of *England*. They then vindicated all their proceedings, and threw the blame of all the disagreeable consequences upon the governor and the proprietaries. They next entered a kind of a salvo of their own rights, reserving them, "in their full extent on all future occasions, and, protesting against the proprietary instructions and prohibitions, do, nevertheless, in duty to the king, and compassion for the suffering inhabitants of their distressed country, and in humble, but full, confidence of the justice of his majesty and a *British* parliament, wave their rights on this present occasion only; and do further resolve, that a new bill be brought in for granting a sum of money to the king's use, and that the same be made conformable to the said instructions."

c THIS new bill was only for 30,000*l.* which was to be sunk by the excise in ten years; and, after receiving some corrections from the governor, he passed it. This was considered as a complete victory on the part of the proprietaries, while the assembly represented their proceedings as having been extorted from them by the imminent danger of the province. The proprietaries, however, had no great occasion to triumph: the assembly entered in their books a full vindication of themselves, and loaded the proprietaries with all the odium of dictatorial power. Along with this vindication, they published a most curious estimate of the proprietary estate in *Pennsylvania*, which they calculate (and indeed their reckoning does not seem to be overstrained) to be worth above a million sterling; and that the whole property of the people there does not exceed six millions. Together with this estimate, is an account of seven millions of acres of *Indian* land bought by the proprietaries, who alone can make such purchases from the natives, for no more than seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling; which the proprietaries afterwards sold at the rate of fifteen pound for every hundred acres. The *Indian* council at *Onondago*, however, disapproved of their deputies parting with so much land, and in the year 1755, obliged the proprietaries to convey great part of the same to the *Indians*.

Difference with the assembly.

who are obliged to yield under a protest.

Conduct of the
Pennsylvanians
during the
war.

HAVING thus finished what we may call the civil history of *Pennsylvania*, though we cannot help thinking that too much heat prevailed among the assembly-men, in the dispute with the proprietary; yet no palliative can be brought for the invincible obstinacy of the governors, who not only risked the very existence of the province, but, had it not been for the lenity of the administration at home, would have endangered the proprietary charter. It is true, some quakers were against resistance: but they liberally voted money for raising troops towards their defence, and they were so convinced at last of the inconvenience of their principles, that of thirty-six members who compose the assembly, no more than twelve were quakers; and, indeed, the governor's conduct was universally blamed by those who had the best access to know the state of the province. That the people of *Pennsylvania* were not dilatory in defending themselves, appears from their having erected, to cover their frontier, *Henshaw's* fort, on the *Delaware*, fort *Hamilton*, fort *Norris*, fort *Allen*, fort *Franklin*, fort *Lebanon*, fort *William Henry*, fort *Augusta*, fort *Hallifax*, fort *Granville*, fort *Shirley*, fort *Littleton*, and *Shippensburg* fort, besides many smaller stockades, and places of defence, and all of them garrisoned at the expence of the province. This protection was so powerful, that it encouraged almost all their frontier settlers, who had abandoned their habitations, to return to them, and to continue to cultivate their lands. Their troops, under colonel *Armstrong*, performed great services upon the *Ohio* against the *French* and their *Indians*, by destroying the *Indian* town of *Kittanning*, and killing their great captain *Jacobs*, recovering also a great number of *English* captives. Besides their frontier garrisons, they armed, clothed, and paid, 1100 provincial rangers. The batteries of *Philadelphia* were mounted with no fewer than seventy-five heavy cannon, and the province had besides a train of artillery, all new brass field-pieces, a magazine stored with ammunition, a quantity of large bomb shells, and a magazine, containing a reserve of above 2000 small arms, the whole being in excellent order. They likewise fitted out a twenty gun ship of war to scour the coast and protect the trade, not only of that, but the neighbouring provinces; a service which no colony to the south of *New England* had ever performed. By land, *Pennsylvania* covers the greatest part of *New Jersey*, the whole of the *Delaware* counties, and great part of *Maryland*; but without receiving any contribution from those colonies. Upon the whole, it appeared by a fair account, that from the year 1754 to 1758, the province of *Pennsylvania* furnished towards the expences of the war 218,567 *l.* 14 *s.* and in the year 1758, in pursuance of a letter to their governor, by Mr. secretary *Pitt*, they raised 2700 men.

Disputes about
the disposal of
public money.

THE great dispute between the governor and the commissioners, for applying the public money, regarded the manner of employing this force. The commissioners insisted upon raising companies of rangers, and falling immediately into the enemy's country, which they thought would be the best method for preventing their incursions. The governor had his reasons for preferring a militia-bill, which the commissioners vigorously opposed, because it increased his power by the nomination of its officers. The march and success of colonel *Armstrong* at *Kittanning* seemed to justify the former; and it is certain, that a militia, trained up to regular field or garrison duty, form too unwieldy a body, and are too slow in their motions, to be of much service against the sudden inroads of those savages. During the reduction of *Guadalupe* and the other military operations in *America*, the *French* had so artfully practised upon the six *English* *Indian* nations, that they brought them even to enter into hostilities, on pretence that the *English* had killed, or otherwise ill-treated, some of their brethren. The *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, at the same time, complained that the *English* had invaded their lands and possessions, and for that reason they too had entered into hostilities; but of all the *Indian* nations the *Twightwees*, who were settled on the banks of the *Ohio*, seemed to be the most averse to the *English* interest, and that, perhaps, with the best reason. Their ground of dissatisfaction arose from an attempt made to establish an *English* *Ohio* company, and some *British* subjects had been inconsiderate enough to alarm and provoke them by making surveys of their country, in which they trod down their corn. *Tedyuscung*, the *Delaware* chief, was a friend to the *English*, and proposed healing measures, so that by his means, principally, a conference between the *English* governors of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, assisted by Sir *William Johnson*, was agreed upon by all the *Indians*, inhabiting the country between the lakes and the *Apalachian* mountains. This conference was likewise attended by four members of the council of *Pennsylvania*, and six of the assembly, together with a vast number of other *Pennsylvanians*, chiefly quakers, and two agents for the province of *New Jersey*. The *Indians*, who by their chiefs, or deputies, met there, were the *Mohawks*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, *Seneas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticques*, and *Conoys*, the *Tutelocs*, *Chagnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unanies*, the *Minisinks*, *Mohicans*, and *Wappingers*.

THE business of this conference was to settle the limits of the disputed lands, and to make up all differences between the *Delawares* and the *Six Nations*, over whom they claimed

a ed a superiority, and affected always to treat them as their nephews, but they thought they now usurped too much independency; to detach all those savages from the *French* interest, and to restore a good correspondence with the *Twightas*. The meeting was extremely formal, and accommodated to all the punctilios of *American* deliberation and superciliousness. It was held at *Esston*, about 90 miles distant from *Philadelphia*. The *English* were welcomed by *Teedyuscung*, who was seconded by the chief of the *Cayugas*, and then the *Algonk* warriors, by the mouth of one of their chiefs, entered their complaints. Considering the rudeness of those barbarians, the accuracy and minuteness they disclosed in this negotiation was wonderful; nor was there a personal affront or injury done to any of their nations, since the time of their last treaties, that they omitted to mention; but, above all, b they complained of the *English* encroachments upon their lands. At last, the *Mohawk* chief addressed himself to the governor of *Pennsylvania* in the following terms: "Brother, we must put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at *Albany* a large tract of land, for a part of which that was settled, the proprietaries agents then paid 1000 pieces of eight: we acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase; but for the other part, that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council; in the deed, our hunting grounds are included, and without them we must perish."

The *Delawares* then entered their complaints; but it was observed, that while *Teedyuscung* was speaking, that the chiefs of the *Six Nations* took what he said so much amiss, that c they left the assembly; upon which he was silent. They reassembled, however, next day, when Mr. *Barnard*, governor of *New Jersey*, offered to satisfy the *Minisinks* for all their complaints; but the business between the *Delawares*, the *Six Nations*, and the *English*, was not yet adjusted; and *Teedyuscung* explained what he had to say to Mr. *Denny* at his own house. Next day, by the same governor's desire, *Teedyuscung* complained, that he heard his uncles the *Six Nations* had sold their lands at the *Yonink* and *Shamokin*, to the *English*. Mr. *Denny*, to compromise this affair, gave them an additional thousand dollars for the lands in dispute; but this liberality seems to have induced the savages to rise in their demands. The chiefs of the *Six Nations* and *Teedyuscung* came to a good understanding together, and started new objections about lands and limits; and it is hard to say, what the effect might have been, d had not an authentic account arrived of general *Forbes*, who was then upon his march against fort *duquesne*, having repulsed the *French* and *Indians*, who had attacked him at *Loyal-Hanning*. This news seems to have brought the savages to reason, and the conferences ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The whole was managed as usual by strings of wampum, which were produced at the finishing every proposition, and in metaphorical hyperboles, which generally were not without their beauty, and were adopted by the *English* as well as the *Indians*. The whole negotiation lasted from the 8th to the 26th of October. When it was over, the *Indians*, whose number assisting at it, including their wives and children, amounted to 500, were gratified with a considerable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gun-locks, e ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, serges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced cloaths for their chieftains. After this, large quantities of rum were distributed amongst them, by which they all got drunk, and next day they returned home, all of them well satisfied.

This treaty, which was conducted with great address on the part of the *English*, was of infinite service to their affairs in *America* during the remaining part of the war, by leaving them in a state of security within their own colonies; and therefore more at liberty to attend the other great objects of the campaign. Governor *Denny* was succeeded as lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of *Pennsylvania*, by the former governor Mr. *Hamilton*, who had always been popular in the province. The restoration of peace, which was attended f by a vast increase of commerce and riches to *Pennsylvania*, introduced likewise into that province luxuries unknown to it before, and inconsistent with their original constitutions. Those abuses produced an address to governor *Hamilton*, from the pastors and ministers of all persuasions in the province, setting forth the ill consequences of encouraging gaming, and all sorts of luxurious and vicious public diversions, particularly, a new subscription, by way of lottery, for opening public gardens, baths, bagnios, and other schemes of dissipation, which they observe, have already increased too much within these few years; all which they petition the governor to use his influence to suppress, as they are willing to preserve the character that province has hitherto borne of a sober, sedate, industrious, frugal, and religious people. The governor returned a most obliging answer to this address, g and promised, upon his honour, that he would discountenance, to the utmost of his power, every scheme tending to the dissipation of the minds of the people: this being the last transaction of any consequence relating to the affairs of *Pennsylvania*, we are now to attend to the present state of that country.

Description of
Pennsylvania
and Philadel-
phia.

THE province and territory of *Pennsylvania*, as we have in part already observed, had a complicated kind of a conveyance from the crown: besides the patent, granted by *Charles* the 1st. *March* 4, 1680, the duke of *York*, in 1683, sold to *William Penn* the elder, the town of *Newcastle*, alias *Delaware*, and a district or twelve miles round the same; and by another deed of the same date, he made over to the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, that tract of land from twelve miles south of *Newcastle*, to the *Whore-Kill*, otherwise called cape *Henlopen*, divided into the two counties of *Kent* and *Sussex*; which with *Newcastle* district, are commonly known by the name of the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river. We have already mentioned the great disputes which the difference of the two constitutions, that of the province, and that of the territory, made between the proprietaries and the province of *Pennsylvania*. This was complicated with another proprietary dispute between Mr. *Penn* and the lord *Baltimore*, proprietary of *Maryland*. The grant of the latter was fifty years prior to that of Mr. *Penn*'s of *Pennsylvania*: but there was in it an exception of lands then belonging to the *Dutch*, and which now form the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river; and when Mr. *Penn* took possession of those counties, he there found one *Dutch* and three *Swedish* congregations. The dispute was concerning the construction of the expression forty degree of latitude. *Maryland* grant, 1632, says, to the forty degree of latitude, which the *Maryland* side of the question construe to be to forty degrees complete; *Pennsylvania* grant, 1682, says, to be at the beginning of the fortieth degree, which the *Pennsylvanian* side construe to be just after thirty nine degree is completed; thus there was a dispute of the extent of one degree in latitude, or sixty-nine *English* miles. In 1732, in consideration of the improvements made by the *Marylanders* within the fortieth degree complete, an agreement was made between the parties, importing, that a due east and west line be run from cape *Henlopen* to the middle of the peninsula, and the said strait line to run from the westward point thereof, northward, up to the said peninsula (and above the said peninsula, if it required) till it touched, or made a tangent to the western part of the periphery of the said twelve miles circle, and the said due south and north line to run from such tangent, till it meets with the upper or more northern east and west line; and the said upper east and west line to begin from the northern point or end of the said south and north line, and to run due westward, at present, cross *Susquehanna* river, and 25 *English* statute miles at least on the western side of the said river, and to be fifteen *English* statute miles south of the latitude of the most southern part of the said city of *Philadelphia*, were, and shall, and should at all times, for ever hereafter, be allowed and esteemed to be the true and exact limits and bounds, between the said province of *Maryland*, and the said three lower counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, and between the said provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*.

Dispute with
lord Balti-
more.

IN consequence of this agreement, mutual releases, according to the terms of it, passed on both sides; that on the part of the *Penns* was signed by *John*, *Thomas*, and *Richard Penn*, the then proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*, not only for themselves, but for all their claims under *William Penn*, their grandfather, the founder of the colony, *Springet Penn*, and *William Penn* the son. It was farther agreed, that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to mark out the aforesaid boundaries, and the penalty on the failing party was fixed at 6000 *l*. The respective commissioners appeared, but differed in their opinions; those of lord *Baltimore* alledging, that he had been deceived in fixing cape *Henlopen*, twenty miles south westerly of the western cape of *Delaware* bay; whereas, cape *Henlopen* is the western cape itself: but those of the *Penns* affirmed, that according to the *Dutch* maps and descriptions, the western cape is cape *Cornelius*, and cape *Henlopen* is about four hours southerly of it. In 1735, the *Penns* preferred a bill in chancery against the then lord *Baltimore*, for non-performance of the above agreement; and praying, that it should be carried into execution. This suit depended till the 15th of *May*, 1750, when costs of suit were decreed against lord *Baltimore*, and that the agreement of 1732, should be carried into execution; but that commissioners should be appointed for the actual marking of the boundaries. The basis of this commission was to be founded on the lord chancellor's decree: first, that the center of the circle be fixed in the middle of the town of *Newcastle*: secondly, that the said circle ought to be of a radius of twelve *English* miles: thirdly, that cape *Henlopen* ought to be deemed at the place laid in the maps, annexed to the articles of 1732.

WHEN the commissioners met, which they did in *November* the same year, fresh disputes arose. Lord *Baltimore*'s commissioners insisted upon their measuring the miles superficially, and those of the *Penns* upon geometrical and astronomical mensurations. Upon this, the commissioners on both sides stopt, and wrote to their respective principals for further instructions; but the affair was afterwards amicably adjusted, though greatly in favour of the

a *Penns.* Such of our readers as know the value of land in that country will not be surpris'd at so long and so expensive a dispute concerning it; but we cannot give those who do not, a more clear idea of the flourishing circumstances of this province, than by a description of its capital, *Philadelphia*.

THIS beautiful city, one of the most regular in the world, is situated in 40 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, and is an oblong of two miles, extending from the river *Delaware* to the *Schuylkill*, the east-end fronting the river *Delaware*, and the west the river *Schuylkill*, each front being a mile in length. The river *Delaware* is navigable from the sea for large vessels above 200 miles, and that of *Schuylkill*, as far as *Philadelphia*. Every man in possession of 1000 acres, has his house either in one of the fronts facing the rivers, or in the *High-street*, running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other. Every owner of 5000 acres, besides the abovementioned privilege, is entitled to have an acre of ground in the front of his house, and all others may have half an acre for gardens and court-yards. Every quarter of the city forms a square of eight acres, and almost in the center of it is a square of ten acres, surrounded by the town-house, and other public buildings. The *High-street* is one hundred feet wide, and runs the whole length of the town: parallel to it, run eight other streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and communicating with canals from the two rivers, which add not only to the beauty, but the wholesomeness of the city. Ships of four or five hundred tons may come up to the quay, which is two hundred feet square, and furnished with all the conveniences for ship-building, as well as for loading and unloading goods. The reader, however, is not to imagine that the whole of this magnificent plan is already carried into execution; but as it is every day compleating, *Philadelphia* may, in time, dispute (if it does not already) with *Boston* and *New York*, for the precedence of all the *North American* cities. Its town-house is so magnificent, spacious, and regular, that it would make a figure in any capital of *Europe*: it was erected in the year 1732, and stands in a square of 396 feet by 255. The other public buildings of *Philadelphia*, are, the court-house, two quakers meeting-houses, two presbyterian meeting-houses, one church of *England*, one baptists meeting one *Dutch Lutheran* church, one *Dutch Calvinist* church, one *Moravian* church, one mals-house, the academy, the quakers school-house, the city alms-house, the quakers alms house, the hospital, prison, and work-house.

THE noblest institution, however, in the province of *Pensylvania*, is its academy. This public spirited proposal was set on foot by a set of private gentlemen, who, joining together, without the least regard to religious differences, formed a body of constitutions, with liberty to alter and amend them as they thought proper, for carrying their plan into execution; and it was so well liked, that the subscriptions to it rose, in a short time, to 800*l.* a year for five years. The trustees were not without their difficulties in their proceedings: they could hope for little or no encouragement from the assembly, where the leading men were quakers, who had formed an institution for education, at their own expences; and though the proprietary Mr. *Penn*, was no enemy to the proposed academy, yet he inclined to have it built out of the city. On the other hand, the success of the undertaking depended in a great measure upon the superintendancy of the trustees, whose business could not admit them leaving the town so often as might be necessary; and therefore they purchased a convenient building, (L) which served all their immediate purposes, and as much ground and other edifices near it as might be improved with five quadrangles, for the accommodation of the students. The corporation of *Philadelphia*, sensible of the utility of this scheme, voted two hundred pounds to be immediately paid to the trustees, and one hundred a year for five years. Fifty pounds of this money is to be allotted for the erection and maintenance of a charity-school; out of which, one of the most promising boys is to be chosen yearly, and transplanted into the academy, where he is to complete his education in this academy at the expence of the trust. The plan of education in this academy is rational and practicable; especially, in the instruction of the pupils in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *English*, but with the strictest view to their morals; and by the public encouragement, which it has already, or may hereafter receive, it bids fair, in time, to rival the brightest seminaries of learning in the mother-country, especially under a reign so beneficent, as the present is, to literature.

THAT the reader may form some idea of the numbers of the various sectaries in *Philadelphia*, we shall present him with the burials of the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, which the reader will find in the note (M). From the same note, the reader may form some

(L) It had been a meeting-house, erected by some of the followers of *Whitefield*, or other sectaries.

(M) Christenings in

	1750.	1751.	1752.
Swedes	10	42	34
Lutherans	68	180	136

Various sectaries there.

judgment of the variety of sects with which *Pensylvania* is stored ; and it is to the great honour of the governing party in this province, that no persecutions prevail there on account of religion. The persecution of the *Moravians*, and the mildness with which they had been treated in *England*, with the encouragement given to their industry, has been of vast service to *Philadelphia*, where above 1500 of them are now settled. The wildness and extravagance of this sect is well-known to all *Europe* : they have there a chapel with a small organ ; but their grand settlement is about fifty or sixty miles from *Philadelphia*. The similarity of practice between them and the quakers, in some points, make them fond of residing in *Pensylvania* ; but, though they decline carrying arms in their own persons, yet they contribute cheartfully to the military establishment for the defence of their settlements and country. Their zeal towards the conversion of the *Indians* is incredible. If possible, it exceeds that of the jesuits, and they have already perluaded some of those savages to come to live with and conform to them. They even sent about the year 1748, to *Greenland* or *Davis's Straits*, at their own expence, a ship with a wooden church, ready framed, for the use of the inhabitants of that country, which produces no timber ; and when the ship returned to *Philadelphia*, it brought two young men, and a young woman, natives of *Greenland*, who had been converted there by the *Moravian* missionaries. The said *Moravians* have likewise a mission at *Berbice* and *Surinam*, from whence two converts likewise came to *Pensylvania*, and those profelytes from different parts of the globe, together with some *Delaware Indian* converts, met altogether at a place called *Bethlem* in that province. The *Pensylvanian Moravians* have almost the same indulgence shewn them by the legislature of *Great Britain*, excepting in criminal cases, as the quakers have ; and their abstemious manner of living enables them to carry on the handicrafts they profess at a cheap rate ; nor are they without some men of learning and academical education among them.

Curious history of the Dunkards.

BUT the *Moravians* and other sects are in common to other parts of the world, while *Pensylvania* engrosses a sect of its own product, one perhaps, of the most harmless and extraordinary of any that has appeared since the institution of christianity. They are called by some *Dumplers*, but their true name seems to be *Dunkards*. The town they inhabit is called *Ephrata*, lying on the frontier part of *Lancaster* county, fourteen miles from *Lancaster*, and about fifty from *Philadelphia*, between two small hills, in the most delightful situation that can well be imagined, as if nature had created it for the indulgence of contemplation. All the land possessed by the *Dunkards* does not exceed two hundred and fifty acres, and it is, in a manner, insulated by a river on one side, with a ditch, and a bank planted with trees on the other. The country between *Ephrata* and *Lancaster*, though very thinly inhabited, presents the eye with the like beautiful scenes of retirement. A *German* hermit, who settled on the spot where *Ephrata* is now built, and who supplied all his necessities by his own labour, was the founder of this extraordinary sect. The fame of his solitude inspired some of his countrymen with curiosity ; as the simplicity of his life, with the piety of his conversation, excited them to join and to imitate him. A people who leave their native country to enjoy liberty of conscience, can bear all subsequent mortifications. The *Germans*, of both sexes, who joined this hermit, soon assimilated themselves to his way of thinking ; and consequently, to his manner of living ; industry became part of their duty, and divided their time with devotion. Their gains are thrown into one common stock, which supplies all their exigencies, private as well as publick. Their females are cloistered up by themselves in a separate part of the town, the situation of which is delightful, and screens them from the north-wind. It is triangular, and fenced round with thick rows of apple, beech, and cherry-trees, besides, having an orchard in the middle. The houses,

f DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. II. p. 150.

Burials in 1750.		1751.	1752.
Swedes	13	27	20
Presbyterians	26	48	28
Dutch Lutherans	28	56	26
Calvinists		40	31
Baptists	11	28	9
Quakers	104	107	53
Newbuilding	19	30	30
Roman Catholics	15	21	16
Total	294	579	283
Burials in the strangers burying-ground.			
Dutch and other white people.	250	319	286

which

a which are of wood, are most of them three stories high, and every person has a separate apartment, that he may not be disturbed in his devotions.

THE women never see the men but at public worship, or when it is necessary to consult upon matters of public œconomy, and the number of both may be about 300. Their garb is the most simple that can be well imagined, being a long white woollen gown in winter, and linen in the summer, with a cape, which serves them for a hat, like that of a capuchin, behind, and fastened round the waist with a belt. Under the gown they wear a waistcoat of the same materials, a coarse shirt, trowser, and shoes. The dress of the women is the same, only instead of trowsers they wear petticoats, and when they leave their nunnery, (for such it is) they muffle up their faces in their capuchins. The diet of the
b *Dunkards* consists of vegetables; but it is no principle with them to abstain from animal food; only they think that such abstinence is most agreeable to a christian life. This temperance emaciates their bodies, and as the men indulge their beards to its full length, gives them a hollow ghastly appearance. Their beds are no other than benches; a little wooden block serves them for a pillow, and they celebrate public worship twice every day, and as often every night. But though such modes of life appear absurd and impracticable, the *Dunkards* are far from being extravagant. Their chapel is very decent, and they have, upon a fine stream, a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all of them most ingeniously constructed by themselves: they have even a printing-press, and they are, especially the nuns, extremely ingenious in writing, and in embellishments, which they perform with a variety of beautiful colours, with gilding, in imitation of the
c initials in ancient manuscripts, and they stick them up by way of ornament in their churches and cells. By those different manufactures, the public stock of this ascetic people is well supplied, as no denomination of christians can be their enemies, their religious tenets being mingled with the absurdities of all.

NOTWITHSTANDING the two sexes living separately from one another in their town, yet the *Dunkards* are far from being enemies to marriage. In that case, the parties must indeed leave the town, but they are supplied out of the public fund with whatever is necessary for their settling elsewhere. This they generally do as near as they can to *Ephrata*, to which they send their children for education. They have in their society a president, one
d *Philip Miller*, who was regularly educated at the university of *Hall* in *Germany*. He is said to be a man not only of learning, but of good sense. He went over on some scruples of conscience from the *Calvinists*, among whom he had taken orders, to the *Dunkards*. Tho' rigidly adhering to their doctrine and manners, yet he is open, affable, and communicative, and makes no secret of the religious principles of the *Dunkards* to strangers. Baptism they administer by dipping, or plunging, but to adult persons only. They hold free-will, and think that the doctrine of original sin, as to its effect upon *Adam's* posterity, is absurd and impious. They disclaim violence, even in cases of self-defence, and suffer themselves to be defrauded, or wronged, rather than go to law. They are superstitious to the last degree in observing the sabbath; and, all their prayers and preachings, during their worship, are extempore. Humility, chastity, temperance, and other christian virtues, are com-
e monly the subjects of their discourses; and they imagine, that the souls of dead christians are employed in converting those of the dead, who had no opportunity of knowing the gospel. They deny the eternity of hell-torments, but believe in certain temporary ones that will be inflicted on infidels, and obstinate persons, who deny Christ to be their only Saviour; but they think, that at a certain period, all will be admitted to the endless fruition of the deity. A people, whose principles are so harmless, and whose practice is so simple and virtuous, cannot be otherwise than happy upon earth. Among themselves, they know nothing but harmony and mutual affection; every one cheerfully performs the task of industry assigned to him, and their hospitality and courtesy to strangers is unbound-
f ed; but their principles lead them to take nothing in recompence.

H U D S O N'S - B A Y.

THE trade of the country is become so considerable to *Great Britain*, that, though it affords but few settlements, and no cities, the history of it is as interesting as that of any other *American* colony. It is of very little importance to the *English* right to this trade, that about the year 1605, the *Danes* discovered countries to the northward of *Hudson's-Bay*; from whence they brought some of the natives, who were of a diminutive size, and sailed in little canoes, or rather boats, made of skins, containing but one person, but so secure, as to be proof, even upon the open ocean, against the most violent storms
s and tempests. Late discoveries have proved the truth of the last mentioned fact, and that those inhospitable countries are inhabited by people of a small size, resembling the *Laplanders*, and

Original of
the Hudson's,
Bay company.

and the *Samoids*, or the wandering *Tartars* (N). The first discovery of those northern a lands were made by the adventurers from different parts of *Europe*, who endeavoured to find out the north-west passage to *China* and the *East Indies*; and there is no great dependence to be laid upon the grant given by *Henry the VIIth* of *England*, in 1496, to the *Cabots* of all the lands they could discover and settle to the westward of *Europe*; for it is certain, that though they might take a general possession, yet they made no settlement. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, *Sir Martin Forbisher* made three different voyages to discover the said passage; but all we know that he discovered, was the strait which still retains his name: nor could he bring the natives of *Terra de Labrador* to trade, or enter into the least communication with the *English*; on the contrary, they took every opportunity of cutting them off. b

Discovery of
the bay.

In 1585, *John Davis*, who sailed from *Dartmouth*, came to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and proceeded to 66 degrees, 40 minutes. Next year, he ran to 60 degrees, 20 minutes, and from thence he coasted southward to 56 degrees; but though at last in 54 degrees he found an open sea, which he flattered himself might be the so much wished for passage, yet the weather there was so tempestuous, that he was obliged to return to *England*; nor did he in the three voyages he made to those parts, gain any farther discovery or settlement. About 1583, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert* took possession of *Newfoundland* for the crown of *England*; but no farther attempts were made, till *Henry Hudson*, in 1607, is said to have discovered as far as 80 degrees, 23 minutes; and prosecuted his discoveries, though very unsuccessfully, and with little appearance of profit. In the year 1610, he proceeded many leagues farther than any man had done before him, and was stopt only by the ice and the shoal water; and finding himself imbayed, he was there obliged to winter; and the following spring, endeavouring to proceed farther, he perished. In the year of his death, prince *Henry*, who, for his public spirit, was so justly beloved by the people of *England*, encouraged *Sir Thomas Button* to pass *Hudson's* straits, which he did, and sailing westward, discovered a continent, and gave it the name of *New Wales*. Being unable to pass farther than the 56th degree of north latitude, called by him the *Ne Ultra*, he wintered at port *Nelson*, in the 57th degree, and from him the bay was called *Button's-Bay*. In 1616, one *Baffin* attempted to prosecute *Button's* discoveries, and proceeded as far as the 78th degree; but perceiving his attempt to be impracticable, he returned, though he failed to the 80th degree. In 1632, captain *Fox* sailed into *Hudson's-Bay*, where he saw many whales towards the end of *July*; but he proceeded no farther than port *Nelson*, in 56 degrees, and there he wintered. The civil wars of *England* soon after coming on, prevented our countrymen from pushing their discoveries farther; but prince *Rupert*, and some public spirited gentlemen, in 1667, fitted out *Guilam*, who landed at *Rupert river*, on the east continent of *Hudson's-Bay*, where he built *Charles* fort, and laid the foundation of a fur-trade with the natives. c

Its establish-
ment.

This trade bore so good an aspect, that in 1669, a royal charter was granted to the adventurers, in the following terms: "To prince *Rupert*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, to *George* duke of *Albemarle*, to *William* earl of *Craven*, and to fifteen others, and to others whom they shall admit into the said body corporate, power to make a common seal, and to alter it; to chuse annually, some time in *November*, a governor, a deputy-governor, and a committee of seven, any three of the committee, with the governor and deputy-governor, to be a court of directors: freemen to be admitted (their factors and servants may be admitted freemen) at a general court, a power to dismiss the governor, deputy governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their dismissal or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the sole property of lands, trade, royal fishery, and mines, within *Hudson's* straits, not actually possessed by any christian prince, to be reputed as one of our colonies in *America*, to be called *Rupert's land*, to hold the same in free and common soccage, to pay the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king and queen shall come into those lands: power to assemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of *England*; an exclusive trade, without leave obtained of the company, penalty, forfeiture of goods and shipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings, for every 100 *l.* original stock, to have one vote, may appoint governors, factors, and other officers, in any part of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters, civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly: where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and coun- d f

(N) See an account of that part of *America*, which is the nearest to the land of *Kamschatka*, extracted from the description of *Kamschatka*, by professor *Kraschen-*

nicoff, printed at *Petersburg*, in two volumes 4to. in 1759, and translated by Dr. *Dumarequier*, chaplain to the *English* factory at *Petersburg*.

cil,

- a cil, or to *England* for justice: liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition, for their protection, and erect forts: to make peace or war with any people who are not christians, may appeal to the king in council."

- NOTWITHSTANDING this charter, the *French* pretended to the right of pre-occupancy, founded upon the discoveries of their countrymen, long before the date of this charter. They alledged, that the sieur *Bourdon*, and another *Frenchman*, repeatedly took possession of *Hudson's-Bay* and its neighbourhood, between the date of this charter and the year 1656. It is certain, that in 1663, three *Frenchmen*, *Medard*, *Chouard des Groseilliers*, and *Pierre-Esprit de Radisson*, out of some pique they had conceived against their own country, conducted *Guilam* to the river *Nemiscau*, which discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and there first built fort *Rupert*, and afterwards fort *Monsonis*. The *French* considered this possession as an usurpation, and their intendant endeavoured to prevent a prescriptive right in favour of the *English*; but *Colbert's* pacific measures prevented any rupture between the *French* and *Charles* the II^d on that account. The *French*, however, endeavoured to gain by degrees, what they did not attempt by force. *Groseilliers* and *Radisson*, before they were employed by the *English*, had presented memorials, both at *Quebec* and at *Paris*, upon the practicability of carrying ships from *Canada* to *Hudson's Bay*; and this they did upon the information of certain savages, whom they met with near the lake of the *Assiniponals*, who conducted them by land to the bottom of the bay, where, according to the *French* accounts, the *English* had not yet made a settlement. Their memorials were treated by the *French* ministry as mere fictions, but the *English* ambassador at *Paris* recommended them both to the service of the *English* nation, from whom they soon found both patronage and protection. The *French* at *Quebec*, when it was too late, discovered their oversight. A deputation of savages, who had repaired to *Quebec*, to solicit for missionaries, offered to conduct the *French* by an easy way from the river *Saguenay* to *Hudson's Bay*; and *Talon*, the intendant-general of *Canada*, sent along with them, upon the discovery, father *Albanel*, and two other *Frenchmen*. They left *Quebec* on the 22^d of *August*, 1671, but by this time, one Mr. *Baily*, an *Englishman*, had been sent over by the company as governor, and he was attended by the abovementioned *Radisson*; so that when the three *Frenchmen*, conducted by the savages, arrived at the bay, which they did on the 17th of *September* that same year, they found the *English* there in full trade with the savages. This obliged the *Frenchmen* to send to *Quebec* for passports (we suppose, to prove that they were no pirates;) but before these could arrive, they lost the season for navigating the bay, and they were obliged to winter on the banks of lake *St. John*. On the 1st of *June*, 1672, they set out on their return for *Quebec*; but on the 13th, they were intercepted by eighteen canoes, filled with *Mistassin* savages. Father *Albanel* immediately accosted them, informing them, that the *French* were their friends; and that they had lately defeated their enemies the *Iroquois*, who were in no condition to molest them farther. The chief of the *Mistassins*, whose nation in general, it seems, had a hankering towards popery, or, what *Charlevoix* calls, christianity, returned the father thanks for his information, and he prevailed upon them to promise to trade upon the lake of *St. John*, where they were always sure to meet with merchandizes to barter, and a missionary to instruct them. The savages pressed *Albanel* to remain with them; but he excused himself, and promised to return to lake *St. John*. After this, the *French* adventurers entered upon the lake of the *Mistassins*, and then reached the banks of the lake *Nemiscau*, and on the 1st of *July*, a place called *Miscoutenagechit*, where they were received by the natives with vast demonstrations of joy. Notwithstanding this, *Albanel* perceived that the natives carried on a beneficial trade with the *English*, which they were so determined not to forego, that *Albanel* was obliged again to assure them, that he and his companions had no farther view in the visit they paid them than the safety of their souls, and to inform them, that they had nothing to fear from their enemies the *Iroquois*. Some days after, the *French* adventurers left that village, visited the neighbourhood of lake *Nemiscau*, and embarking upon the river of the same name, they fell into the bay, where they took a sham possession; but it had not the least influence upon the *English* commerce there.

- WHILE the *French* were thus employed, the *English* adventurers had formed themselves into a regular company, at the head of which was prince *Rupert*: the other members were, Sir *James Hayes*, Mr. *William Young*, Mr. *Gerard Weymans*, Mr. *Richard Cradock*, Mr. *John Letton*, *Christopher Wrenn*, Esq; Mr. *Nicholas Hayward*. Mr. *Baily*, who was then governor, resided chiefly at the small fort, which had been built upon *Rupert's* river, but all the *English* inhabitants there did not exceed twenty: his neighbours were the *Indians*, whose princes and headmen, with their families, often came begging for mere subsistence, to the *English*; for, as their means of living depended entirely on the success of their hunting, they were reduced to starve as often as that resource failed them. It may, however, be

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 296.

proper here to observe, that perhaps the neighbourhood of the *English*, and their hospitality, encouraged those barbarians, who are naturally the most indolent beings in the universe, to this practice of begging. The *English* themselves had but a precarious dependence for their subsistence, and waited for returns from *England* for all their food and necessities, so barren and inhospitable was the neighbouring country. Mr. *Baily* having relieved the prince, his cocamish or wife, and his great officers of state, by giving them victuals, attended them in a fishing expedition, in which they had but very indifferent success. In 1673, *Grofeilliers* arrived at port *Nelson*, where a kind of factory had been established, but under very discouraging circumstances, because the neighbouring *Indians* had been prevailed upon by the *French* to abandon the country. The governor himself, tho' he and the few *English* with him, carried on a gainful traffic with the distant *Indians*, was in a most miserable situation, being in danger of perishing in the crazy cabins they had erected, and they subsisted chiefly on fishing, and killing such wild fowl as came in their way. Towards the beginning of the year some *Indians* visited them, and brought along with them a little fresh meat. This afforded them a temporary relief from the scurvy, which the eating their salt provisions had introduced amongst them.

which is opposed by the French.

THE *French* knew the hardships, but, at the same time, the benefits of the trade. *Radisson* had married a daughter of Sir *David Kirk*, the same who had conquered *Quebec*, and not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded by the *English*, he had made his peace with the court of *France*, from which he had received several distinguishing favours, and settled in *Canada*. Here he formed what he called a company of the north, which was founded on a plan for dispossessing the *English* of *Hudson's-Bay*. At the head of this company *Radisson* and his companions were placed, as being best acquainted with the country and its trade. Nothing but the most insatiate desire of gain could have induced them to any attempt to disturb the miserable settlement of the *English* in *Hudson's-Bay*. Profit, or the prospect of it, recompensed governor *Baily* and his companions for all their hardships. By this time, some of the *Indians* were so well reconciled to the settlement, that they had built wigwams at the east end of the *English* fort, for the benefit of their trade. Those *Indians* went by the name of *Cuscudidabs*, and their king promised to wait upon the *English* governor, who, with his company, were now reduced to almost as melancholy a situation as the savages themselves. The message of the *Indian* prince coming to the ears of the *French* jesuits, the latter animated the savages against the *English*, and the habitation of the *Cuscudidabs*, at the east end of the fort, was threatened with an invasion from the *French* *Indians*. This was attended with very serious consequences: the *French* leaving nothing unattempted to ruin the *English* trade, and to make a settlement, about eight days journey from that of the *English*. This introduced a debate amongst the *English*, whether they ought not to remove to *Moose* river from fort *Rupert*, in order to prevent their trade with the natives being intercepted by the *French*. This happened in the year 1674, and it seems the result of the debate was, that the *English* should continue where they were, but to take all opportunities to cut the *French* out of the trade. By this time, the king *Cuscudidab* had enlarged his wigwam to the very walls of fort *Rupert*, to which they proved so troublesome and so dangerous neighbours, that Mr. *Baily* was obliged to order, that no *Indian* should enter the fort, except the king and his chief courtiers. On the 20th of *May*, twelve of the king *Cuscudidab's* subjects came to the fort, and informed him, that few of the upland *Indians* would trade that year with the *English* in *Hudson's-Bay*; they having been persuaded by the *French* to traffic with their *Canadians*: upon this, Mr. *Baily* ordered his sloop to proceed up the river, that he might re-establish his interest among the upland *Indians*. Upon his landing a feast of beaver and moose flesh, and other eatables, dressed in the *Indian* fashion, was served up in vast plenty; but we know of very little advantage which this visit produced to the *English*. They had better fortune in a voyage they afterwards made to the *Moose* river, where they discovered several whales, and were in danger of being attacked by the *Nodway-Indians*; but this expedition proved profitable; for Mr. *Baily* returned with 1500 skins, and established a trade with the *Shechittawams*, from whose country he coasted along to port *Nelson*.

Misery of the English in Hudson's-Bay.

ALL the profits of the trade, however, could not ward off the danger of starving, which every day stared the *English* full in the face. They had almost spent all their provisions, as well as their powder and shot, upon which their very being depended, having no means of subsistence but by killing game. This danger being over, the governor of *Quebec*, on account of the great friendship then subsisting between the courts of *France* and *England*, as he pretended, sent a jesuit to *Rupert* fort, but in reality, to be a spy upon the strength and situation of the *English*. This jesuit brought letters for *Grofeilliers*, which, with some preceding circumstances of suspicion, confirmed the *English* in their opinion of his privately keeping a correspondence with his countrymen the *French*. Notwithstanding this, Mr. *Baily* the governor, behaved himself towards this jesuit with the greatest humanity, by giving

- a ing him cloaths, he having been stript by some of the savage nations. It appears, as if *Baily* had been so artful as to prevail with the jesuit to discover his real business; for he learned from him that the *Tabitte Indians*, whose country lay within the bounds of the patent granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company, traded with the *French*, who intended to pay the *English* at *Hudson's-Bay* a very disagreeable visit. They had practised upon the *Nodways*, and *Moose River Indians* to keep up their commodities at an extravagant rate; and this, together with the difficulty of subsisting in that miserable climate, at last determined the governor to march for *Point Comfort*, and from thence to sail for *England*. All their flour and bread at this time did not exceed two hundred pound weight; and they had only two barrels of peas, and thirty geese in pickle, to support them during their voyage. Their
- b sloop accordingly fell down to *Point Comfort*; but some firing being heard, they concluded it was from *English* ships, and delayed sailing. This delay served only to consume their provisions, and no *English* for some days appearing, they were overwhelmed with horror; but at last they understood that the ship prince *Rupert*, commanded by captain *Gillum*, with *William Lyddal*, Esq; a new governor, was arrived upon the coast. At the same time, captain *Shipherd*, in the *Shafisbury*, arrived from *England*; where the profits of the trade became to be better understood. It was now the 18th of *September*, (in that country a late season) when Mr. *Baily* delivered up all his authority to governor *Lyddal*, who finding the year too far advanced for the ships to return to *England*, employed their crews in felling timber for building houses and conveniences for dwelling. It soon appeared, that the
- c newly arrived ships had not brought with them a sufficiency of provisions for the subsistence of the settlers, so that they were reduced to vast straits. Mr. *Baily* was happy enough to return to *England*, where he gave the company very great lights, as to their interest; and they encreased the settlement by an additional number of factories upon the rivers, which discharge themselves into the bay.

They are invaded by the French.

- In the year 1682, the *French* at *Quebec* fitted out two miserably equipped ships for two purposes. The first was to drive the *English* from *Hudson's-Bay*, and the other to establish a peltry trade there among the natives. Proceeding to fort *Rupert*, they found it so well guarded, that they did not venture to attack it. They then cruised along the west coast of the bay, in search of a commodious situation for the fur-trade, and at last they arrived at
- d port *Nelson*, where the two rivers of *Bourbon* and *St. Therese* join. *Radisson* was one of the adventurers in the expedition; and when the *French* were wintering in the river of *St. Therese*, the *English* were encamped upon that of *Bourbon*; and that the *French* discovering the *English* so near them, though they were no more than twelve men, attacked the *English*, who were eighty in number, but all of them drunk, and made them prisoners, as they did six other sailors who were in a separate body. Father *Charlevoix*, however, gives a very different account of this adventure. According to his information, upon the arrival of *Radisson* in the river *St. Therese*, a *Boston* vessel appeared at the mouth of the same river, not far from the place where the *French* were encamped. A few days after, a large ship from *London*, cast anchor at the same place, to the great dread of the *Boston* men, who, it
- e seems, were little better than pirates, and of the *French* who were unprovided with the means of defence. The *English* large ship, however, was, by currents, driven from her anchors, and wrecked among the shoals of ice, without any possibility of being saved. Some of the crew got upon those shoals, which were driven towards the mouth of *St. Therese* river, where *Redisson* and *Grofeilliers* then commanded. The *French* seem to have made the utmost advantage of their misfortunes; for though they relieved the *English* with victuals, and suffered them to erect some booths on the banks of the river, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, yet they obliged the *English* commander to promise them in writing, to erect no fortifications there, and to do nothing prejudicial to the rights of his most christian majesty. The *English* are accused of having violated their promise, and of endeavouring to surprize the *French*, who secured them to prevent other
- f consequences. Such is the lame and improbable narrative given by *Charlevoix* of this affair; but, like other *French* narratives of the same kind, it is full of absurdities, and rests upon no evidence. The truth is, one *John Bridger*, Esq; was appointed governor of the *Hudson's-Bay* company of the west main, from cape *Henrietta Maria*, which had been in Mr. *Lyddal's*, or the east main's patent. Mr. *Bridger* went to port *Nelson*, where captain *Gillum* had been settled, but was not strong enough to prevent the *French* from landing. Upon *Bridger's* ship appearing, the *French* commanded him to be gone; but he landed his goods, and began a settlement, without any interruption from the *French*, with whom he lived in very
- g good correspondence till *February* following; when the *French* treacherously surprized the *English*, and all their effects, and kept them in confinement till *August*, when they put the common men on board a rotten bark, which was taken up at sea by an *English* ship; but

The English recover their settlement.

^b CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 300.

they

The French
settle on St.
Therese
river.

they carried *Bridger* and *Gillum* prisoners to *Quebec*, with all the *English* plunder. Here *Radisson* and *Grofeilliers* quarrelled with the *French* northern company, who wanted to seize their cargoes, in right of their charter; upon which they went to *France*, where they found the ministry so much prepossessed against them, that they applied to lord *Preston*, the *English* ambassador at *Paris*. By his intervention they again compromised matters with the *English* *Hudson's-Bay* company, and *Radisson* received a pension from the court of *England*, which he held the remaining part of his life. In 1685, he sailed with two ships to secure the fort which he himself had built at the mouth of *St. Therese* river, and which was held by his nephew *Chouart*, son of *Grofeilliers*, with a garrison of no more than eight men; and upon *Radisson's* appearing before it, it was immediately surrendered with all the effects in it, which, according to the *French* accounts, amounted to a very considerable sum. a

NOTWITHSTANDING this blow, the *French* still continued to have a settlement on the river *St. Therese*; and it was agreed between the two courts, that the trade should be common to both nations. We have, in the history of *Canada*, given an account of the subsequent operations of the *French* from *Canada*, against the *English* *Hudson's-Bay* company; to such we refer our readers. Captain *John Abraham* was then the *English* governor of port *Nelson*, and *Henry Serjeant*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Nixon*, as governor of *Rupert* river. By this time, the chief factory was removed from fort *Rupert* to *Chickewan*, now called *Albany* river, which the governor made the place of his residence. His instructions from the company were, that he should repair every spring to *Charleton* island, with all the goods he possibly could collect together, to be put on board the company's ships, who were to rendezvous there; and that he should be particularly watchful against any surprize from the *French*. The company, at the same time, ordered *Serjeant* to settle a factory at a place called *Hayes* island, at the bottom of the bay, and another on *Charleton* island, where he built a fort, and kept some men in it, with warehouses and other conveniencies for trade. The great gains which the company made, had, about this time, tempted many of its servants to be unfaithful to them; and they were removed. The expence of supplying their settlements with provisions, made them recommend it strongly to the factory, to endeavour to raise corn and vegetables; but, though repeated attempts were made for that purpose, yet they came to nothing. In 1686, we find, the *Hudson's-Bay* company in possession of five settlements; namely *Albany* river, *Hayes* island, *Rupert's* river, fort *Nelson*, (or *York*) and *New Severn*. Their trade at all those settlements was very gainful, and from *Albany* river alone, they generally brought home 3500 beavers a year. The manner in which this trade was destroyed by the *French* has been already related. It happened fortunately for the *English* settlements, that very little regard was paid to their court by the *American* chiefs, and both nations were equally disgusted with the arrangement that had been made of port *Nelson*, being in common to both. *Denonville*, the governor of *Canada*, gave it as his opinion to the court of *France*, that all the three forts which they had taken from the *English* should be restored to them, rather than suffer them to have any communication with fort *Nelson*. In 1687, the *English* attacked fort *Quititchouen*, then called fort *St. Anne*; but they were repulsed by *Iberville*, who burnt one of their vessels, and a storehouse they had erected on the banks of the river. Those hostilities gave great uneasiness to the two courts, and several conferences were held upon them; but nothing effectual was done, when the revolution, which happened in *England* in 1688, embroiled affairs more than ever. The *French* were the first who profited by the breach; for, apprehending that the agents of the *Hudson's-Bay* company would not be upon their guard, *Frontenac*, who was now governor of *Canada*, had orders to drive the *English* from all their posts there. The reader has been already informed as to the success of this plan, to which we shall confine ourselves, and which extended much further than the conquest of *Hudson's-Bay*. b

DURING the campaign of the year 1689, the *French* were unfortunate in all their enterprises in *North America*, excepting at *Hudson's-Bay* alone, where *Iberville* commanded at fort *St. Lewis*, which lay at the bottom of the bay, and his lieutenant *la Ferte*, having taken prisoner one of the company's agents, found among his papers an order from the directors of his company, for proclaiming king *William* and queen *Mary*, and to maintain the company's right to the whole of the bay. According to the *French* account, this claim was supported by the appearance of two *English* ships, one of them of eighteen guns, the other ten, besides swivels, both of them loaded with a great number of small arms, and provisions of all kinds; the crews in the whole amounting to eighty-three men. Though the *French* had most infamously broken the capitulation which had been settled between the chevalier *de Troyes* and governor *Serjeant*, when they took fort *Albany*, and the company's other settlements, yet they exclaimed against the attempt of the *English* to retake them, as a scandalous breach of good faith. *Iberville's* garrison in fort *St. Anne*, otherwise called fort *Albany*, was but inconsiderable when the *English* summoned it to surrender: *Iberville* gave no determinate answer, and acted with so much cunning, that he deceived the *English* into c

Successes of the
French in
Hudson's-
Bay.

an

- a an opinion of his compliance. This rendered them so secure, that he found means to carry off twenty-one of their best men, their surgeon, and one of their principal officers: he then summoned them to surrender prisoners of war. The *English*, who were still forty able-bodied men, rejected the summons, though they were at that time in a miserable situation, being encamped on a small island, while their ships were jammed in by shoals of ice. *Iberville* ordered his brother *Maricourt* to harraßs them with a small party, both by land and on board their ships; and he himself in two days after supported them, and a cannonade ensued on both sides, without much loss to either. At last, *Iberville* renewed his summons for a surrender, and threatened, if it was not complied with, to give them no quarter. The *English*, in answer, pretended, that the fort belonged to them, and that the *French* had begun hostilities. *Iberville* paid no regard to those allegations, and demanded that not only the *English* should surrender prisoners of war, but that they should deliver up to him both their ships with their cargoes. After some consultation, this was agreed to, upon *Iberville* paying the officers their wages, which amounted to about 600 *l.* and upon his giving them a vessel, properly equipped, in which they might transport themselves elsewhere. *Iberville* took care that those officers should be attended by very few of their common men, and by none of their pilots, of whom they had eleven on board, carrying them all prisoners to *Quebec*, to which, with his two prizes, he repaired by an order from the governor of *Canada*. He arrived at *Quebec* on the 25th of *October*, 1689, having left his brother *Maricourt*, with no more than thirty-six men, to guard the posts at the bottom of the bay.

- c As we have little or no account of this expedition on the part of the *English*, we have been obliged to adopt the *French* account of it, though it is far from being satisfactory. There is, however, the greatest reason for believing that the company, perhaps by their own fault and niggardly disposition, was very ill-served by their officers, which might be the true cause of *Iberville's* success. Fort *Nelson* was at this time in the hands of the *English*; and *Iberville* designed to attack it with two *French* ships of war, but it was too late in the year 1692, and the *English*, by this time, had even recovered fort *St. Anne*. According to *Charlevoix*, *Iberville* had acquired so much credit by his conduct in *Hudson's-Bay*, that he gave some umbrage to *du Tast*, the *French* commandant, who had been sent with a strong d squadron, fitted out at the expence of the *French* northern company, to drive the *English* entirely from all their posts on that bay; and who, out of jealousy to *Iberville*, declined the service, on pretence that it was too late in the season to attempt it. The court of *England* highly resented the proceedings of the *French*, whom they accused of having surprised the company's possessions on *Hudson's-Bay*, in an infamous manner; and they were mentioned as such by king *William* in his declaration of war against the *French* king. *Thomas Phipps*, Esq; was then governor of port *Nelson*, and upon the breaking out of the war with *France*, some troops had been granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company for the defence of their remaining settlements. According to *Charlevoix*¹, fort *St. Anne*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, had no more than three men to defend it; and they made their escape to *Quebec*, leaving a great booty of skins in the fort. This, together with many other advantages gained by the *English* in the bay, determined *Iberville* to run all risks in dispossessing them of fort *Nelson*. This service had been often projected, and as often miscarried, as the *French* governors and officers in *Canada* were by no means fond of so painful an expedition, and which, though successful, was to be attended with no profit, but to the *French* northern company. *Iberville*, however, had received such encouragement from them, that he and *Serigny*, notwithstanding all their discouragements from the ice, arrived with two ships of war at the mouth of the river *St. Therese*, and landing the same night, they made themselves masters of fort *Nelson*, the name of which they changed to that of *Bourbon*; but they found there only a very inconsiderable booty; and they lost so many of their men by the scurvy, and other diseases, that the conquest was not worth the expence.

- f In the year 1696, the government of *England* granted a new recruit of force to the *Hudson's-Bay* company; and the *Bonaventure* and *Seaborse*, two men of war, were assigned to that service: *La Foret*, with a garrison of 68 *Canadians*, commanded in fort *Bourbon*, and on the 2d of *September*, four *English* ships and a bomb-ketch appeared in view of the fort. They were followed by *Serigny* and *de la Motte Egron*, the former in a *French* man of war, and the latter in one of the *French* northern company's ships; but, perceiving the strength of the *English*, they made the best of their way back, *Serigny* for *France*, and *de la Motte Egron* for *Quebec*; but he was wrecked in his voyage thither and drowned. The fort was summoned; but refusing to surrender, a brisk cannonade began, which lasted for a whole g day, and the *English*, in attempting to land, were at first repulsed by *Jeremy*, the ensign of

1696.
Progress of
the war.

¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 196.

the fort, and the same who has written a description of *Hudson's-Bay*, where he afterwards commanded himself for six years. The fort was then plied with bombs from the ketch, of which twenty-two fell into it, and *la Foret* was at last obliged to capitulate. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *English* granted the capitulation required by the *French*, but afterwards violated it. The sequel of *Iberville's* expedition against *Hudson's-Bay*, with the bad success attending them, is to be found in a former part of this work. We are to inform the reader, that captain *Allen* was the commodore of the *English* squadron, and that upon his return, he fought a *French* privateer of 50 guns, but was killed in the engagement. The loss of fort *Bourbon*, and the other *French* settlements, roused their government, and *Iberville* was at last furnished with a sufficient force, with which he recovered them in his turn from the *English*. The *French* were far from making all the advantages that this conquest might have been attended with. The *English*, though dispossessed of their forts, still preserved a considerable footing in the bay, where they carried on almost the whole trade, but not for the benefit of the company, the most of it going through private hands. This is the chief reason why the accounts we have of this valuable trade are so barren; for the *French* private merchants in like manner never suffered their northern company and their government, at whose expences all their conquests there had been made, to enjoy its profits. The *English* found means still to keep possession of fort *Albany*, which indeed remained unmolested through the weak condition of the *French* in *Hudson's-Bay*, where they had no more than sixteen men, under the sieur *Jeremy*, to garrison all their posts. Matters remained in this situation during all the war with *France*, under queen *Anne*. *Jeremy* lived there in a kind of exile, without receiving the smallest assistance from the *French* northern company. Finding himself unable to garrison fort *Bourbon*, he built a smaller fort towards the north, to which he transported all his powder, stores, and ammunition, with a view of retreating to it, if he should be attacked, the *English*, notwithstanding the war, carrying on the most profitable branches of the trade. At last, *Jeremy* and his small garrison came to be in want of every thing, and he was forced to send his lieutenant and seven other of his men to hunt during the months of *July* and *August*. They pitched their camp near a company of savages, who were reduced to the greatest misery for want of powder, by which they were deprived of all means of subsistence. They had, ever since the *Europeans* came among them, hunted a kind of a wild ass, called by the *French*, caribore. This creature is as swift as a deer, and is said to differ only in colour from the famous rein-deer of *Lapland*; but it is of the amphibious kind, and, according to *Jeremy's* account, between *Danish* river and fort *Nelson*, they are to be found for forty or fifty leagues, in herds of 10,000 at least. The savages of those parts depend upon this creature for their subsistence during a great part of the year; but having long lost the practice of bows and arrows, when they were destitute of powder, they could kill no game. They saw the *French*, on the other hand, hunting with great success, and destroying abundance, but without being so hospitable as to invite them to partake; and therefore, it was no wonder, if those wretches, over-loaded as they were with misery, laid a scheme for mastering them, and acquiring the spoils of those successful huntsmen. They invited two of them to a feast in their cabins, where they immediately murdered them: they then butchered five others, who were asleep in their tent; but a sixth, who was only wounded, escaped, though with the utmost difficulty, towards fort *Bourbon*, where he related to *Jeremy* the massacre of his companions. He found it in vain to think of guarding his two posts with no more than nine men; and therefore he shut himself up in fort *Bourbon*, while the savages, with great ease, made themselves masters of the other fort, and all the ammunition that was in it. In this uncomfortable situation, he maintained himself till the treaty of *Utrecht* took place, which provided for the restitution of *Hudson's-Bay*, in the following terms.

Frenchmen
murdered.

Hudson's-
Bay restored
to England
by the treaty
of Utrecht.

“ARTICLE X. The said Most Christian king shall restore to the kingdom and queen of *Great Britain*, to be possessed in full right for ever, the bay and streights of *Hudson*, together with all lands, seas, sea coasts, rivers, and places, situate in the said bay and streights, and which belong thereto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted, which are at present possessed by the subjects of *France*. All which, as well as any buildings there made, in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the *French* seized the same, shall, within six months, from the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the *British* subjects, having commission from the queen of *Great Britain* to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the cannon, and cannon ball, and with the other provision of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the company of *Quebec*, and all the other subjects of the Most Christian king whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said bay; together with all their goods, merchandize, arms, and effects, of what nature or condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this article.

“ARTICLE

a "ARTICLE XI. The abovementioned Most Christian king shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity, to the *English* company, traders to the bay of *Hudson*, for all damage and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons, and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the *French* in time of peace, an estimate to be made thereof by commissaries to be named at the reduction of each party."

SINCE that time the company has remained in full possession of this important trade, which has prospered in their hands more, perhaps, than any in the *British* dominions. Before the time of the peace of *Utrecht*, the value of it was but little known, on account of the losses and interruptions it met with; but it has since improved so greatly, that several attempts have been made to abridge their privileges, though hitherto without effect, and the trade encreased every day, as well as the profits of the company, till the last peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. This bay is famous for the attempts it has given rise towards finding out the north-west passage to the *East Indies* and *China*; and, as we have observed, its discovery was owing to such attempts. It is therefore proper, in this place, to lay before our readers an historical account of that made by the *English*; but in doing this, we shall avoid, as much as possible, all philosophical and geographical disquisitions.

THE irregularity of tides in *Hudson's-Bay* is one great argument, that it receives more water than comes from the streights, or any inlet into it hitherto discovered; and it is likewise probable, that those tides come by the west; but whether by an open practicable passage, or by a frozen impracticable one, is the great doubt. We shall not trouble our readers with many conjectures, though some of them bear a great face of probability, that have been published in almost all languages concerning the reality of this passage, in the early times of improved *European* navigation. Sir *Martin Forbisher* is the first *Englishman* upon whose attempts to find out this passage we can rely with any solidity. In the year 1576, he arrived at the height of sixty-two degrees of north latitude, where he discovered the streights which since bear his name, and he sailed up them for sixty leagues with land on each side. This land was inhabited, and the natives sailed in those seal-skin canoes that are safe in the most tempestuous seas. They traded with the *English* crew, whom they furnished with fish in exchange for toys, and the *English* brought off from them some ore, which, upon trial, was found to contain only black-lead. Upon *Forbisher's* return, he reported, that he had discovered a silver mine, but that it lay too deep to be wrought. In 1577, he undertook a second voyage, and gave *English* names to the places he touched at, or saw; and next year a third, in five vessels. On the 10th of *May*, he discovered what he called *Western England*, being the same with *West Friezeland*, which had been before discovered by the *Venetians*; and he took possession of it in queen *Elizabeth's* name. In 1579, Sir *Francis Drake* assured queen *Elizabeth*, that he had sailed some leagues up the streights of *Anian*, and discovered *New Albion* to the north of *California*; but of this country we have very inadequate ideas; nor were *Drake's* discoveries afterwards improved. In 1580, *Arthur Pratt* and *Charles Jackman*, by queen *Elizabeth's* orders, pursued a discovery, which was said to have been made before by one *Stephen Borroughs*, an *Englishman*, towards finding out the north-west passage; but their voyage proved unsuccessful by the vast shoals of ice, and other difficulties they encountered.

WE have already more than once mentioned the voyage that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, by the direction of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, made to *Newfoundland*; which he took possession of in queen *Elizabeth's* name. He undertook it upon the information of a *Greek* mariner, who had affirmed, that he had passed through a great strait into the north of *Virginia*. But he died before he came to *England*; and we hear nothing farther of the attempt; *Gilbert*, in settling the *Newfoundland* trade, having performed a great and a beneficial service to his country. In 1585, Mr. *John Davis*, in two barks, discovered cape *Desolation*, which is supposed to be a part of *Greenland*; and after trading with the natives for peltry-ware and fish, he proceeded as far as the latitude of 64 deg. 40 min. where he discovered mount *Raleigh*, *Totness* sound, and other places to which he gave names. Next year, he sailed towards the west; and the year after, he advanced as far as latitude 72 deg. 12 min. the compass varying 82 deg. to the westward. He here discovered a coast, to which he gave the name of *London*, and the strait which is still called after himself. *Hudson*, the discoverer of the streights we are now to describe, did not apply to find out a north-west passage, till he had failed in discovering a south-east one. He is said to have proceeded an hundred leagues farther than any had done before. He gave the names of the then royal family to several capes he discovered, and fanciful names to others; such as *Desire-Provokes*, *God's Mercy*, and the like: but he could do nothing effectual, being prevented by the ice, and the discontents of his crew. In 1611, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the desire and command of *Henry* prince of *Wales*, sailed through *Hudson's Streights*, and wintered at port *Nelson*, in search of the north-west passage; but all he could do was to discover the bay which goes by his own name, and a tract of land which he called *Cary's Swan's-nest*.

History of attempts for a north-west passage,

by Forbisher,

Sir Francis Drake,

Gilbert and others.

Voyage of
captain
James, and his
opinion against
the passage;

which is an-
swered.

THOSE discoveries seemed but to excite a farther spirit in the *English* for finding out the so much desired passage. In this the merchants had a secondary view; for the expence of the attempt was amply repaid by the vast profits attending the voyage, from their commerce with the savages. In 1612, 1615, and 1616, *James Hall* and *William Baffin* proceeded farther towards the north-west than any navigator had ever done before, and gave *English* names to the places they discovered. At this time, the *English* had thirteen or fourteen ships employed in those seas; but it does not appear that they made any settlements, or, indeed, that they could have made any in those inhospitable and almost uninhabitable tracts. *Baffin's-Bay* was discovered by Sir *William Baffin*, in 1622, though some say sooner, and lies to the north of *Davis's-Streights*. In 1630, king *Charles I.* sent captain *Luke Fox* out in one of his pinnaces, named the *Charles*, victualled for eighteen months: he followed the traces of former navigators, and had their difficulties to struggle with. In port *Nelson*, he found some remains of former *English* navigators, and he there built a pinnacle. Next year, captain *James* was fitted out by the merchants of *Bristol* for the same purpose; and, running over a large bay to the westward of port *Nelson*, he named the land about it *New South Wales*. Hereabouts he met with captain *Fox*, but they were soon separated by bad weather. *James*, before his return, discovered cape *Henrietta Maria*, with various other islands, to which he gave the name of *English* favourites about court; and wintering in latitude 52, he there built a pinnacle out of his ship, in which he returned home in 1632. This *James* was one of the most able and judicious navigators that ever sailed from *England*, or any other country; and his voyages to the north were printed in 1633. As they are still held in vast esteem, having been since reprinted, we shall in the notes (O) give our reader his very weighty reasons for believing that no such passage exists; or, if it does, that the discovery of it would not be attended with those advantages that are commonly believed. Those reasons, however, have been attempted to be answered. There being no north-west passage, is still a matter of doubt, and cannot well be cleared up, unless colonies were fixed upon the lands adjoining to *Hudson's-Bay*, with a reward for making discoveries both by land and water; and the reasoning built upon the tides, is said not only to be conclusive, but to afford strong arguments for the passage. As to his second argument, that no fish, especially whales, are to be met with in those seas, the reasoning holds good only about *Charleton* island. Later voyagers have indisputably proved, that many whales are to be seen in those parts, especially at the opening of *Wager* river, which affords a presumption, that such a passage may open on the north-west part of *Hudson's-Bay*. As to his reasoning against the passage; because the ice in latitude 65°. 30'. lying along the shore as sands, and drives eastward, as he calls them, the same thing is said to happen in *Magellan* streights, which open a passage to the *South-Seas*; and their existence was formerly as much doubted of by the famous *Americus Vespucius*, as that of the north was by captain *James*. Granting all the captain says to be true, about the commodiousness of the passage by the way of cape of the *Good Hope*, yet, according to his own confession, it would be nearer to the *South-Seas* and the northern part of *China*. Add to this, that the hardships of the

(O) What has been long ago fabled by some *Portuguese*, says he, that should have come this way out of the *South-Sea*, the mere shadows of whose mistaken relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. These hopes have stirred up, from time to time, the more active spirits of this kingdom to research this merely imagined passage. For my own part, I give no credit to them at all; and, as little to the vicious and abusive wits of later *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who never speak of any difficulties, as shoal-water, ice, nor sight of land, but as if they had been brought home in a dream, or engine. And, indeed, their discourses are found absurd; and the maps, by which some of them have practised to deceive the world, mere falsities; making sea where there is known to be main land, and land where there is nothing but sea.

“Most certain it is, that, by the industry of our own nation, those northern parts of *America* have been discovered to the latitude of 80 degrees and upwards. And it has been so curiously done, the labours of several men being joined together, that the main land has been both seen and searched, and they have brought this supposed passage to this pass, that it must be to the north of 66 degrees of latitude: a cold climate, pestered with ice, and other inconveniencies; and where the *Spaniards* dispositions, and their weak ships, can hardly endure it: and withal, it is known, that the entrance of *Hudson's-Streights* is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not so much; and between *Salisbury* island and the main

land is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northward, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from main to main: this in length is about 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, until *August*, and some years not passable then; and I believe the streight is never entirely clear of ice. Now it is most probable there is no passage, for the following reasons:

“First, There is a constant tide, flood and ebb, setting into *Hudson's-Streights*, the flood still coming from the eastward; which, as it proceeds correspondent to the distance, it alters its time at full sea. This also entering into bays, and broken grounds, becomes distracted, and reverses with half tides.

“Secondly, here are no small fish, as cod, and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen: nor are there any bones of whales, sea-horses, or other great fish, to be found on the shore; nor any drift-wood.

“Thirdly, we found the ice, in latitude 65. 30. to be lying all over the sea, in rands; and I am most certain, that the shoals and shoals-bays are the mother of it. Had there been any ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to pieces; for so we found it coming from the streight into the sea to the eastward.

“Fourthly, the ice seeks its way to the eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's-Streights*; which I have often observed upon the island of *Desolation*, and driving among the ice in the streight.

“Admit there were a passage, yet it is known that it

a voyage towards the north-west are now but inconsiderable in comparison of what captain James represents them.

WITH regard to other circumstances in this much disputed point, it is certain, that a factory has subsisted for some years at fort Churchill, which is in a higher latitude than Charleton island, beyond which captain James thought no settlement could be made. It appears now, on the continent, west and north-west from Charleton island, is inhabited, and that in many places the Indians there are better clothed, and more civilized than they were in any part of North America, before the arrival of the French and English. One of those nations, called Mosemlecks, deserve particular notice, as they lie upon the remote parts of Hudson's Bay. They are, in consequence of their being civilized, rational and conversable; and they have always stuck to their assertion, that to the north-west of them lie a people, who live in towns, who trade with one another upon a large lake, in vessels, each of them twenty times as big as their canoes. Beyond those people, they pretend to give no account of any inhabitants. Could those accounts be relied on, they would go far towards justifying even farther attempts towards a north-west passage; but as there is some likelihood that the French Canadian jesuits have had an intercourse with those Mosemlecks, we have the less dependence upon their reports.

FROM the time of captain James to about the year 1730, the probability of a north-west passage was always mentioned as a speculation, with few attempts to carry it into practice. At the above time, Mr. Dobbs, an Irish gentleman, collected together all the voyages that had been made for this discovery, and laid an abstract of them, by way of letter, before colonel Bladen, then one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, with an intention to prevail with the South Sea company to try the whale-fishery at the Welcome, that they might there have an opportunity of discovering a north-west passage. The extent of the privileges granted to the Hudson's-Bay company proved an invincible obstacle to this proposal; and soon after, the South-Sea company quitted all thoughts of the whale-fishing, which till then they had carried on in Davis's streights, and by which they lost money. In 1733, Mr. Dobbs laid before Sir Charles Wager, who was then first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, his reasons for a probability of finding out the passage, which Sir Charles, who was himself a very able navigator, thought so feasible, that he mentioned them to Mr. Jones, then deputy-governor of the Hudson's-Bay company. The latter endeavoured all he could to dissuade him from prosecuting the project, and, among other reasons, informed Sir Charles, that in 1719, the company had fitted out two ships, under one Barlow, for the discovery of the passage, but that they had never after been heard of; that their wrecks were afterwards seen in latitude 62, by the crew of a sloop they sent to enquire after them.

MR. Dobbs receiving this intelligence from Wager, was, by his recommendation, introduced to Mr. Jones; but easily found from him, that either no such attempt had been made, or that the gentlemen of the Hudson's-Bay company were very glad it had miscarried; as such a discovery would have been, by no means, for their interest. Upon Mr. Dobbs's perusing the Hudson's-Bay company's charter in 1735, (an extract of which we have already given) he was surprized to find it so extensive; but at the same time considering that the benefit of all discoveries was to result to the company, he applied to Sir Bibye Lake, who was perpetual governor of the same, and laid before him the same manuscript which he had communicated to colonel Bladen. Sir Bibye, without entering much into the merits of the question, informed Dobbs, that the company having already lost 7 or 8000 l. upon the dis-

it is narrow, for 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, as every one has found who has gone that way. Comparing, therefore some observations taken at Bantam, Gilcla, and Firando in Japan, and the distance between Japan and the western part of California, with the observations taken at Charleton island, referring all to the meridian of London, and then the distance between the meridian of cape Charles, and the western part of California will be found to be about 500 leagues, in latitude 66, where yet the meridians incline very much together.

"To this may be added, that about cape Charles the variation is 29 degrees to the west; which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the westward; and that this streight must be very long; and you have no time to pass it, but in August and September, when the nights are so long, and the weather so cold, that it will not be durable.

"Add to this, that no great ships, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, can endure the ice, and other inconveniencies, without extraordinary danger.

"Moreover, 1000 leagues are sooner failed to the southward, and about the cape de Bona Speranza (of Good-Hope) where the winds are constant, and that with

safety, than 100 leagues in those seas, where you must daily run the hazard of losing ship and lives. Put hereto, that no comfort for the sick, nor refreshment for your men, is to be had in these quarters. Towards the latter end of August, and in September, the weather grows tempestuous, and the winds incline to be westerly; so that there will be but small hope of performing your voyage this way.

"But let us, by way of imagination only, enlarge this streight in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage in speedy performance, will be got by this passage, if the winds be withal considered? To Japan, China, and the northern parts of Asia, it may be the nearer cut. But in navigation, the farthest way about is well known in fewer days to be performed, yea, with lesser pains, and more safety of ships and goods.

"Again; to the East-Indies, and other parts, where we have the greatest commerce, and employment of shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in those northern parts of Asia, I will not presume to speak of; holding, that there is a great difference betwixt those parts and the northern parts of America; whereas I am sure there is none in any place where I have been all this voyage."

History of Mr. Dobbs's and captain Middleton's attempt.

covery, were resolved to be at no farther expence about it. At last, upon *Dobbs's* remonstrances, he agreed, that one or two small ships, as the voyage would cost nothing, should go from *Churchill* to *Ne Ultra*, or the *Welcome*, and there try the height and directions of the tides; and if they there found a passage free from the ice, with a westerly direction, they might proceed fifty or sixty leagues farther; and if they there met with a tide of flood, they might return, and by sending home duplicates of their journal, the matter might be determined. As the company was then about erecting a stone fort at *Churchill*, being apprehensive of a *French* war, they delayed the execution of the project at that time, but promised to take the first opportunity of putting it in practice.

Hudson's-
Bay company
averse to it.

Mr. *Dobbs* made use of this interval to get acquainted with one captain *Middleton*, who had been very conversant in those seas, and in all the measures that had been taken towards discovering a north-west passage. From him he learned, that one *Scroggs* had commanded the sloop that was sent to enquire after *Barlow's* ships: and Mr. *Dobbs*, in the year 1739, obtained a sight of the journal kept by *Scroggs*, who, according to *Middleton*, was a man very unfit for such an undertaking; and the reader will in the notes meet with an extract of the journal (P), which is very curious, and published here, because companies in general are far from being communicative of papers of that kind which may affect themselves. From the perusal of this journal, Mr. *Dobbs* was confirmed in his opinion, that a north-west passage might be found out about the *Welcome*, on the north-west part of *Hudson's-Bay*, about the latitude of 64 degrees, and for the following reasons: first, because the coast in those parts consisted of broken lands and islands, with large openings between them;

(P) "June 22d, 1722, he sailed from *Churchill*, in 59 north, and longitude from the meridian of *London*, 95 west. In the latitude 62, he traded with the *Indians* for whalebone and sea-horse teeth. Monday, July the 9th, in the evening, he anchored in 12 fathoms. The weather for several days before had been hazy and thick, and he drove into this depth. When it cleared up, he found himself about nine or ten miles from the north-side of the *Welcome*, in latitude, by account, 64. 33. north. He saw several islands bearing from the south-west by west, to the south-west by south, and a headland at the same time, which bore east-north-east about three leagues distant. This he named *Whale-bone-Point*, after the name of his sloop. July the 10th, at seven in the morning, he sent his six oared boat on shore, with seven hands, and two northern *Indians*. Mr. *Norton*, who is now governor at *Churchill*, was then pateroon of the boat, and spoke the northern *Indian* tongue: the two *Indians* had been entertained at the factory all the foregoing winter, upon the account of this discovery. They gave us intimation of a rich copper mine, that lay near the surface of the earth, and said, they could direct the sloop or ship to lie by it, where she might load very soon. We had several pieces of copper brought down to *Churchill*, which made it evident there is a mine somewhere in that country. These *Indians* sketched out the land with charcoal, upon a skin of parchment, before they left the factory; and as far as the sloop went, they found it agree very well.

"*Scroggs* says he saw both sides of the *Welcome*, from the south back to the west, being up in the very cod of the *Welcome*, as he terms it. The land is as high as in *Hudson's-Streights*, as he and his men all agreed, and that land we can see very well, in clear weather, 15 or 20 leagues off. Where he continued at anchor, he mentions it was very good ground. He always continued the variation the same as at *Churchill*, for he knew not how to observe it. It was then 26 deg. west, and is now but 20 deg. west at *Churchill*; though we find in the same latitude, 50 or 60 leagues to the eastward, almost 50 degrees variation westerly, which makes the *Welcome* above two points nearer the meridian.

"Tuesday, July the 10th, he continued at anchor in the same place; and the boat returned on board at six o'clock in the afternoon. He says, they saw several black and white whales here. At four the next morning, they went on shore again, with the aforesaid *Indians*, and came back about five in the evening. They found none of the natives, but plenty of deer, wildgeese, and ducks: some of the deer they killed. He says, it ebbs five fathoms where he lay at anchor; for they anchored in twelve fathoms of high-water, as Mr. *Norton* this year also confirmed to me; and they found but se-

ven fathoms at low-water. At noon, he and his mate observed the latitude to be 64. 56. north. Here he named the southernmost island, that bore south-west by south, cape *Lullerton*, after one of our directors.

"Wednesday, July the 11th, continued in the same place at anchor. He observed the latitude again, and found it as before, 64. 56. north, by a good observation. His mate, he tells us, agreed with him. He sent the boat up to the cod of the bay, as he terms it, to sound, and the two northern *Indians* went in her. One of them, he says, had a desire to go home, which he told them was but three or four days journey from them, but they detained him by fair words and promises.

"Thursday, the 12th of July, at four in the afternoon, the boat returned from the shore. He gives us no account of the soundings, though they were sent for that purpose; but he asserts, there was a bar cross the *Welcome*, and that they could go no farther. All the men agreed, when they returned, that they were at least ten leagues from what he would have to be a bar. At five in the afternoon, he weighed from that place, where he laid at anchor ever since the 9th instant, and steered out south-east by compass for two miles, and then south-west by ditto, about four or five miles more. Here he sounded in 45 fathoms, and continued sailing to the south-west quarter.

"July the 13th, observed the latitude at noon to be 64. 39. and had forty to fifty fathoms water. The next day, the 14th, returning home, he found the latitude, by observation, to be 64. 20. and the soundings sixty to seventy fathoms. These soundings he called the mid-channel. In latitude 64. 13. by observation at noon, on the south, or rather east side of the *Welcome*, the flood came on so strong, and hove them so near the said south, or east, shore, that he was obliged to come to an anchor in ten fathoms. He does not say from whence the flood came, nor does he ever give his opinion of it, during his whole voyage in his journal; but being set on to the east-side, it must come from the northward, according to the course of the *Welcome*.

"July the 15th, he crossed the *Welcome* in seventy fathoms, and observed the latitude to be 64. 15. He makes the *Welcome* to be fifteen or twenty leagues broad in this latitude, from side to side, by computing the distance from his log-book. He saw many whales in latitude 64. 8.

"Governor *Kelley*, in his journal 1720, takes notice, that in latitude 63. on the west-side of the *Welcome*, the tide comes strong from the north-east, which is near the course of the *Welcome*. He calls it a soaking tide, and says it flows neap and spring-tides, from 12 to 17 feet.

secondly,

- a secondly, because the tides set strongly from the west and north-west; and, thirdly, because the black whales, which were often seen there, must come from the western ocean, as none such had ever been discovered in any part of the bay. In *January*, 1735-6, the *Hudson's-Bay* company seeming inclined to encourage the prosecution of the discovery, Mr. *Dobbs*, in the *April* following, laid before Sir *Bibye Lake* his sentiments of the manner in which it ought to be prosecuted. He was of opinion, that two small sloops, neither of them drawing above four feet water, were necessary, and that they ought to keep particular journals of their course till they came to the latitude of 64. They were there to be extremely curious and exact in their observations upon the nature of the tides, the appearances of the land, the quantities of ice they discovered, and the fish and whales they met with. "And if, said he, they find an open sea to the westward, after they pass 63 degrees, and the land should fall away to the westward, and the tide of flood meets them and an earlier moon makes full sea, then the passage is gained; and they may sail 50 or 100 leagues farther westward, and look out for a harbour for ships, which may go next season, and then return to *Churchill*, for fear of any disaster; and send over a journal to the company of their observations. By proceeding after this manner, a discovery may be made for a trifling expence; as one summer may ascertain whether there is a passage or not."
- b

- THIS discovery became a matter of so much importance, that in 1737, the company sent out two sloops upon it: but besides their being very improperly manned, they only proceeded to the 32d, one 4th degree north; and though they returned without making any great discoveries, yet the abundance of black whales they saw, and the tides they met with, flowing from the northward, raised the expectation of all concerned, that the discovery might be completed. The truth is, the expedition undertaken by those two sloops, seems to have been no other than a sham contrived by the company, in compliance with the impatience of the public, which became now very inquisitive about the discovery. Mr. *Dobbs* more than suspected this, and thought he had a right to demand, which he did, a sight of the journal of the two sloops from Sir *Bibye Lake*. All the satisfaction he could obtain was, that the two sloops, well manned, and well victualled, had set sail early in the spring from *Churchill*; but that, though they remained out till the 22d of *August*, they could find no inlets on the western coast to the north of that fort. He, at the same time, excused himself to Mr. *Dobbs*, from intermeddling any farther in an affair, for which he had already incurred some blame from the company, as it had cost them so much money. This convinced Mr. *Dobbs*, and his friends, that the company were averse to any such discovery, though it is certain, that the intention of granting them their charter, with such ample powers and privileges as it contained, was chiefly with a view of making that discovery. Mr. *Dobbs* very justly remarked; that the commanders of the sloops either had received no serious orders for the purposes they pretended to set about, or that they trifled away their time; as it appeared, that from the beginning of the spring to the 22d of *August*, they had not sailed 200 leagues, which is no more than the distance between *Churchill* and *Ne Ultra*, and that it was ridiculous for them to pretend to be afraid of entering latitude 66, as the whale-fishers at *Spitzbergen* and *Baffin's Bay*, sail every year to 78 and 80 degrees.
- c
- d

Mr. *Dobbs* now resolved to apply elsewhere for encouragement to his favourite scheme. He received a letter from Mr. *Middleton*, informing him confidentially, that he did not apprehend that the company were friends to the discovery, and that therefore it must be undertaken under the protection and encouragement of the government, by an able man; but that, for his own part, having an allowance from the company, he could not engage in such an undertaking, but upon a certainty. Upon the whole, however, Mr. *Middleton* was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, if properly attended to. Mr. *Dobbs* now applied to the fountain-head. He informed Sir *Charles Wager*, the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who was auditor-general of *America*, and colonel *Bladen*, of the usage he had received from the company; and acquainted Sir *Charles*, that he despaired of success, unless the admiralty sent out two sloops. The reader will find in the notes a very sensible answer (Q), which Sir *Charles*, according to his usual affability and public

Mr. Dobbs applies to the government.

(Q) "Sir,
I received the favour of your letter of the 20th inst. I believe you judge very right, that all the *Hudson's-Bay* company do not desire to have any body interfere with them in the fur-trade in those parts: they seem to be content with what they have, and make (I believe) a more considerable profit by it than if it should be farther extended, which might be the case, if a farther discovery was made: for though they should not find a navigable passage through into the *South-Sea*, they might, probably, find *Indian* nation, from whom furs

might be bought cheaper than they are bought in *Hudson's-Lay*; and that would be a disadvantage to their trade.

"The probabilities of finding a passage as you propose, seem to be very strong; the flood coming that way is almost a demonstration: what difficulties may be in the execution cannot be foreseen. If a passage could be found into the *South-Sea*, it would open a very large field: and very probably, of a very profitable commerce: but the first projectors, let the affair succeed never so well, have seldom, if ever, found their account

Middleton's
instructions,

spirit, returned to Mr. *Dobbs's* application; but as *Great Britain* was then on the eve of a war with *Spain*, the government had neither men, money, nor ships, to spare for the discovery. In the mean while, Mr. *Dobbs* received another letter from Mr. *Middleton*, acquainting him, that he had that year been at *Churchill* factory, where the governor, Mr. *Norton*, who had sailed with *Scroggs*, was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, and that very year some of the natives, who had come down to trade at *Churchill*, and had never before been at any *English* settlement, informed them, that they frequently traded with *Europeans* on the west parts of *America*, in the latitude of *Churchill*, which Mr. *Middleton* thought confirmed the opinion that the two seas must unite. Mr. *Dobbs*, upon this, procured a commission for captain *Middleton* to command the *Furnace* sloop, which was fitted out by the government for the discovery of the north-west passage, and which was to be attended by the *Discovery* pink, *William Moor*, master. *Middleton's* instructions were to proceed from the *Orkney* islands directly to *Hudson's-Strights*, from thence to *Cary's Swan's-Nest*, and then to the *Welcome*. Being come up with the *Whalebone Point*, in 65, he was to try the best passage in doubling that land, whether to the eastward or westward, in case it were an island; and on which side soever he should meet the tide of flood, to direct his course north, so as to meet the tide, whether westerly or southerly. If after doubling that cape, he found either a streight, or an open sea, he was to keep on his course, still meeting the tide of flood; and if it were so wide as to lose sight of land, then to keep the larboard, or *American* shore, steering south westerly, so as to take the bearings of the land, and soundings; and observe whether there were any inlets, bays, or rivers, to shelter the ships, in case bad weather, or contrary winds, obliged him to take harbour: and there he was to make the best plans he could of such harbours and charts of the coast*. When he came to the southward of 60 degrees north, if he continued to find an open sea, he was to make more observations of the same kind, till he made the latitude of 50 degrees, or any more southerly, in case he found it convenient to winter on the western side of *America*: but if he should find it more convenient to return into the bay to winter, or could secure a passage home in time, after making a discovery of a passage to the western ocean of *America*, in order to prosecute the discovery to advantage next summer, then he was to proceed no farther southerly than 50 or 60 degrees north latitude, and to make all proper observations. If he found any inhabitants, he was to cultivate a friendship with them, but cautiously. If he wintered on the other side of the passage, it was not to be more northerly than latitude 42. He was to take with him seeds of fruit-trees, plants, grain, and pulse, for sowing. If he met with inhabitants, he was to make purchases for the crown of *Great-Britain*; but in places where no inhabitants were found, he was to take possession by setting up proper inscriptions. If, in his passage, he met with any ships from which he apprehended danger, he was to proceed no farther, but return, till a sufficient force could be sent out to begin a trade, and make a settlement; and in all cases not provided for by his instructions, he was to consult with his officers.

his voyage.

WE know of no accidents Mr. *Middleton* met with till his arrival at *Churchill*, from whence he sailed the 1st of *July*, 1742, and from thence he proceeded to the north side of the *Welcome*, where he saw a great deal of ice on shore, and continued to make his observations according to his instructions. Soon after he found himself and his companion pink jammed in with the ice, which reached for ten leagues to the windward. In this condition

* System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 795.

in it. However, that should not hinder others from exerting themselves in the discovering any thing that may be advantageous to the public; but a spirit of that kind seems to have been asleep for many years. War may have, perhaps, prevented, in some measure, and diverted men's thoughts from any enterprize of that nature. I confess, I have myself had thoughts of that kind, and especially, since I read your manuscript of a probability of a north-west passage to the *South-Sea*; but I have found but very few that were willing to bestow any thoughts about it. I remember lord *Grenard* and I have talked about it sometimes, but it was but talk; other things, and business nearer home, have employed our time and thoughts too. I think the best way to undertake such a discovery, is to have, as you propose, two proper vessels, to go at a proper time of the year, and to winter there, if it was found necessary; and to carry with them a cargo, not a great one, of goods proper to trade with the *Indians* they meet with; and capable and honest people to be employed, if such are to be found in the world, which I doubt; and ten or a dozen persons, or more, if thought proper, engaged in it, who

would advance money sufficient to carry it on; who may, in time, if it should succeed, be better intitled to the name of the North-west or *South-Sea* company, than the present *South Sea* company is to that name, who are not permitted to trade in any one place within the limits of their charter, which made such an éclat at the first establishing it. If this should be once agreed on, and proper persons be found to join in it, it may then be considered what authority may be proper to obtain from the crown, that the first who go and succeed, may not only beat the bush, and others come afterwards to catch the hare: for though I do not much like exclusive companies, where it is not absolutely necessary; yet I would not have the advantages that may be found by some, be given away to others. As to vessels being sent at the publick expence, though it would not be great, yet the parliament may think, especially at this time, that we ought not to play with the money they give us, for other and particular services. However, if Sir *Robert Walpole*, or some other proper persons, should think that the government should attempt it at the publick expence, I shall not be against it. I am, &c."

they

- a they lay two or three days in great danger of being forced ashore; but at last the ice separated, and left him room for a kind of traverse-sailing, till they discovered a head land to the northward of *Whalebone-Point*, in the latitude of 65 degrees, 10 minutes north, which he named *Cape Dobbs*. Seeing there a fair opening, bearing north-west, he stood in for it, in the terms of his instructions, being surrounded all the time with what he calls sailing ice, or ice parted into shoals, with openings between them. Proceeding a little way, he was in great danger of those shoals; and finding it impossible to keep afloat among them, he sent off his lieutenant in the boat to look out for a securer place for the ship. In the mean while, some *Esquimaux Indians* came on board of him, as he was then very near the shore; and they having nothing to trade in, were civilly dismissed, with some presents, by the captain.
- b His ship was at last secured, but with great difficulty; but while he lay there, he found, for three weeks successively, the flood constantly to come from the eastward, and that he had got into a large river, so full of ice as to render the navigation impracticable as well as dangerous. From thence he sent his lieutenant and master to look out for a harbour towards the mouth of the river; but they found none: and it was next to a miracle that they ever again got on board.

- MIDDLETON* having some *Indians* on board, sent them on shore to try if they knew any thing of the land; but appearing totally ignorant of it, he was obliged to continue there for three weeks, and employed that time in taking draughts of the river, to which he gave the name of *Wager*. The river being a little cleared of ice, he got into the lat. of 66 deg. 14 minutes, where he saw a head-land, which he named *Cape Hope*, thinking it to be the northernmost part of all *America*. They then proceeded with great spirits till they got into the lat. of 66 deg. and 40 minutes; and here the captain, according to his own account, found himself imbayed, and neither ebb nor flood, but deep water. From this he concluded, that he had overshot the streights on the north-east shore, from whence the flood came, and where he resolved to search for a strait or opening. After this, the captain, according to his own account, went on shore, and making the most accurate searches both by sea and land that he could, he found the whole extent of the strait, which was 16 or 18 leagues, and 6 or 7 broad, with very high lands on both sides, and small islands both in the middle and towards the shores. But all was froze from side to side, with no appearance of its being cleared of the ice that year; and the water close to the shore being so deep as to afford no anchoring to the ships, and at the same time vast shoals of ice driving with the ebb and flood, while they were every minute expecting thick weather. From all those considerations, it was resolved in council, to make the best of their way out of that dangerous narrow strait, and to take observations between the 64th and 62d degree of latitude. He accordingly bore away, and tried the tides on the other side of the *Welcome*, but met with little encouragement, though he saw some small islands and deep bays, and some black whales, of the right whalebone kind. While he was thus working off and on *Brook Cobham*, an island so called, finding the floods still came from the eastward, he sent the northern *Indians* on shore upon it; and they reported, that it did not lie far from their own country, to which they had a great desire to return, they being tired of a sea-life. The captain accordingly furnished them with a small boat, well fitted with sails and oars, which they knew how to handle, it being laden with fire-arms, powder, shot, hatchets, and whatever could be desirable to them. That same evening, being the 15th of *August*, he bore away for *England*, where he arrived with his company, greatly afflicted with the scurvy and other disorders.
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He sends Indians on shore;

fails in his discovery:

- SUCH was the event of this celebrated voyage; and Mr. *Middleton's* report seemed at first satisfactory to the public, and to Mr. *Dobbs* himself; till, upon farther enquiry, some doubts arose, that *Middleton* was too much in the interest of the *Hudson's Bay* company for him to be hearty in the discovery. When *Dobbs* examined his journal, and compared it with other informations, he concluded, that *Middleton* actually had been in the passage, and that what he called *Wager's* river, was not a fresh water river, but a strait, and the mouth of the passage itself. This opinion received great countenance from lieutenant *Rankin*, and the petty officers of the *Furnace*, whose papers proved that many material circumstances, particularly with regard to the ice and the fresh water, had been altered or misrepresented. *Rankin's* report was as follows; "July the 29th, 1742, I was ordered with the master to take the six oared boat, and go up *Savage-Sound*, as high as *Deer-Sound*, and try the tides. I find that the flood there comes from the river *Wager*; it flowed there ten feet water. We then sailed from *Deer-Sound* for the high bluff land, on the north-west side of the river *Wager*. The course from the islands off the north side of *Deer-Sound*, is north-west, and north-west by north, by compass. We sounded all the way over, and had no ground with a line of 68 fathoms, to the high bluff land. We then run up a branch of the main river, sounded and found, 50 fathoms one third over the branch. There were several islands in it. Sounded about a league off the north side, and found 30 fathoms water. In running between the islands and the supposed main, which was on the west-side
- MOD. HIST. VOL. XV. U u of

Reasons why.

of that branch, the tide or freshes suddenly turned against us, the boat altering the land very much before. Sounded near some of the islands and had no ground at 68 fathoms. As we run up, we sounded near a small island, and had 29 fathoms. We steered west-north-west between the islands and the west-land by compass, there being several islands in the fair way, and no ground in the middle of the channel at 68 fathoms. We went about 15 leagues above *Deer-Sound*, and saw a fresh or run of water coming against us; and the wind being fair, I was afraid to stay any longer for fear of hindering the ships from going to sea. There is a great probability of an opening to the west side, by the coming in of the whales; but I could not go higher up, for the abovementioned reason. We went to the top of a high mountainous land, from whence we saw a great run or fall of water between the west land and the islands. It was very dangerous, seemingly not a mile broad; and at the same time saw a fair channel or streight to the northward of the islands, with land on both sides, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*, running away to the westward, with many bluff points and broken lands. In coming down we saw several very large black whales playing about the boat and in shore."

THIS information was greatly strengthened by the declaration which *Robert Wilson*, master of the *Furnace*, made to Mr. *Dobbs* himself, in which he owned, "That he was drove out in the boat, with the lieutenant by the tide of ebb, quite round *Cape Dobbs*, to the south-ward: that, upon his return, when he went up to *Deer-Sound*, and from thence to the bluff on the west side, he had an open sea, free from ice, and no soundings all the way over at 68 fathoms; but near an island they had 30 fathom: that he saw a great many large true black whales, as great as any he had seen in *Greenland*; and that they never came in at the east entrance of *Wager* river, otherwise they must have been seen by them somewhere below; but he never saw any in other parts of the bay or streights, but near *Brook Cobham*; where he apprehends, from the great tides there, that there is an opening or streight from the westward: that when he came to the west bluff, thirty leagues up *Wager* river, the mid-channel lay then west-south-west, the true course; that he tasted the water there, which was as salt as any he had tasted in those seas: that the fall about a league from them, or rapid current, he would fain have gone to, but does not know whether it was fresh-water or not; but it was not in the main channel: that he and another man went much higher up the mountains than the lieutenant, and killed two deer: that from thence he overlooked the islands which were betwixt them and the main channel, and saw a large streight four or five leagues wide, free from ice, which ran directly south-west, with high mountainous land on both sides, which he had a great inclination to have gone to, and moved it to the lieutenant; but their provisions being spent, and having already gone fifteen leagues beyond their warrant, which limited them, the lieutenant was unwilling to disobey his orders, by going further. Upon which the master said, To what purpose did they go there, if it was not to make the discovery? Upon their return, at *Brook Cobham*, the captain sent the master ashore to get water, and said he would send him again: that he then observed that there had been very high tides, of which he acquainted the captain upon his return, and desired to go ashore again, to make observations; but the captain, upon pretence that he had staid too long on shore before, told him, he should not go on shore again, whilst he was in the bay; and ordered others to go: so he could make no farther observations there. From thence they bore away for *England* the 15th of *August*."

Other facts alleged.

THE reader will in the notes find fresh reasons from authentic informations for suspecting Mr. *Middleton*'s sincerity in the pursuit of this discovery (R). One particular circum-

(R) Here follows a copy of some other papers, published by Mr. *Dobbs*, as they were delivered to lieutenant *Rankin* by *Alex. Morrison*, *John Armount*, and *Abraham Humble*, petty officers on board the *Furnace*, signed and attested by themselves and others, which relate to part of the voyage. "When I, *Alexander Morrison*, (whose name is undermentioned) was up the *Wager's* streights with the lieutenant, I could not see any ice nigh the opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*. We saw a great many black whales, of the whalebone-kind, come into *Deer-Sound* every tide. I cannot believe that those whales come in at the mouth of *Wager's* streights, as the captain and some other creatures would willingly make people believe, in order to answer his own end; for the strong rapid tide we saw near *Brook Cobham*, (and a great many whales of the right whalebone kind) where I very well remember, that in bringing up the ice-boat to try the tide, (Mr. *Wisbart* the mate was in the boat) the tide broke the deep sea lead-line, and lost a lead of fifty pound weight. The captain went into the boat himself, in a very great passion, to try the tide, when he saw every body staring so very eagerly at the rapidness of it; and, at his return on

board, said, it ran but two miles six fathoms. I was at the cond the same time, and I am very certain the tide ran above six miles an hour; and have heard the officers say so many times. The number of whales we saw there, and off *Deer-Sound*, all of the right whalebone kind, gives me reason to believe that there is a passage thereabouts from some western ocean, and one that comes into *Wager's* streights, opposite to *Deer-Sound*; for the ice was gone at that opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*, long before it was in the middle of the *Streights*. The 27th of *July*, when I was up the *Streights* with the lieutenant, there was no ice to be seen in that opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*, not so much as one piece of ice to be seen above the high bluff point, to the highest we went up. The *Streight* is eleven or twelve leagues broad, the water was very salt all the way up, and actually so within three miles of the fall or rippling we saw. As to the captain's affidavit of men's drinking fresh-water three leagues above *Deer-Sound*, it will scarce prove it a fresh-water river; for ham and veal, with strong beer, flip, and punch, they eat and drank, might hurt and enfeeble their memories; though, indeed, several of them were never up the

- a stance ought not to be omitted, which is, that when three bottles of water, filled in three different places, were tasted by captain *Middleton* himself, he pronounced that to be the saltiest which had been filled the highest up the river or streight. This experiment seems to silence all that can be said on the probability of the place where *Middleton* was being a fresh water river. The examinations which passed on this head before the lords of the admiralty, afforded farther reasons for believing, that what is called *Wager* river is in reality a streight, that in the opening it is six or seven miles wide, and the water from fourteen to sixteen fathoms deep; that in sailing up the same, the width, the depth, and the saltness of the water encreased; that the streight, most probably, leads into the western or north-western ocean, from the number of whales seen there, which could not come in at the mouth of the streight, as no whales were ever seen in the bay, but on the broken coast of the south-westward of the *Welcome*, which, very probably, led to a passage still more easy. The height and rapidity of the tides is another argument for proving *Wager* river a streight to lead to the ocean, as they could not come from *Hudson's* streights; and lieutenant *Rankin* declared, that the tide of flood came from the southward. There is, likewise, the highest probability, from the nature of the tides, that the streight cannot be above an hundred leagues along, and that if it was navigated through, the adventurers would find themselves in a more moderate climate than that of *Deer-Sound*; for the streight was seen from eminences to bend away to the southward of the west. From all this it follows, that there is a possibility of a passage to the southward from *Brook Cobham*, on account of the number of whales seen there, and no where else, except about *Deer-Sound* and from the rapidity of the tide at that place, which appears to flow into *Wager* river, and to come from a sea different from that which fills *Hudson's-Bay*. The broken appearance of the coast, from latitude 62
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the *Streights* at all, and swear by hear-say. I have many times drank the water where our ships lay in winter within two miles of the sea, and many of our men I have seen do the same; which plainly shews that their affidavits are no reason to prove *Wager's-Streights* a fresh-water river, as captain *Middleton* would make the world believe.

"August the 6th, I steered the boat with the lieutenant to the low beach point, and the tide, I very well remember, was falling, and had ebbed about two feet by the beach point, and set so very strong about the point to the south-west, that we were like to be drove round the point, which the lieutenant was very much vexed with, and struck me, because I could not keep right against the tide, it run so very strong. He, as he said, had no victuals for himself nor us, if we had been forced round the point, as we had like to have been. When we got on board, I heard him tell the captain, that the tide had ebbed two feet on the point at three of the clock, when they made signal for the boat; but the captain, to answer his own end, set it in the log-book, *he found it to be the flood-tide, and it came from the eastward*; which is very false. I very well remember, that we passed by what he called the *Frozen-Streights*, within two or three miles of the islands in the mouth of it. Neither the lieutenant, nor any of the boat's crew, could see any appearance of any opening; yet the captain has named that a *Frozen Streight*; and *Wager's Streight*, that is above three times broader, mult pass with him for a river; which shews his design to impose upon the publick, and answer his own ends. I never saw any whales in the streight or bay, nor never heard of any, but since we came home, but near *Brook Cobham*, and *Deer-Sound*; and all of them of the right whalebone kind, as I very well understand them, having been a whale-fishing in *Greenland* before in the merchant's service. All this I can make affidavit to, to be real fact, as well as several more can do, beside us undermentioned: signed *Alex. Morrison, John Arnsuut, Abraham Humble*. Witness, *Robert Fiske, John Steward*, midshipmen on board the *Princess Royal*."

Another paper, signed by the lieutenant, and attested by others. "The soundings up the east channel, between the island and the east-side or island, is 45. 40. 39, and 25 fathoms, soft ground in the middle of the channel, and from sixteen to six fathoms within a quarter of a cable's length to some of the islands, and good soundings through in many channels between those islands. The depth of water is eighteen fathoms where I sounded, and seven or eight fathoms within half a cable's length of the islands. The channel between the

islands and the east-side is three or four miles broad. We went into a bay or cove on the east-side, good clear ground. Soundings from thirty to five fathoms. The tide came from the south-westward of the islands, and flowed thirteen feet; the northernmost island bearing north by west, distance four or five miles. The soundings from the bay or cove, to the northernmost point on this side the bluff, is 45, 40, 30, 20 fathoms, according to the distance we were off the shore. Above the islands, from the east-side to the south-west side, is six or seven leagues broad. The land runs north-west by west, the tide flowed nearest north-west by west, along the shore. We ran into a bay or cove at the north-end of the point, on this side the high bluff; the soundings from 20 to 15, 12, 10, 8, 6 fathoms, good clear ground, and clear of ice. The tide of flood came from the southward, and flowed thirteen feet and a half. The streight above the islands is six or seven leagues broad. I went up the highest land on the east side, and set the land by compass. There is a bluff point on the south-side, with three low islands off it; and a low point at the back of it, that bore south by west, with that opening to us. The land ran from the south by west to the north-west, a high mountainous land, and round again to the high bluff point, this appearing to me from the high land I was upon. It being about one quarter flood, or more, by the tide that came through the streights, I saw the ice break up, and set round the point I stood upon with some force; so that all the ice was presently in motion in the middle of the channel against the flood, and was almost clear in the middle this morning. It is nine or ten leagues broad. July the 16th, 1742. *John Rankin*."

The following paper, which is a confirmation of this, is signed by the same persons who signed *Morrison's* account, and runs thus: "All this is matter of fact; for I was with the lieutenant upon the high land, and with a perspective-glass set that opening opposite to *Deer-Point* by compass, and found it bear as is here set down. The next time I was upon the said high land with the lieutenant, we saw the ice clear of the opening, although there was much ice driving in the middle of the channel, but none to interrupt the boat in her passage up the streights: and I am very sure the water was as salt as it could be among so much ice as was in the streight at that time, and such quantities of snow as were melting upon the high land. All this is true, as we are ready to make affidavit of, if required; as witness my hand, as well as those underwritten, this 22d day of November, 1743."

to latitude 65, is an additional argument of a passage thereabouts into the western ocean, or the *South Sea*. It was likewise urged against Mr. *Middleton* that his own great log-book disproved his searching exactly all the western shore from cape *Frigid* to *Brook Cobham*; and it came out, upon examination of the officers, that after standing in with the headland of *Brook Cobham*, being informed of a fair opening there, and a strong tide of flood from the westward, he would not let it be tried.

An act of parliament encouraging the discovery of a north-west passage.

UPON the whole, the arguments for a north-west passage were so convincing, that the legislature, in 1744, passed an act of parliament to encourage the discovery of the same. The preamble of the act takes notice, that, "As the discovering a north-west passage through *Hudson's Strait* to the western *American* ocean, would be of great benefit and advantage to this kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement to adventurers to attempt the same, if a publick reward was given to such persons as should make a perfect discovery of the said passage: It is therefore enacted, That if any ships or vessels, belonging to his majesty's subjects, shall find out and sail through any passage by sea between *Hudson's Bay* and the western ocean of *America*, the owners of such ships or vessels shall be intitled to receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds." Commissioners are appointed by the same act for examining the claim that may be made under it; and a proviso is added, "That nothing in this act shall extend to prejudice the estate, rights, or privileges, of the governor and company of the adventurers of *England* trading into *Hudson's Bay*." In consequence of this act, two ships, the *California* and the *Dobbs*, were fitted out, and sailed in quest of the so much desired passage, in the beginning of May, 1746; but we do not hear that it is yet discovered.

Account of Hudson's-Bay.

ACCORDING to Mr. *Dobbs*, who has given us the best account of *Hudson's-Bay*, it may be esteemed from 51 deg. to 65 deg. north lat. and from 78 deg. to 95 deg. west long. from *London*. The whole of its extent in length may be about six hundred miles, and its northern boundary may be reckoned at *Davis's* streights; the country lying to the north of that being claimed by the *Danes*. The entrance of the streights is variously represented. At *Resolution-Island*, it is said to be twelve or thirteen leagues wide, but others make it not half so much. As to the streights themselves, they are said to be an hundred and twenty leagues in length; the shores, on both sides, being inhabited by a most savage race. At the mouth of the streights lies *Resolution Island*; and in the streights themselves lie the islands *Charles*, *Salisbury*, and *Nottingham*; and *Mansfield Island* is situated in the mouth of the bay. The truth is, the whole of this vast country is so inhospitable, and great part of it so uninhabitable, and great part of it is very uncertain. We shall, however, present our readers with the general description of it from the best authorities.

THE south coast of *Hudson's-Streights* is known by the name of *Terra de Labrador*, and is by some called *New-Britain*. It extends from the 50th to the 63d degree of latitude, and from the 51st to the 79th degree of longitude, west from *London*; its form being triangular. The inland parts of this country are but little known, and are inhabited by the *Esquimaux Indians*, the most untamed and intractable people in *America*. They were first discovered by the *Danes*, but no settlement has ever yet been made in their country. They have no settled habitation, nor do we know of any villages or towns among them. To what we have already said of those savages, we are to add, that they are thought to be so numerous, that they can bring 30,000 fighting men to the field; but though mischievous, untameable, and treacherous, they are excessively cowardly, and sometimes, in the night-time, they cut the cables of ships that they may enjoy their wrecks in the morning. The *French* have several times built forts and little towns upon their frontiers, in hopes of enticing them to traffic with them, but all hitherto has been to no purpose; for even the zeal of the missionaries could make no impression upon their barbarous manners. The only commodities they trade in are furs, which they exchange for knives, scissars, pots, kettles, and the like hard-ware; but if an *European* ship should suffer them to come near it in too great numbers, they will, if they can, master the crew and plunder the vessel. As to the other savages in the neighbourhood, we have already mentioned them. Mr. *Moll*, however, has given a very different account of this country. He tells us, that the inhabitants of the inland parts of it are industrious, and that the country itself produces gold. Something of that kind is not at all improbable, as we cannot account how so great a number of people can be maintained in a country so rude and savage, and so unproductive of every necessary of life as this is represented to be, without some kind of industry in the inhabitants. Add to this, that we are informed that the *Hudson's-Bay* company intend to settle a factory on the *Labrador* coast for trading with the *Indians* and the *Esquimaux*, near the opening from their bay and the *Atlantic* ocean, which we can scarcely suppose the company would attempt without some probability of success.

The North Main.

ON the other side of *Hudson's Streights*, to the north of *Labrador*, lies what is called the *North Main*, which is bounded on the east by *Davis's-Streights*, and on the north by *Baffin's-*

- a *fin's-Bay*, and on the west by a nameless streight. Some geographers have imagined the whole of this country to be an island, stretching from the 62d to the 75th degree of latitude. Some call it *James-Island*; others suppose it to consist of three small islands, that on the north-west being cut through by *Cumberland-Bay*, the mouth of which lies under the arctic circle, and runs to the north-west. *White-Bear-Bay* separates the isle on the south-east from that on the south-west. *Cape-Mary*, by some called *Charles Cape*, lies on the south-west shore of the last mentioned island, and *Smith's-Bay* and *Cape Baffin* on the western coast; but all writers seem to agree in acknowledging their ignorance of the inland parts. *North-Bay* lies to the south of the isle lying to the east of *White-Bear-Bay*. On the south-east point of it are the isles of *Resolution*, and *Lumley's-Inlet* lies on the eastern-coast. The isle that lies to the north-east of *Cumberland-Bay* has *Cape Walsingham* on the south, to the east of which stands *Mount-Raleigh*, and *Cape-Bedford* is higher up. The *Cumberland-Islands* lie in the bay of that name.
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WE have already mentioned the discovery of the *Streights of Davis*, who, in 1585, came to the south-west cape of *Greenland*, in the latitude of 62 degrees, which he called *Cape Desolation*. Here he traded with the natives for peltry ware, small cod and muscles. He afterwards sailed to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and from thence to that of 66 degrees, 40 minutes. In 1586, in a second voyage which he made to the same coast, he discovered many places to the west; and the following year he proceeded as far as 72 degrees, 12 minutes. But what goes by the name of his streights, extends to the 75th degree of longitude; and there it communicates with *Baffin's-Bay*, or rather what is called *Christian-Sea*. To the north of this *Christian-Sea* lies *Sir Thomas Smith's Bay*, in the 78th degree of north latitude. But though it appears to run northward, we have no particular description of it. On the western coast of *Baffin's-Bay* are two sounds or inlets; the northernmost in latitude 76, is called *Alderman Jones's Sound*; and the other, which is in latitude 74 degrees and 20 minutes, is termed *Sir James Lancaster's-Sound*; the country lying round *Baffin's-Bay* goes by the name of *Prince William's-Land*; but we know nothing more of it.

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To the south of *Prince William's-Land* lies *New North-Wales*, which has on its south *New Denmark*, and on its west another land, but both of them unknown. *Wager's-* New North Wales.

d *Streights* have been already described; and the *Welcome*, or *Ne Ultra*, is a narrow streight between the 62d and 63d degree of north latitude. Captain *Middleton* meeting with land there, which trenched away from east by north to north by west, was in hopes that it was the extreme part of *America*, and he therefore called it *Cape Hope*; but, to his disappointment, he met with a deep bay, which he called *Repulse-Bay*, and which, though in the month of *August*, was full of broken ice. In that bay, about latitude 66 degrees, 45 minutes, lies *Cape-Frigid*, so called from lying on a frozen streight; but it is not clear whether this was an island, or the main land. As to the streight itself, it seems to be no more than an arm of the sea, three leagues wide, and full of islands. From the tides of flood observed here, it is probable there is a north-west passage into the western ocean. We know very little or nothing of the land between the *Welcome* and part of *Baffin's-Bay*, only that it is barren and inhospitable; and by some it is laid down as an island. From *Cape-Hope* to the mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, or *River*, the country is unknown. The mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, lying in latitude 65 degrees, 23 minutes, is not above two or three miles wide; but five or six miles within its entrance, it extends to six or eight miles. It is full of islands and rocks, but the lands on both sides are high, as has been already observed. In latitude 65 degrees, 50 minutes, is the entrance of a small river; but how far it runs inland, is not known. The great plenty of deer that appeared on its banks, gave it the name of *Deer-Sound*, and in the vallies there are said to be large fresh lakes, with plenty of grass, deer, and water-fowl; but the highlands contain only a kind of a rocky marble. In this found some whales were likewise seen. The southernmost cape at the entrance of *Wager's-Streight*, is called *Cape Dobbs*. South-westward, in latitude 65, lie *Whalebone Point* and *Cape-Fullerton*. *Brook-Cobham*, or *Marble Island*, which lies in latitude 63, has to the west of it an opening within land, called *Rankin's-Inlet*. To the south are two other openings, called *Whale Cove* and *Love-Grove*. It is thought by many, that those openings, though yet but very imperfectly known, lead to the *South-Sea*, which, if true, would be a discovery of the highest importance. The country, from *Wager's-Streights* to *Seal-River*, the mouth of which lies in latitude 60 degrees, 30 minutes, is called *New Denmark*, so termed, from its being taken possession of for the *Danes* by captain *Monck*.

THIS captain *Monck* was employed by *Christiern* the IVth, king of *Denmark*, to find out a passage between *Greenland* and *America*, so as to facilitate the voyage to the *East-Indies*, soon after *Mr. Hudson* had miscarried in the same attempt. He sailed from the *Sound* on the 16th of *May*, 1619, with two ships, one carrying 48, and the other 16 men. On

Discoveries of
captain
Monck;

the 20th of June following, he reached Cape Henry, which he found situated in 62 degrees, 20 minutes latitude, but covered with ice and snow. According to *Monck's* account, he sailed from thence towards *Hudson's Strait*; and on the 11th of June at night his sails were rendered useless by the ice coming to them; but next day, the ice being proved so hot, that his sailors were obliged to fire themselves to their lives. On the 17th of July, he arrived in *Hudson's Strait*, to which he attempted to give the name of *Christiern's Strait*, and landed on an island, (as he first calls) of positive *Greenland*. Here with some difficulty he met with savages, who, by signs, and the *Danes* seized their arms, but returned them, upon the savages informing them by signs, that they had no other means of subsistence but the game which they killed with their arrows. They seemed in other respects to be a barbarous, simple people; and *Monck* was detained here for some time by the ice. The savages, however, had disappeared; nor could all the stratagems of the *Danes* bring them back. It was with the utmost difficulty, while *Monck* remained at *Reen-Sund*, (for so he called the island where he was, he defended his ship from the vast shoals of ice which every where surrounded him. He found several other islands in *Hudson's Strait*; and wherever he landed, he set up the arms of *Denmark*, and took possession in that king's name. He afterwards visited several coasts and seas, to all which he assigned new names, in honour of his royal master, though they had before received names from *Huljo* and other *Englishmen*. Continuing his course well-northward, he came to 63 degrees, 20 minutes; where, being surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to winter in a place which he called *Monck's Winter Harbour*, and the country round it he called *New Denmark*. On the 7th of October, having secured his ships in a creek, he discovered a river, and attempted to sail up it; but could make no progress, because of the vast shoals of ice which he encountered. He then attempted a passage by land, but meeting with no inhabitants, he returned another way. In his progress, he perceived many druidical kind of altars, with bones near them, and other indications that the country was not destitute of inhabitants, tho' he could bring none of them to traffick with him; and he concluded that they led a wandering life, like the *Tartars* and the *Laplenders*.

THE miseries from the cold and frost which those *Danes* suffered during the winter, were inexpressible; and so many of them died, that captain *Monck* was obliged to do the duty of a common man. At last, their provision of bread failed them. Towards the end of May they saw abundance of wild fowl of all kinds; but they were too weak to catch them. The captain himself by this time fell ill, and of sixty-four men he sailed out with, only two were alive. These three had the courage to go on board the smaller ship; but on the 8th of September they were overtaken by a tempest, which drove them upon the coast of *Norway*, and from thence, with great difficulty, they reached *Denmark*. *Monck*, after returning to his own country, was so fully convinced that there was a passage between *Greenland* and *America* to the *East-Indies*, that he persuaded some persons of great distinction to fit out two other ships, in which he proposed to try another voyage. *Christiern* the 14th, king of *Denmark*, a prince of a brutish nature, hearing of this, sent for *Monck*, and reproached him with the ill success of his last voyage, and the loss of his two ships; and upon *Monck's* returning a hasty answer, he received a blow of his majesty's cane, which he took so much amiss, that he went home, and starved himself to death.

his death

SEVERAL islands lie on the coast of *Labrador*; and the country from *Button's Bay*, southward and eastward, as far as *Labrador*, is called *New South-Wales*. This vast country from north west to south-east, extends three hundred miles. It is bounded on the east and south by *Canada*, and on the west by vast tracts of countries, whose inhabitants trade with the *English*, who are the only *Europeans* who have plantations or settlements within land. How far those countries extend, or where they terminate, is unknown. The *English* settlements consist of forts or houses lying on the coasts, chiefly calculated to protect them against the inclemencies of the weather. They are directed as to the situation of those forts by the mouths of the rivers which are most proper for trading with the *Indians*: the chief on the western continent are *Churchill-River*, *Nelson's-River*, *Severn-River*, *Albany-River*, and *Moose-River*. *Churchill-River*, at the mouth of which is built the *Prince of Wales's* fort, is most northerly, and situated on the west part of *Hudson's-Bay*. The company here keep about twenty-eight men. The river is navigable for 150 leagues, and about 20,000 beaver-skins every year are returned at this fort. Fort *Nerk*, or Fort *Nelson*, but by the *French* called Fort *Bourbon*, is situated upon *Nelson's-River*, in the 57th degree of north latitude. Here about twenty-five of the company's men reside; and the river itself is the largest and finest in the bay, by means of its communications with the great lakes and the trading rivers. *New Severn River* lies in the 55th degree of north latitude; but is at present neglected.

Farther description of Hudson's-Bay.

¹ CHURCHILL'S Voyages, Vol. I. p. 560.

a *Albany-River* lies in the 52d degree, and the company there keep 25 men in the fort. From the middle of *May* to the middle of *September*, the weather here is mild and warm; and in the year 1721, no fewer than one hundred and eighteen canoes traded with the fort. *Algoa-River*, which is larger than that of *Albany*, lies in the 51st degree of north latitude, and the company has at their fort here twenty five men. *Prince Rupert-River* lies in the same latitude, but on the east side of the bay; and the fort there is at present none to man. At the fort upon *St. Lawrence*, which lies on the east side of the bay, the company keep no more than eight or nine men.

About five or six leagues from the *West main*, lies the little rocky isle, which, tho' no more than a heap of rocks and cones, shelters great numbers of gulls and water fowl. b The soil of *Charlton-Island* is a light waste land, producing juniper and other shrub trees. In the spring, this island is noted for the beautiful appearance it makes to voyagers, who for months before have been accustomed to the most large inhospitable frozen nature; though at the bottom of the bay, the latitude is nearer the sun than *London* itself; yet the climate is excessively cold for nine months in the year; but, excepting when a north wind blows, the other three months are very not. As to the soil in general of the country bordering on *Hudson's-Bay*, it is very barren, scarce any grain growing upon it; but upon *Prince Rupert-River* there grows some gooseberries, strawberries, and the like dwarf-fruits.

c NOTWITHSTANDING all those discouragements, it is certain that the advantages of the trade to *Hudson's-Bay* are immense. The commodities most proper for trade here are guns, powder, shot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, and tobacco. These are exchanged with the natives for furs, beavers, marten, fox, moose, and other peltry ware; and the prodigious profits of the company may be estimated by the following standard of commerce, which formerly was fixed by them for their goods bartered on the southern part of the bay.

An account of its trade.

Guns, one with the other, ten good skins, that is, winter-beaver; twelve skins for the biggest fort, ten for the mean, and eight for the smallest. Powder, a beaver for half a pound. Shot, a beaver for four pounds. Hatchets, a beaver for a great and little hatchet. Knives, a beaver for six great knives, or eight jack-knives. Beads, a beaver for half a pound of beads. Laced coats, six beavers for one good laced coat. Plain coats, five beaver-skins for one red plain coat. Coats for women, laced, two yards, six beavers. Coats for women plain, five beavers. Tobacco, a beaver for one pound. Powder-horns, a beaver for a large powder-horn, and two small ones. Kettles, a beaver for one pound of kettle. Looking-glasses and combs, two skins.

d THE reader who understands trade, must readily be sensible of the vast gains of such a commerce as the above, especially as it is but in a few hands, and carried on with very little expence. It is true, the trade for several years before the treaty of *Utrecht*, and for some years after, was but inconsiderable; but it is well known, that during the late war their profits were greater than that of any commerce carried on by *British* subjects. It is said, ^m that the annual exports were about 3000*l.* value, and their half-yearly sales about e 25,000*l.* and that nine-tenths of the stock have been engrossed by eight or nine merchants. They are supposed to be at the charge of one hundred and twenty servants a year, and about an hundred and twenty men on board the two or three annual ships which they employ in time of war. Their imports are deer-skins, castor or beaver-skin, feathers, whale-bone and blubber; but beaver skin is two-thirds of the whole. Some writers, Mr. *Dobbs* in particular, who is well acquainted with the country, and the state of its trade, have been of opinion, that the privileges of this company are so extensive, that its charter ought to be vacated, and the trade laid open. It has likewise been said, with what justice we cannot determine, that this company has always been averse to the discovery of the north-west passage, though their endeavouring to make such a discovery is one of the conditions f on which their charter was granted.

g PERHAPS none of the natives of *North America* are so rude and savage as the *Indians* inhabiting the neighbourhood of *Rupert-River*, and other places in the bay. This may easily be accounted for, as they have no opportunities like the *Canadian* savages, or those in the neighbourhood of the *English* plantations, of seeing any places of great resort. Their intercourse is confined to little forts and booths, where they deal with *Europeans* who have no other conversation, or ideas, but to make the best bargains they can. In general, however, they are peaceable, only the *Nodways* are a tribe more savage than the rest; upon whom they sometimes make incursions, and after killing eight or ten people, retire in triumph. The rivers, which in that country are very plentiful, are commonly the boundaries of those savage tribes. Though it does not appear, that they have any notions of

^m DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. I. p. 218.

subordination in government, yet each tribe has its okimah, or orator, who presides in their public meetings every spring and fall, where they adjust their boundaries for hunting, fowling, and fishing, and mark out the space which each family is to occupy during the season. This okimah makes their harangues to the *English*, and nothing but the danger of starving can prevail with the several families to quit the bounds allotted to them. They have some notion of two manitous (as the *Canadians* call them) or spirits, one the author of good, the other of bad ; and they express some rude signs of worship or devotion at their feasts and dances.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing the History of the BRITISH and other ISLANDS in the American West Indies.

C H A P. I.

The HISTORY of BARBADOS.

- I**T is surprising that the *English* in general are so much in the dark as they are with regard to their original possession of this valuable island; nor can it be otherwise accounted for, than by the first colonists being so much immersed in commercial pursuits, that they gave very little attention to matters of mere curiosity. As to the history of the natives of this island there can be none, because, by the best accounts we have, it was entirely uninhabited when the *Portuguese*, who certainly were its original discoverers, first landed upon it. It is probable, however, that it was visited at certain times by the neighbouring *Caribbees*, or savages, in their canoes. Even the origin of the name is uncertain, some attributing it to a tree, the leaves and fruit of which at a distance somewhat resemble a human beard; others with more probability think, that it was called *Barbados* by the *Portuguese*, on account of the barbarous, uncultivated prospect it presented. As the *Portuguese*, long before the *English* took possession of *Barbados*, had used to sail to the *Brasil*, there can be little or no doubt of their being acquainted with this island; and we learn from some good authorities, that they left hogs there to serve them for a stock of fresh provisions, and that when the *English* took possession of the island, those hogs had multiplied extremely. As the *Portuguese* had discovered *Brasil* in 1501, *Barbados* was probably known to them many years before the *English* took possession of it, which undoubtedly must have been before the death of *James* the First, which happened in the year 1625. The author of the *Complete System of Geography* ⁿ informs us, that where the great fire happened at *Bridge-Town*, in 1666, some papers were saved, which were afterwards printed on the island, and by them it appeared, that an *English* ship, called the *Olive*, homeward-bound from *Guiney*, touched here; and landing some men, they set up a cross in or about *St. James's* town, now called the *Hole*, and marked on a tree, "*James* king of *England*, and this island:" that proceeding along shore, they left other marks of such their possession at the *Indian* river. It seems to have been about this time that the earl of *Marlborough*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, obtained his patent of the *Caribbees*: after this *Sir William Courteen*, (S) one of the greatest merchants *England* ever had, about the year 1624, fitted out a ship for the *Brasil* trade. This trade was prohibited to all the nations of *Europe* by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who made it death for any adventurer to sail westward beyond such a latitude; but about the years 1623 and 1624, the system of power in *Europe* having taken a different turn from what it ever had known before, the *Spanish* court permitted the states-general to trade to the *Brasil*; and it must have been under their sanction that one of *Sir William Courteen's* ships sailed, as we are told it did, to *Fernambucca*, in *Brasil*. Returning from this, this ship was forced, by stress of weather, upon the coast of *Barbados*. Some of the crew had the curiosity to go a-shore, but found this island over-grown with weeds, and no living creatures, but the *Portuguese* hogs already mentioned, upon it.
- BUT though this is the story that generally has been told concerning the first discovery of this valuable island, it is more than probable, that it had never been destitute of *English* inhabitants from 1615 to 1624. Had it been entirely uninhabited, uncultivated, and almost unknown, a man like *Sir William Courteen* would not have risked his property as he did in peopling and improving it; for it is agreed upon by all, that the sailors who then

First discovery of Barbados.

ⁿ DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. II. p. 747.

(S) We apprehend that this gentleman's son, or one of his descendants, was the same who was originally concerned with *Sir Hans Sloane* in his amazing collection of natural and other curiosities, now repositied in the *British Museum*; where an original picture of *Mr. Courteen* is still shewn.

went ashore, upon their return to *England*, made so good a report of the state and fertility a of the island, that *Courteen* and his friends, (among whom were people of the highest distinction in *England*) resolved to make a settlement there, but under the earl of *Marlborough's* patent. Every one who has read the *History of England*, knows with what indiscriminate profusion *James* the 1st and *Charles* the 1st made grants to their favourites of the islands, as well as the continent of *America*; and though *Courteen* and his friends had been at a considerable expence in fitting out two ships, with all kind of necessaries, for planting and fortifying *Barbados*, his design was no sooner known, than *Hay* earl of *Carlisle*, who was a favourite with king *James* and his son, applied for, and obtained a gift from the crown of all the *Caribbee Islands*, of which *Barbados* was one, upon agreeing to pay 300 *l.* a year to the earl of *Marlborough*. By this time, *Courteen's* two ships, one of which was called the *William* b and *John*, captain *John Powel* commander, had put thirty men on shore at *Barbados*, near the *Hole Town*, to the leeward part of the island, then called *James Town*, a strong presumption that some *English* were then living there; and began to fortify themselves under one captain *William Dean*, who acted as their governor, and placed the *English* colours on the infant-fortification. The earl of *Carlisle* happened to be abroad on an embassy when *Courteen's* ships sailed, and the then earl of *Pembroke*, who was that gentleman's friend, hearing a very promising account of the new undertaking, obtained of *Charles* the 1st a grant of the island, in trust for Sir *William Courteen*. Upon the earl of *Carlisle's* return from his embassy, he was surprised to hear of the settlement that had been made upon an island which was within his prior grant, and resolved to defeat it; and, indeed, the ignorance c and neglect which appeared on the part of the crown on this occasion, strongly indicate the genius of the then government.

Granted to the earl of Carlisle, who settles it.

THE earl of *Carlisle*, to counteract *Courteen's* settlement, made an agreement with *Marmaduke Brandon*, *Robert Wheatley*, *Edmund Forster*, *Henry Wheatley*, *John Farrington*, and others of *London*, merchants, for 10,000 acres, under a governor of their own choosing. The choice fell upon one *Charles Wolfersstone*. When this new colonist arrived upon the island, *Courteen's* settlement was in a very promising condition. They had cleared a considerable quantity of lands, which were let at an easy rate; and so great was the fertility of the soil, that *Barbados* bade fair, in a short time, to be the most flourishing of all the *Caribbee Islands*; but two interests so incompatible as that of *Courteen*, or rather the earl of d *Pembroke*, and that of the earl of *Carlisle* were, could not long subsist upon the same spot. The *Carlisle-men* settled near a place called the *Bridge*, near *Bridge Town*, under the denomination of *Windward-men*, to distinguish themselves from the earl of *Pembroke's* men, who called themselves the *Leeward-men*. Soon after *Wolfersstone's* arrival upon the island, he emitted a kind of proclamation, in which he treated the *Pembroke* settlement as being little better than an usurpation. He therefore summoned them to appear at the *Bridge*, which they did; and governor *Dean*, who, it seems, was a *Bermudian*, not only submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority, but marched with a party of armed men to reduce the settlement at the *Hole*, who still held out for the earl of *Pembroke*, under the command of Mr. *Powel*, son to the shipmaster who had carried them over. This dispute might have terminated in e bloodshed, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who reconciled the two parties, and the *Leeward-men* submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority.

Tobacco trade.

THE planters had now made a great progress in cultivating the island; an amazing proof of *English* industry, considering the unpromising appearances it bore, when they first landed on it. But though these are represented as very discouraging, yet *Ligon*, who lived upon the place, and near the time, allows, that besides the hogs already mentioned, the planters used to find some vegetable subsistence in the woods, it being common for all nations, especially the *Portuguese*, when they landed upon a desert island which they expected again to visit, to sow some seeds for vegetables. Be this as it will, notwithstanding the f grand disputes in *England* between the earls of *Pembroke* and *Carlisle*, concerning the property of the island, and which occasioned its supplies to be slow and precarious, the potatoes, plantains, *Indian* corn, and other fruits, which the *English* planted, came up surprisingly. We are told, that those planters, in different parts of the island, found several pots and pans of clay finely tempered, and so elegantly turned, that they did not seem to be the work of barbarians. They must, however, have belonged to the *Caribbeans* in the neighbouring islands, and made use of by them in their visits to *Barbados*, in dressing the hogs-flesh and vegetables which they found in that island. The planters, after clearing the land so far as that it afforded them a stock for their own subsistence, began to consider how to make it useful in point of commerce, and applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, g at that time the most profitable commodity of any that was raised in *America*. It is said of *Ligon* and others, that their success in this undertaking was so indifferent, and the tobacco they raised was so poor, that it came to no account in *England*. Their cultivation of sugar, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* have been since so eminent and successful,

- a ful, is differently accounted for. If we are to believe Mr. *Ligon*, they began to cultivate sugar with the plants which they brought from *Fernambucca*, in *Brazil*, where the making of sugar was perfectly well understood, and that soon after the *English* began to inhabit *Barbados*. They raised the plants with wonderful facility, and they throve prodigiously ; but they were entirely at a loss as to the manufacturing of the product ; so that, for a long time, they put their sugars to no other use than sweetening the cooling drinks which the heat of the climate required. The intercourse which still continued to be kept up between the *Brazils* and *Barbados*, seems to have given rise to the proper manufacture of sugar in that island. This was not a little assisted by the *Hollanders*, (who had been indulged in trading to *Brazil*,) especially after they had quarrelled with the *Portuguese*. They not only
b furnished the *Barbadians* with the sugar plants, but some of them settling in the island, put them upon erecting works for manufacturing the commodity. Those works were at first but imperfectly carried on ; the *Hollanders* themselves, as well as the *English*, being un-
skilled in the chief mysteries of the art. Their perseverance, however, in the end, got the better of their difficulties, being convinced that a little insight into the manufacture would make it practicable. They even ventured upon clandestine visits to *Brazil*, and were so successful, that they seldom returned without obtaining new lights as to what they wanted, which consisted in the manner of planting, the time of gathering, the right placing the coppers and furnaces, and the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron ; yet, after all, the manufacture in general reached no higher than to produce a moist,
c ill-cured kind of what is called muscovade sugar, which did not answer for the *English* market.

Original of
its sugar-
trade.

- THOSE imperfections seem not to have been universal ; for, according to the best accounts of this infant-settlement, one Mr. *Drax*, and, perhaps, one or two more, had engaged a *Hollander* from the *Brazils*, who carried on, but for his or their private advantage, a more complete manufacture of sugar ; but his method remained for seven or eight years a secret to the inhabitants of the island in general, though it enriched the particular planters who had acquired it. It was not till about the year 1650, that the bulk of the planters got into the true secret of making sugars, by suffering the canes to ripen fifteen months instead of twelve, and by boiling and curing them to a white consistence ; and after this secret was found out, the value of lands on the island encreased to an incredible degree :
d but we are now to attend the civil history of the island.

- AFTER the compromise between *Powel* and *Wolferstone*, captain *Robert Wheatly*, one of the original and chief settlers, succeeded the latter in the government of the island, or rather in the care of the plantations that were upon it. But a strong party of the Leeward men still continued to hold out for the earl of *Pembroke* and *Courteen*, and even attempted to drive the Windward men from their settlements ; but they met with so warm a reception, that they were beaten off, and were rewarded by the earl of *Carlisle* with a grant of having their goods toll-free for seven years. The dispute still continuing, the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent was called for by the king ; and a flaw being found in it, which had given occasion for the earl of *Pembroke*'s attempt, the same was rectified by a new patent, which
e was granted to the earl of *Carlisle* in 1629. The truth is, that though the earl of *Pembroke* was then lord chamberlain of the king's household, yet his competitor was the better courtier ; and the whole of this transaction is of a very dark complexion. The earl of *Carlisle* had obtained his patent upon a suggestion, according to the earl of *Clarendon*, that the island had been first discovered, possessed, and planted, at the charge of the said earl ; whereas, from what we have said, it appears, that the first *English* settlers there were Sir *William Courteen* and his company, which was the true reason why the earl of *Pembroke* was so zealous in their interest. But that the reader may have a more comprehensive view of this affair, it may be proper to inform him, that we learn from the earl of *Clarendon*, that the planters who had settled in *Barbados*, (we suppose, under the original patent granted to the earl of
f *Marlborough*) hearing of that granted to the earl of *Carlisle*, desired leave to prosecute a suit in his majesty's name, at their own charge, in the court of exchequer, to repeal the grant to the earl of *Carlisle*, and that the king would take the colony under his protection ; or else, if his majesty would not consent to the repeal of the charter, that he would refer those who claimed under the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence ; who insisted, that they alone had been at the charge of settling the plantation. But, as we shall see in the course of this history, this plea, though sufficient to have set aside the equity of the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, and though it was founded in material justice, was disregarded.

- THE first governor sent over by the earl of *Carlisle*, after his patent was amended, was
g Sir *William Tufton* ; but his government proving disagreeable to his lordship, he was superseded in it by captain *Henry Hawley*. *Tufton* relented this, and procured the hands of

Sir William
Tufton go-
vernor,

He is shot by
his successor,
Hawley.

some planters to a petition, complaining of *Hawley*, as if he had with-held some stores a from the colony, which the earl of *Carlisle* had appointed for them. *Hawley* most arbitrarily construed this petition into an act of mutiny, and sentenced Sir *William Tufton* to be shot to death for the same, which was accordingly executed off the bay in 1631. We do not find that *Hawley* was ever tried for this unexampled barbarity, in which he is said to have had the concurrence of the council; but by those counsellors can only be meant a few planters, or merchants, who were devoted to the interest of the proprietary. Upon *Hawley's* being recalled by the earl of *Carlisle*, whose credit with the court of *England* undoubtedly screened him from punishment for Sir *William Tufton's* murder, he left his brother-in-law, *Richard Peers*, Esq; his deputy-governor in 1623. Next year, he returned to his government; and in 1635, he left *Peers* his deputy-governor, as before, and again went over to b *England*. Next year he returned to *Barbados*, and acted as governor till 1638, when he again returned to *England*, and left his brother *William Hawley* to be his deputy governor.

Account of its
population.

It is probable, by this time, the proprietary began to be sensible of the worth of *Barbados*, and did not think that his returns from it were answerable to its improvements and importance; and very possibly he might attribute this to the practices of the governor among the planters; for we find *Hawley*, in 1639, returning clandestinely from *England* to *Barbados*, and without proper authority, pretending that he was furnished with secret instructions from the king and the proprietary, and endeavouring to resume the government. He was soon followed by Sir *Henry Hunkes*, who, producing a commission to be governor, was opposed by *Hawley*, who was not treated with that barbarity he had inflicted upon c *Tufton* for a far less crime; for *Hunkes* contented himself with sending him prisoner to *England*, and seizing his estate. By this time, the face of *Barbados* was entirely changed. Tho' the woods were thick, and the trees enormously large, and though the progress of the planters in cultivating tobacco was still inconsiderable, yet great quantities of land were cleared; indigo and cotton-wool came up plentifully, as did fustic; all which went well off at the *English* market, and brought back, in return, the goods that were wanted at *Barbados*; such as working-tools, iron, steel, cloaths, shirts, and drawers, stockings, shoes, and hats. The calamities of *England* served to people *Barbados*, from whence the returns of profit were much more quick than from any of the other *English* colonies in *America*. During the arbitrary exertion of power under *Charles* the First, and before it was checked by his d parliament, many gentlemen and traders in *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, and the other western counties, being under many melancholy apprehensions concerning the fate of their country and the constitution, had retired to *Barbados*; and their examples were followed by the inferior orders of people, who flocked thither with incredible ardour; but, so far as we can find, without making any previous agreement with the proprietary, or the governor. The reason of this might be, that when the civil war broke out in *England*, there was, in fact, no regular government in *Barbados*, as the earl of *Carlisle* scarcely thought it worth his while to take any concern in it. Sir *Henry Hunkes* returning to *England* in 1641, was succeeded by captain *Philip Bell* as lieutenant-governor; and in 1645, he was appointed governor in chief. The reader may easily conceive that, at that time, when the regal power e was so low, the proprietary's authority had very little influence in that island. This was, perhaps, the main reason of the astonishing progress in riches and population which it made, while *England* was desolated by civil war. The names of the chief planters at this time were, Mr. *Hilliard*, *Holduppe*, *Silvester*, *Walrond*, *Raines*, *Kendall*, *Middleton*, *Standfast*, and *Drax*. When those gentlemen came over, they found the affairs of the island so much neglected by the proprietary, that his name was scarcely ever mentioned among them. Governor *Bell* being thus almost independent, began to think of making proper regulations for the government of an island, now become so populous and important. The leeward part of it was now very well settled, and some of the planters had acquired considerable estates. The historian of the *British* empire in *America* ^p, has been so minute, as to descend to the particulars of their names, and the situations of their estates, to which we refer the reader; who, perhaps, will be surprised to be informed, that under *Bell's* government, the island could muster 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse; and *Ligon* says, that the number of white inhabitants upon it were 50,000. The value of the lands increased in proportion to the population of the country; for after the making of sugar came to be understood, the same land which could have been purchased for 200 *l.* cost 7000 *l.* and it has continued to rise in value ever since.

HITHERTO *Barbados* being a proprietary government, no great attention had been paid to the police of the island; but *Bell*, by the advice of a kind of council he had, consisting of ten gentlemen, formed an assembly, which was to represent the inhabitants in nature of a parliament. For this purpose, the island was divided into four circuits, and into eleven g

^p Vide *British Empire in America*, Vol. II. p. 19.

a parishes, each parish to send two representatives to the assembly. About the same time, churches, though mean, were built, and ministers appointed to their cures. The vast increase of whites upon the island occasioned a proportionable increase of blacks; and even these not being sufficient for the labour which the cultivation required, the planters were sometimes wicked enough to force the neighbouring *Caribbees*, a people ever impatient of subjection, to be their slaves. But this cruel practice was far from answering their intentions: those barbarians, having no ideas of labour, either pined themselves to death, or obstinately resisted the most cruel treatment to force them to work; and at last, they became so shy in their own islands and countries, that they were not to be procured; and as to the white servants, they were too expensive to be maintained and paid.

b THE colony of *Barbados*, therefore, was obliged, like the *French* and *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, to import from *Africa* vast numbers of negroes to be their slaves. This was, at that time, a dangerous, because a new expedient. Those negroes, in a short time, beheld themselves more numerous upon the island, and therefore they thought themselves more powerful than their masters. Not being, as they were afterwards, and are now, habituated to the intercourse of *Europeans*, they soon entered into conspiracies; and their discontents were increased by the severe, if not cruel, treatment of their masters. Their general spirit of discontent went so far, that they even fixed upon a day for an universal rising, in which they were to massacre all the whites, and then to make themselves masters of the island. This design was carried on with such impenetrable secrecy, that it is hard to say

Importation of negroes.

Their conspiracies.

c what the consequences might have been, had not, the very day before the massacre was to have taken effect, one of the conspirators discovered the design to his master, who was called *Hotherfall*, and by sending timely advertisements to all his friends, and the other planters, prevented the conspiracy from being executed. Numbers of the conspirators were secured; but so resolute did the ringleaders appear, and so determined, had they been suffered to live to execute what they had projected, that their masters were obliged, though otherwise against their own interest, to put many of them to death.

THIS happened about the time when *Charles I.* was murdered, and his friends sequestered or exiled; and for some time the complexion of the colony, in matters of principle, had been altered. Some of the puritans, for so the anti-courtier party, or dissenters, were called, finding that the king's interest in *England* was ruined, and that they had little to expect under a proprietary interest established by his authority, had most of them returned to *England*, and their places were occupied by royalists, or, as they were termed, cavaliers, who found more encouragement at *Barbados*, and, at this time, formed the bulk of the planters upon the island; though great numbers of the anti-royalists still continued there, and affected the name of parliamentarians. It is probable, that the multiplicity of business of the *English* government after the murder of *Charles I.* did not suffer it to give much attention to the affairs of *Barbados*; and Mr. *Bell* still continuing to act under the proprietary commission, lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* not only obtained from *Charles II.* in his exile, a commission to be governor of *Barbados*, but covenanted with the earl of *Carlisle* for twenty-one years, upon a certain consideration, in the nature of a fee-farm rent, to be the proprietary governor likewise. Those two commissions can hardly be reconciled, without supposing lord *Willoughby* to act in a military capacity under that of *Charles*, and in a civil one under that of the proprietary. Lord *Willoughby* was a brave active officer; in his principles he had been a presbyterian: but detesting the king's murder, he had declared himself for the royal family, and followed *Charles* into *Holland*, where he received his commission, which extended not only to *Barbados*, but to all the *Leeward Islands*. To so low a pass were the affairs of *Charles* now reduced, that it was thought, if by the lord *Willoughby's* means those islands could be secured to the royal interest, and if *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other colonies on the continent of *America*, who had not yet owned the power of the parliament, should hold out, his majesty would have gone thither in person.

Bell, governor.

UPON lord *Willoughby's* arrival on the island, he found it rich, flourishing, and populous, and most of the principal planters extremely well affected to the royal cause; so that they embraced it with incredible ardor. One of the first steps of his administration was to summon an assembly, which passed an act, entitled, "An acknowledgement and declaration of the inhabitants of the island of *Barbados*, of his majesty's right to the dominion of this island; and the right of the right honourable the earl of *Carlisle*, derived from his said majesty; and by the earl of *Carlisle*, to the right honourable the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; and also for the unanimous profession of the true religion in this island; and imposing condign punishment upon the opposers thereof." Before this time, the inhabitants of the island had entered into a compromise, that however divided they might be in their civil principles, they would live in good correspondence with each other, and little or nothing of party-heat had been known among them. The arrival of lord *Willoughby* necessarily put an end to this tranquillity; for he ordered king *Charles* to be proclaimed all over the

Lord Willoughby, governor.

island. This obliged one colonel *Allen*, a considerable planter, and some others, who were apprehensive of the parliament's resentment, and knew how insignificant such an opposition must be against the power of the commonwealth of *England*, to remove from the island to *England*, where they instructed the government as to the state of affairs in *Barbados*. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby*, at the head of the loyal *Barbadians*, acted with great spirit and success in raising men, fitting out ships, and reducing all the islands under his government to acknowledge the royal authority.

Those proceedings sounded very high in *Europe*, where prince *Rupert* commanded a very considerable squadron of the *English* fleet, and intended actually to sail for *Barbados*, and to secure all the *English American* possessions for the king. Had this design been put into execution, it might have shaken the foundations of the *English* commonwealth; but the great men who composed it knew well how to crush it. They had, in less than three years, raised a marine which was the terror of *Europe*; and it was not among the least of the causes which made them declare war against the *Dutch*, that the latter openly carried on an illicit trade with *Barbados*, and that they encouraged and supported those islanders in their rebellion against the republic. Colonel *Allen*, and the other *Barbadians* who were then in *England*, having laid before the government the state of their affairs in the *West-Indies*, Sir George *Ayscue* was immediately commissioned to the command of a strong squadron, and a considerable body of land forces, for the reduction of that island, and all the other *English Caribbees*, which, by this time, the lord *Willoughby* had forced to acknowledge the royal cause. As the isles of *Scilly*, at that time under *Godolphin*, *Carteret*, and others, held out for the king; Sir George, before he sailed from *Barbados*, had orders to attack two of those islands, which he did with great courage; and one captain *Morris*, who was to serve under him in the expedition to *Barbados*, at the head of two hundred of the land-forces, reduced them both. Upon this, Sir George, who had orders to keep his expedition to *Barbados* a secret, returned to *Falmouth*, where he found a large number of *Barbados* merchants, *Dutch* as well as *English*, waiting to embark on board his fleet (T).

Sir George
Ayscue sent
with a fleet
against Bar-
bados.

In the mean while^p, the commonwealth of *England* had issued very rigorous prohibitions against the *Dutch* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *Leeward Islands*, which were highly resented by the merchants of *Holland*, who appear to have traded there in the same manner as if the island had belonged to themselves. They, therefore, made most grievous complaints to the states-general at the *Hague*, of their being ruined by this prohibition, and prayed them to interpose their authority with the *English* ambassadors, then in *Holland*, that the trade might be free as formerly. But the ambassadors being then upon their departure, nothing was done in the matter; though we learn from one of Sir George *Ayscue's* letters, that some *Dutch* merchants had a particular indulgence for that purpose granted them. Some demur happening about Sir George's sailing, he wrote from on board the *Rainbow*, pressing for dispatch, and he sailed about the middle of *May*; but had a secret instruction to look out for prince *Rupert* and his squadron, and, if possible, to fight him. It was the 16th of *October*, 1651, when he appeared in *Carlisle-Bay*, and he sent in the *Amity* frigate, captain *Peck* commander, to seize fourteen sail of *Dutch* ships; which he accordingly did, and made their captains and crews prisoners, as he did those of three other ships trading to other islands. But the service proved of more difficulty than had been imagined. Lord *Willoughby* and his friends were staunch to the royal cause. They manned the forts which defended *Carlisle Bay*, and made such an appearance by land on the shore, that though Sir George had on board his squadron above 2000 land troops, he could not effect his landing. According to some accounts that have come to our hands, he was defeated in several attempts to make it good, and even obliged to conclude a treaty with the *Barbadians*, who, though they could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the authority of the commonwealth, offered, that colonel *Allen*, and the rest of the planters who had taken part with the parliament, should re-enter into peaceable possession of their estates and plantations. This proposal was embraced by several of those merchants, but not by *Allen*, who continued on board the fleet, and had been pitched upon by Sir George as being the most proper person to conduct the landing, as soon as a favourable opportunity presented. All this while, *Ayscue's* squadron was beating about the island, and in *December* anchored in *Speight's Bay*. Though Sir George was so much a man of honour, that he would not neglect, far less betray, the service he was employed on, yet it is certain, that he was no enthusiast in the cause of his masters; but an accident happened, by which he acquitted himself of this expedition with credit. Perceiving that his force was too small actually to reduce this island, he waited till the arrival of the *Virginia* merchant-fleet, on board of which was a regiment of 700 men, and about

^p Vide British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 760.

(T) See *Mercurius Politicus* for 1651 page 789, where the reader will find a letter from Sir George *Ayscue*, giving an account of this expedition.

a 150 Scotch transports, who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Worcester*; and resolving to avail himself of this force, he immediately made dispositions for landing all his men, who now amounted to about 3000. The landing was effected under the command of colonel *Allen*, who was killed before he got on shore, with above sixty of his men; while the *Barbadians* were driven to a fort, which was taken with four pieces of cannon; but this was far from completing the reduction of the island.

LORD *Willoughby* and the common people still kept the field; and though there was no probability of their being of effectual service to the cause they espoused, yet *Ayscue* could make no impression upon them. On the other hand, the principal royalists, who were men of large estates, coincided with *Ayscue's* moderate plan; and col. *Modiford*, who was one of their chiefs, entered into correspondence with *Ayscue*, whose men made frequent sallies from the fort they had taken, to the ruin of the neighbouring plantations. The negotiation was so well managed, that *Modiford* engaged himself and his friends to join with *Ayscue*, in case lord *Willoughby* should prove so intractable as to reject all terms of accommodation, to bring him to reason. By this time, *Ayscue* had put on shore 2000 foot and 100 horse; and lord *Willoughby* being apprized of the sentiments of his friends, was obliged to agree to a cessation of arms, and to name commissioners for treating of a capitulation for the whole island. Those for his lordship were Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Esq; colonel *Ellice*, and major *Byham*; and those for Sir *George*, captain *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, colonel *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Esq; On the 17th of *January* was the first meeting, and every thing passed in the most amicable manner. Both parties were secured in their freedom and estates, as was even lord *Willoughby* himself, though obnoxious in the last degree to the governing party in *England*; and had he been made prisoner, could have expected no mercy. This moderate conduct was of infinite service to the island; nor was the pacification followed by any acrimonious measures against the loyalists. So far from that, it has been made matter of doubt, though we think without the least degree of probability, whether the inhabitants were obliged to take the oaths to the commonwealth.

It is uncertain, nor, indeed, is it very important to know, what became of lord *Willoughby* after this pacification. Some say that he visited the rest of the islands of his government, and confirmed them in their attachment to the king; but it appears, that he was in *England* about the time of the Restoration. Some have said^a, that one of the articles of the late pacification was, that the chief royalists, as well as lord *Willoughby*, should quit the island for a year, till its government could be put upon a proper footing. This may be true, but probably none were obliged to comply with the terms, but those whose consciences did not allow them to act under the authority of the commonwealth. Upon lord *Willoughby's* leaving the island, Mr. *Searl* was appointed its governor, and he called an assembly, in which the following acts passed: "An act for weights, numbers, and measures, according to the weights, numbers, and measures, used in the commonwealth of *England*; an act to prevent frequenting of taverns and alehouses by seamen; an act for the keeping clear the wharfs, or landing-places, at the *Indian-Bridge*, and on *Speight's-Bay*, alias *Little-Bristol*; an act, that the bringing writs of errors, and other equitable matters, before the governor and council, to be by them determined, be, and do continue in force, according to the ancient customs of this island; an act for prohibiting all persons to encroach upon their neighbours line; an act for the certain and constant appointment of all officers fees within this island."

UPON *Cromwell's* death, and the subsequent change of affairs in *England*, when the committee of safety (as it was called) took upon themselves the direction of national affairs, Mr. *Modiford* was appointed governor of *Barbados*. Though he was a perfect royalist, yet his moderation, and the credit he obtained in the island, recommended him to the ruling powers. About this time, the navigation-act took place in *England*, and it required that the product of all the colonies should be shipped for the mother-country. Tho' this was a very noble and a beneficial provision for *England*, yet it altered the whole system of the *Barbadian* commerce. That island had been governed under the authority of a proprietary, whose circumstances were so indifferent, that he could not make the necessary dispositions for its improvement, so as to render it of any emolument either to himself or to *England*. The planters, therefore, had no rule to steer by but private interest; so that all the nations in *Europe*, but the *Dutch* especially, reaped the benefit of the *Barbados* trade. As that people were then, as they have been since, the great carriers of *Europe*, they supplied the *Barbadians* at an easy rate with all the *European* luxuries for their sugar and other products; which were always sure of finding a ready market all over the world. The soil being new, after it was cleared, was incredibly fertile; and the facility of obtaining lands and plantations upon the island, had increased its population to the amazing numbers we have mentioned, in little more than the space of twenty years: but those vast improve-

Barbados submits to the commonwealth of England.

Modiford governor.

^a Complete System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

Wise regula-
tions.

ments had been of very little service to the mother-country; and it must be acknowledged, it was during her republican-state that *England* first received the true principles of commerce, for making her colonies beneficial to herself. The *Dutch* had been indeed greatly instrumental in raising *Barbados* to what it was, and had not only furnished it with the means of making sugar, but with utensils of ail kinds, and with negroes from *Africa*; a trade which was at that time little known to the *English*: but they found their own interest in all this; and upon the restoration of peace between the two commonwealths, measures were taken for putting an end to their gainful trade with *Barbados*. The *Barbadians*, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *English* government, had, during the war, still carried on a trade with the *Dutch*, which was connived at by the governor, Mr. *Searl*, who durst not venture to use any rigorous measures for suppressing it; and when the act of navigation passed, the *Barbadians* complained of it, as the greatest hardship that could be imposed upon them; and if we are to believe their writers, both their trade and population has ever since been upon the decline.

THE wise regulations introduced into commerce by the navigation-act, were so self-evident, that they were retained by the government of *England* after the Restoration: but it was impossible that they could be carried on to any purpose under a languishing proprietary government. At this time, however, the population of *Barbados* began to decrease by the conquest of *Jamaica*, and the settlements of other islands. The numbers of whites in *Barbados* had been so great, that in the expedition under *Penn* and *Venables* against *Hispaniola*, in *Cromwell's* time, the *Barbadians* alone furnished 3500 soldiers towards it, and that without any sensible inconveniency. They were encouraged in this by the vast prospect they had of plunder, little foreseeing that the casual conquest of *Jamaica* would prove so prejudicial to them as it afterwards did. But a very favourable juncture now presented itself. The family of *Carlisle* was extinct, and *Hay* earl of *Kinnoul*, a *Scotch* nobleman, was its heir, and the king proposed to give him 1000*l.* a year upon his surrendering to the crown the earl of *Carlisle's* patent, which the earl of *Kinnoul* agreed to. This, however, was not done without great opposition on the part of the planters. The value of *Barbados* came now to be well understood; and therefore the right of the planters possessions being more narrowly examined into, it was found or pretended, that very few of them had any right to the estates they held. If we suppose, that their rights were to arise from proprietary grants, this very possibly was true; for the king disclaimed all that had been done under *Cromwell* and the republic. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby* had seven or eight years of his covenant with the earl of *Carlisle* still unexpired, and he had before behaved so well in the government of *Barbados*, that it was confirmed to him by the king, with a new commission of captain-general and governor in chief of this and the rest of the *Caribbee Islands*, for seven years, to commence from the time of his majesty's purchase, and a salary of 1200*l.* a year.

Proprietary
government
dissolved.

THE proprietary government being thus dissolved, and the island reverting to the crown, a new clause, that had never been in any former commission, was added to this of lord *Willoughby*, renewing to the king a power to approve or disallow of all laws that should be made in the island. It must be acknowledged, that in all this proceeding, the king had upon his side the letter of the law; but as the planters had improved the island upon the good faith of the government under which they had lived, and had received neither profit nor protection from *Carlisle's* patent, it would have been barbarous and unjust to have treated them with rigour; not to mention the ingratitude of oppressing men, who had suffered, as many of the *Barbadians* had done, so much for the royal cause. My lord *Clarendon* was then lord-high-chancellor of *England*, and fell in with the moderate and equitable cause, which was that of the planters, by making them secure and easy in their possessions. This was a work of some difficulty. It was pretended, that the earl of *Carlisle* had died 50,000*l.* in debt, which must be satisfied out of his patent; and besides the 1000*l.* a year granted to *Kinnoul*, the heirs of the earl of *Marlbrough* had a perpetual annuity of 300*l.* a year upon the same patent. The planters, not to be wanting to themselves, had sent over agents, to take care of their interests. They were given to understand, that the king was resolved to take the government of the island into his own hands; but that he expected the assembly would give him a proper consideration for the benefits they were to enjoy under a royal government. Upon some hesitation on the part of the agents, who said, they could do nothing without knowing the terms proposed, and without the authority of the assembly, they were given to understand, that it was expected the latter would grant to the crown four and a half pounds for every fivescore pounds of the dead commodities of the produce of the island. The agents urged, that this would amount to a tax of ten per cent. on the clear profits of the planters estates, and would produce, upon the whole, at least 10,000*l.* a year. Mr. *Kendall*, one of the agents, was for accepting this proposition; but the other remonstrated against it, as being a tax which the island could not bear.

- a But the measure had been resolved upon, and his majesty, as well as the hungry dependents upon his court, were so greatly interested in its success, that the lord *Willoughby*, in 1663, agreed to carry it into execution, by going over in person to *Barbados*, which he afterwards did. Though he had for some time received his patent, yet he left the administration of affairs to the president and his council, who happened to be *Henry Walcott*, an old royalist, and himself a considerable planter. This gentleman seems to have discharged his duty with great integrity and prudence, and many excellent acts took place during his administration. Provisions were made for regulating the courts of justice, for settling commercial disputes, for ordering the rates between masters and servants, for the keeping highways in good repair, and other matters of great benefit to the island. But nothing was more commendable under this gentleman's administration, than the great care that was taken in regulating the militia, and in setting a regiment of horse.

- b LORD *Willoughby*, upon his arrival, found the planters in general extremely out of humour with the tax that had been proposed. The royalists thought it was an ungrateful return for their sufferings, and the others opposed it through principle. At the head of this opposition was one colonel *Farmer*, a man of a resolute disposition, who gave his lordship great disquiet. The assembly was called in the *December* after his lordship's arrival, which was in *August*. He found every thing in very flourishing circumstances; for though the population of *Barbados* had been somewhat diminished, as we have already observed, by the removal of *Mosford*, and some other families, to *Jamaica*, yet the remaining planters were the richer; and though the spirit ran very high against the proposed tax, yet the consideration of the precariousness of their tenures prevailed with the members of the assembly to pass it, which they did in an act, with the following specious preamble: "As nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the publick charges and expences; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in the maintaining the honour and dignity of his majesty's authority here, the publick meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a sessions-house, and a prison, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government: we do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever; that is to say, upon all dead commodities, of the growth of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, four and a half in specie for every fivescore."

- c This act did not pass without so strenuous an opposition, that the lord *Willoughby*, being apprehensive of a general revolt, ordered colonel *Farmer* to be arrested, and sent over prisoner to *England*, with a charge against him of mutiny, sedition, and treason; and that his behaviour and practices had prevailed upon a disaffected party in the island so far, that it would be highly improper to suffer him to return to the island before the inhabitants were brought to a better temper. This was an infamous proceeding on the part of the governor, but agreeable to, what was called then, the spirit of loyalty, which suspended all regard for the constitution; nor could the wisdom and honest intentions of the great earl of *Clarendon* himself guard him from the infection. When *Farmer* arrived in *England*, he was carried before the king and council, where he pleaded with a freedom which the temper of that court could not bear, and which the lord *Clarendon* himself pronounced to be insolent and presumptuous, and to deserve imprisonment. *Farmer*, on the other hand, urged his rights of an *Englishman* under *Magna Charta*, and that he had done nothing but in a loyal constitutional manner, and agreeable to the birthrights of a free subject. His plea became his demerit, and he was sent to prison chiefly through the influence of lord *Clarendon*, against whom his conduct in this affair afterwards constituted an article of his impeachment. His lordship, at the same time, thought that *Farmer* ought to be sent back to *Barbados*, there to be proceeded against for the crimes laid to his charge; because, said his lordship, if he was discharged in pursuance of *Magna Charta*, the governor could not preserve his majesty's right. This must be acknowledged to be a very extraordinary argument, and could be called no other than a reason of state, or rather, of tyranny. *Farmer* was the sacrifice; nor did he recover his liberty till after a long tedious imprisonment.

- d In 1664, during the war between *Holland* and *England*, *de Ruyter*, the famous *Dutch* admiral, appeared off *Barbados*, seemingly with an intention to make a descent upon it; but the *Barbadians*, drawing out their militia, made so good an appearance, that *de Ruyter*, after firing a few shot, sheered off. After this, till the death of the governor, *Francis* lord *Willoughby*, which happened in 1666, nothing memorable occurs in the history of *Barbados*, where the royal interest, after the imprisonment of *Farmer*, gained an entire ascendancy. In justice to his lordship, it must be acknowledged, that this proceeding was the only one in his administration that could be called unwarrantable, and that all the rest of his conduct

Opposition to lord Willoughby;

who sends colonel Farmer prisoner to England.

Death of lord Willoughby.

duct was equitable and wise, both in *Barbados*, and in the other islands of his government. ^a He had carried over thither with him some part of his family, and intending, under the pretext of visiting the other islands of his government, to undertake an expedition against the *Dutch*, he nominated *Henry Willoughby*, *Henry Harcelley*, and *Samuel Berwick*, Esqrs. to be governors in his absence. His lordship then departed from *Barbados*, but perished at sea by shipwreck, upon his expedition.

The Barbados laws collected.

THE new governors, during their administration, undertook a very useful design; and that was to ascertain the laws of the island, which having passed under various constitutions, and repugnant governments, stood greatly in need of a proper arrangement and publication; not to mention that, through the calamities of fires, hurricanes, and other accidents, great part of the original records of the island had been destroyed. An act accordingly passed, which appointed *Philip Bell*, *Constant Silvester*, *Robert Hooper*, *Simon Lambert*, and *Richard Evans*, Esqrs. and Mr. *Edward Bowden*, secretary of the island, commissioners to collect what laws should be in force there, which they accordingly did to the best of their information and knowledge. Among other things, they wisely confirmed all the acts that had passed under *Searl's* and *Walron's* governments, and made their return, in a fair transcript, of the whole, consisting of fifty-eight laws; which were not only confirmed by the assembly, but duly published through all the parishes of the island, and honoured with the royal confirmation and approbation of their being the standing laws of *Barbados*, which they continue to be at this day. But still the duty of four and a half per cent. continued to be of so hard a digestion, that those commissioners expressed themselves not a little doubtful as to the legality of the assembly which imposed it, and whether the former taxations under the proprietary government were not all that this island ought to pay. ^b

He is succeeded by his brother.

THE certainty of *Francis* lord *Willoughby's* death being known in *England*, the king appointed his brother *William* lord *Willoughby*, to succeed him in the government of *Barbados*. This *William* lord *Willoughby* came to *Barbados* soon after his brother's death; but another *William Willoughby* being upon the island, and sometimes acting as deputy governor, has occasioned some confusion in this part of the history, though of no great consequence. The government of *England* seems even at this time, to have been not a little distrustful of the safety, and perhaps the allegiance of the *Barbadians*; for, at the time of this lord *Willoughby's* arrival upon the island, a regiment of soldiers, likewise, landed there under the command of *Sir Tobias Bridge*. The assembly was very assiduous in providing accommodations for those soldiers, and passed several acts for that purpose; besides making other regulations in regard to the law-courts of the island, and its internal police. Some of those acts are remarkable, and serve to point out the disorders that then chiefly prevailed in the island. One was for preventing forcible and clandestine entries into lands; another, for reducing the yearly interest of money to ten pound for an hundred; and another, declaring the negroe slaves of the island to be real estate. About the same time, the assembly applied themselves towards the repairing the damage that had been done by a conflagration at *Bridge Town*, by ordering a stop to be put to the running up wooden houses, and that the chief materials for building should be of stone, and so contrived, as to make a better resistance against future fires. ^d

By this time, the date of lord *Willoughby's* commission, under the earl of *Carlisle's* patent and the king's authority, was on the point of expiring; and, after spending some months in visiting the other islands of his government, he embarked for *England*, leaving as his deputy colonel *Christopher Codrington*, in *November* 1668. Upon the expiration of his lordship's patent, no new powers arriving, we are told that the council and assembly then in being met, and voted themselves to be governor, council, and assembly, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and we are to suppose, that *Codrington*, in this interval, acted under their authority. Lord *Willoughby*, after an absence of six months, returned, but with a commission to be governor of *Barbados* only; his majesty thinking proper to divide the former government, by giving another governor to the other islands. Soon after, his lordship again took leave of *Barbados*, and left colonel *Codrington* once more his deputy-governor, who acted as such in 1672; but was succeeded next year by *Sir Peter Colleton*. Lord *Willoughby* afterwards returned to *Barbados*, but died in 1674; and his place, as governor of *Barbados*, was filled up by *Sir Jonathan Atkins*: here ended the government of the two lords *Willoughby*. Notwithstanding the outcries against the tax of the four and a half in the hundred weight, and the unjustifiable proceedings against *Farmer*, it must be acknowledged, that the administration of those two lords was prudent, mild, and equitable, and well calculated for the prosperity of the island. After the Restoration, the humour of preferring *Jamaica* to our other islands, which, during the usurpation, had been very strong, subsided; and *Barbados* recovered its reputation so greatly under its two noble governors, that, upon the arrival of *Sir Jonathan Atkins*, the whites were computed ^e to ^f ^g

Atkins governor.

a to be 50,000, of whom 12,000 were able-bodied men, 30,000 negroes, and 20,000 mulattoes and mestizo slaves; a number of inhabitants scarcely credible upon so small an island; especially when we consider the prodigious losses the planters had sustained by fires and hurricanes, which besides killing great numbers of people, and blowing down three hundred houses, had so effectually destroyed their plantations and works, that they could make no sugar for two years. The corn was destroyed, and eight ships cast away in the harbour. In short, the face of the whole island presented but one continued wreck. To heighten the misfortunes of the *Barbadians*, *New England* about the same time was in no condition to send them the usual supplies of provisions.

Hurricane at Barbados.

One of the first acts of Sir *Jonathan Dickinson's* government, was to take some effectual measures against the consequences of this public calamity. *Barbados* was now thought to be in danger of depopulation, not so much from the hurricanes, as from the rapaciousness of creditors, should they press their debtors so as to oblige them to leave the island. Sir *Jonathan* immediately called together the assembly, and laid before them the danger they were in from their negroes, should any of the whites abandon the island; but we know of no act that passed to obviate this danger, which, perhaps, was only imaginary. The distress of the island, nevertheless, called for some relief; for the officers of the custom-house refused to allow the four and a half duty that had been paid for goods lost in the late storm, to be deducted from a second entry of the like goods. The assembly, therefore, passed an act for allowance of a second free entry for the dead production of this island, lost or taken, relating to the four and a half per cent. At the same time, the assembly agreed upon an address, to be transmitted to the government of *England*, praying, that the duty of four and a half per cent. should be taken off, as the only means of saving the planters from ruin; but this was an indulgence that could not be granted them, and the petition came to nothing. It was in vain for the *Barbadians* to remonstrate upon their hardships, and that none of the public-spirited purposes for which that great tax had been granted, ever had been answered. The necessities of the king's government, and of raising money to support his pleasures, were replies to all their complaints.

But the court of *England*, at that time, began to adopt a new system with regard to the island of *Barbados*, and the other *Caribbees*. The duke of *York*, brother to king *Charles*, understood trade, and had been at some pains to put himself at the head of one branch of it, by projecting the Royal *African* Company. Till that was established, the *Barbadians* had imported their own negroes without any exorbitant expences attending them; but this company obtaining an exclusive charter for the trade to *Africa*, laid the *Barbadians* under what contributions they pleased to raise, and the merchants of *London* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *English* islands in the *West-Indies*, were sharers in the same hardships. Other causes gave uneasiness to the substantial planters at the same time. The petty traders upon this island used by various arts to engross provisions before they came to market, and this occasioned an act to prevent the inconveniences upon the inhabitants of this island, by fore-stallers, ingrossers, and regrators. Another infamous practice prevailed at this time, not only in the *English*, but in the *French* and *Spanish West-Indian* islands, which was that of kidnapping the *Indian* natives from the continent, and, as often as they could find occasion, from the islands likewise. Though this practice was not perhaps, in itself, more barbarous than that of buying negroes, yet it was attended with worse consequences, because it deprived the *English* of all trade with the natives, who not only became shy in their communications, but lost no opportunities of being severely revenged. It was then doubtful under what species of felony this practice came; and one colonel *Warner*, who was charged with it, was seized in *England*, and sent over in the *Phoenix* man of war to be tried at *Barbados*: but he was acquitted, either for want of a law to punish him, or because he had a powerful interest in the *West-Indies*.

Which is oppressed by the royal African company,

f THE island began now to recover from the vast losses it had sustained by the late hurricanes. The planters had been thrown into such consternation, that they had lived for many months in huts upon the open fields, without daring to venture their persons in houses, or to be at the expence of them. But falling now into a more substantial manner of building, they began not only to build houses, but to repair their fortifications and breast-works, and to raise new ones for the security of the island. But all their precautions could not ward off the blows they received from the duke of *York's* interest. The governor had orders to seize all interlopers, for so the *Barbados* ships importing negroes from *Africa* were called: those orders were put severely into execution, and ruined a vast number of families; so that every day produced fresh bankruptcies upon the island. As to the political and religious principles of the *Barbadians*, they were pretty much according to the complexion of those which reigned in *England*; and it was, perhaps, of no service to their commercial interests, that when the popish plot broke out there, their assembly passed an act for enforcing an *English* act against popish recusants. Prior to this, it appears, that the quakers had not been

by seizing the ships of the island.

been a little active in converting the negroes. Their principles of non-resistance were far from being agreeable to a colony which, like that of *Barbados*, was every hour exposed to invasion; and therefore an act passed to prohibit negroes from frequenting quakers-meetings; and the same act contained a clause against dissenters teaching schools upon the island. This last was a precaution perhaps not quite impolitical among planters, where labour was of more utility than learning.

In 1678, the *Constant Warwick* man of war, captain *Doleval* commander, which was stationed at *Barbados*, took the *Barbadian* merchant-fleet as far under convoy as in 20 deg. of latitude; and that captain, upon his return to *Barbados*, was extremely active in seizing interlopers, which he did to a very considerable amount, and to the great oppression of the *Barbadians*. The hardships suffered, as represented by them, were inconceivable. If they met with any of those ships upon the coast of *Africa*, they were treated as being little better than open enemies; and at home, they never missed being condemned in the courts of admiralty, without having the benefit of being tried by a jury. Those proceedings were the more shameful, as the forfeitures always extended to ships and goods, and were given to the king; the governor being, at the same time, the judge and the informer.

Sir Richard Dutton, governor.

At last, those oppressive practices became so crying, that Sir *Jonathan Atkins* desired to be recalled from his government, which he was in 1680; and Sir *Richard Dutton* was appointed to succeed him. This new governor is represented as having been a thorough tool of the court, and sent over to reconcile the *Barbadians* and the other inhabitants of the *Leeward Islands* to popery and arbitrary power. After touching at the *Madrinas*, he arrived in *April* at *Barbados*, where he was received by the assembly and people with great expressions of loyalty. He was the first who procured a clause to be inserted in the militia-act for the men to wear red coats, which was complained of as an unnecessary expense to the inhabitants, who appear, nevertheless, to have been very tame under his government. The doctrine of abhorring addresses for redress of grievances, prevailing, at that time, greatly at the court of *England*, Sir *Richard*, to give a proof to the government of his services, brought the assembly of *Barbados* to agree to one of those abhorring addresses, which he transmitted to *England*, where it was received by his majesty with particular marks of satisfaction. We have little historical matter to relate farther of this governor, excepting that the severity of his proceedings is said to have driven a great number of people from *Barbados* who left the island burdened with their wives and children. This made it necessary for the assembly to pass an act for the better regulating the manner of giving tickets out of the secretary's office, in order to prevent such emigrations. In 1683, the grand jury of *Barbados* overflowed so much in zeal for his majesty, that they voted a most loyal address to be presented to him by their governor, who was then about to take his departure from *Barbados*. In this address his majesty is complimented upon their governor's having stifled and discountenanced faction and fanaticism in their very embryo. They then inform the king, that "their minds had been infinitely ruffled and disturbed at the notices they had of the many attempts and offers that had been lately made in their native country of *England*, and by the rebellious heat of some spirits, hatched in hell, to shake his majesty's throne. They conclude with declaring themselves to be hearty lovers and admirers of his dearest brother."

He goes to England.

It is not certain whether Sir *Richard* had, at this time, any other business in *England* but that of presenting this notable address to his majesty, who, possibly, wanted to be informed by himself concerning the condition of his government; but Sir *Richard* returned, after a few months absence, to *Barbados*. It is well known that the regal, or as some call it, the popish faction, gave law in *England* during the last four years of *Charles's* reign, and that the common people were absorbed in a kind of whirl of loyalty. Upon Sir *Richard's* return to *Barbados*, he held an assembly, in which he passed several new provincial acts; and colonel *Richard Salter* was by law appointed treasurer for the island. Soon after this, *Monmouth's* rebellion broke out in the west of *England*; and great numbers of unfortunate wretches, who were engaged in it, were transported to *Barbados*, where their condition is said to have been rendered almost as miserable as that of the negroes, by a bill which that zealous assembly passed, entitled, An act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebel convicts as, by his majesty's most sacred order, or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his *European* dominions to this place.

New taxes on the Barbadians.

COLONEL *Walrond*, who had been left deputy-governor by Sir *Richard* about this time, fell under his displeasure, and was sent to *England*, to answer a petty charge against him, on account of a trial before a court of *Oyer and Terminer*, in which *Walrond* presided; and he was there prosecuted to the ruin of himself and his family, though he was so much in favour with the assembly, that they not only gave him an ample testimony of his behaviour in that court, but made him a present of 500*l.* for the service he had done the island. The ceremonies which the governor, to demonstrate his loyalty, ordered to be observed when

a when king *James* the Second was proclaimed, were so magnificent, as to exceed any exhibition of the same kind that has since appeared in *Barbados*. All those demonstrations of loyalty were ineffectual for delivering them from the storm that was now hovering over them. They were given to understand, that they must submit to a new tax of two shillings and fourpence upon every hundred weight of muscovado sugar, and seven shillings upon sugars fit for use. The *Barbadians* represented, that if the whole tax must be laid upon trade, it might be laid upon all commodities alike; they said, that a small advance upon all the customs might serve every purpose, as well as a great one upon some; and that this might be borne with some ease, there being so many shoulders to bear it. All their remonstrances availed nothing; the king was in earnest that the tax should take place: but some of his privy-counsellors assured the parliament, in his name, that if it should prove too burdensome to the plantations, it should be taken off. After the act imposing this heavy tax passed, the planters claimed the king's promise by petitioning against it, and endeavouring to shew that it was more heavy than the plantations could bear. The answer returned to them was well suited to the despotic spirit of this reign. "That it was very indecent, not to say undutiful, to tax the king with his promise." This tax was laid on in time of peace, without any apparent necessity, and continued from the firm persuasion which the government entertained as to the ability of the island to discharge it. *Dutton* encouraged every motion towards loading the planters, and was so zealous a friend to the *Royal African* company, that he left Mr. *Edwyn*, (afterwards Sir *Edwyn*) *Stede*, his deputy-governor when he went to *England*; tho' *Stede* was known to be an agent of the *African* company, and had been in no higher station than deputy-secretary to *Dutton*. Soon after, king *James* sent him a commission to be lieutenant-governor of the island; and in the year 1687, he had the honour to receive the duke of *Albemarle* with great pomp and magnificence, when he put into *Barbados* in his voyage to *Jamaica*, of which he was appointed governor.

It was at this time that a fresh plot was formed among the negroes for murdering all the white men upon the island, or rendering them slaves, and to possess themselves of the women. This conspiracy was discovered when it was upon the point of breaking out; and about twenty of the ring-leaders were put to death. Soon after, some gentlemen of the island formed a project of a factory for monopolizing in reality all the sugars and other commodities of the island; but it was of so arbitrary and oppressive a nature, that it was discouraged even by the lord-chancellor *Jefferies*. By this time, the government of *Barbados* began to make a great figure in the state of *England*; for the planters found their account so much in having the governor for their friend, that from time to time they presented him with a thousand pounds; and it was said, that the place brought in about 4000 *l.* a year. When the revolution in *England* took place, king *William* renewed *Stede*'s commission as lieutenant-governor, and soon after appointed *James Kendall*, Esq; who was himself a native of *Barbados*, to be captain-general and chief governor of that island and the other *Caribbees*. Before his arrival, the people of *St. Christopher's* and the other *Leeward-Islands*, as will be seen in their history, applied to the government of *Barbados* for assistance against the *French*; and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, a gentleman of *Barbados*, received a commission for raising a regiment on the island for their relief, which he did, to the amount of 700 men, who were all of them clothed, armed, and embarked, at the expence of the *Barbadians*. This expedition took place the 1st of *August*, 1689, and Sir *Timothy Thornhill* remained at *St. Christopher's*, and the other *Leeward-Islands*, with his regiment, some time after the arrival of Mr. *Kendall* at *Barbados*.

A plot among the negroes discovered and punished.

This gentleman was a zealous enemy to the *French* encroachments upon the *Leeward-Islands*, and passed many popular acts for the encouragement of trade in those parts. The war with *France* raging with great violence, the masters of the ships trading to *Barbados* took that opportunity of raising their freights to so exorbitant a rate, as to demand the interposition of the legislature of the island. An act accordingly passed, "for regulating the exorbitant rates demanded and received by masters of ships and others, for freights of sugars for *Europe*;" by which the freight was settled at 6s. and 6d. the hundred weight; for muscovado sugar, 7s. and 6d. for whites; 5s. a hundred for scalded, and 6s. a hundred for scraped ginger; and 2d. a pound for cotton. This regulation, however promising, was ineffectual; for the ship-masters, though they were bound by it, could not be obliged to send vessels to *Barbados* upon the terms prescribed by the act, and therefore it was repealed. It was observable, that great fortunes were made now upon the island, by the improved sale of the sugars it produced; and the operations against the *French* still continuing in the *Leeward-Islands*, no fewer than six stout ships were taken up at *Barbados*, and sent from thence to reinforce commodore *Wright's* Squadron at *St. Christopher's*. On the 17th of *March*, 1690, an act passed to repeal an act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebels convicted, as, by his majesty's most sacred order or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his *European* dominions to this place. This act was in consequence

War with the French in the West-Indies.

sequence of an order, said to be sent by king *William*, for the enlargement of the rebels ^a who had been transported to *Barbados* for being concerned in the duke of *Monmouth's* rebellion; and who, as has been already hinted, remained there under particular hardships.

The Barbadians appoint agents at London.

AFTER the Revolution, one Mr. *Gardener*, who was solicitor at *London* for the affairs of *Barbados*, remonstrated so effectually against the hardships which that island suffered from the exclusive patent of the royal *African* company, that the planters were eased of their oppressions, by the company's right to seize their ships as interlopers being repealed, and the *African* trade thrown open. This was thought to be the consequence of the great partiality which king *James* had always expressed for that company. That same year, the assembly of *Barbados* appointed two agents, with a salary of 250 *l.* each, to manage their affairs at *London*. The prosperity of *Barbados* may be now said to ^b have been at its vertical point. The trade to *Africa* being thrown open, the enterprising *Barbadians* engaged deeper than ever in the *Leward* expeditions; but their affairs were under very bad management. *Wright*, the *English* commodore, appears to have been a man neither of courage nor capacity; and notwithstanding the great reinforcement sent to him by the *Barbadians*, he trifled away his time so egregiously, that the *French* made prizes of a great number of *Barbados* ships, so that the island itself was threatened with scarcity. This drove the planters to the necessity of fitting out two ships for their own defence; and an act of the assembly passed, "to secure and reimburse the honourable colonel *Richard Salter*, treasurer of this island, all such sums of money, together with the interest of the ^c same, after the rate of ten *per cent. per annum*, he shall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting out, two ships, sloops, or other vessels of war, for the defence of this island." Another act, about the same time, passed, "for entrenching and fortifying this island, in such places as his excellency shall direct." It must be acknowledged, that the maritime affairs of *England*, during most part of the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne*, were under a miserable direction. The *Barbadians* being left to defend themselves, suffered vastly, not only by their most useful hands being employed in war, but by a pestilential disease, which broke out among their soldiers, and communicated itself to the islanders, such numbers of whom were swept off, that it is believed *Barbados* has not to this day recovered the depopulation it then sustained.

Their affairs mismanaged.

THE cowardice and mismanagement of commodore *Wright* being too notorious to be ^d longer palliated, he was sent home prisoner, and was succeeded in his command by captain *Wren*, a brave active officer. He arrived at *Barbados* with eight men of war on the 16th of *January*, 1690-91, while the *French*, with sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships, remained masters of the seas there, and distressed the *British* trade. *Kendall*, the governor of *Barbados*, hearing that nine of those men of war were plying to the north-east of that island, fitted out two stout merchant-men as ships of war; and they were joined by his majesty's ships the *Norwich*, *Mary*, *Antelope*, *Mordaunt*, and *Diamond*, with two sloops. This squadron, after cruising for some time in the latitude of *Martinico*, returned on the 5th of *February* to *Barbados* without effect. Captain *Wren* then took under his convoy the merchant-ships bound to the *Leeward-Islands* and to *Jamaica*; where being joined with the ^e *Assistance*, the *Hampshire*, and the *Paul* fire-ship, he sailed in quest of the *French* fleet. On the 21st of *February*, being off the *Delcades*, he discovered it to the number of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships, commanded by the count *de Benac*; and, after several manœuvres, an engagement ensued, in which captain *Wren*, though he had but seven men of war, acquitted himself so well, that he carried all his ships and convoy safe to *Barbados*, excepting the *England* frigate, which bore away to *Jamaica*. About the same time, the *Assistance* man of war met a *French* ship of sixty guns, laden with masts, with all kinds of ship and sea-stores, and carried her into *Barbados*. This was one of the most seasonable prizes that was made during the whole war in the *West Indies*.

Great distress of the island.

THAT island continued, during all the year 1692, to be in a most miserable situation. ^f The mortality raged on board the shipping to such a degree, that hands were wanting to man their vessels, and the brave commodore *Wren* was among the number of the dead. To add to the affliction of the survivors, the weather was so rigorous, that their crop of sugars failed, and a fresh demand was made upon them for raising 1000 men, to be employed in a new expedition against the *French*. It was about this time that the board of trade and plantations began to make a figure in *England*, and the island of *Barbados* became one of its chief subjects. Some of the principal planters were displaced from their seats in the council, on account of misrepresentations for disaffection; but they were cleared by their governor, and replaced. The *French* still continuing to harass the *Barbados* trade, the assembly there ordered their agents in *England* to petition the commissioners of trade ^g and plantations for a regiment of soldiers, to whom they promised free quarters, to remain in their island; but this proposal came to nothing. The *Barbadians*, all this while, expressed the greatest loyalty to the government of *England*, as settled upon king *William* and queen *Mary*; and colonel *Stede* received the honour of knighthood for presenting the address of the assembly to their majesties.

a But the face of affairs was now greatly altered in this island, which, from being rich, powerful, and populous, but a few years before, was now distressed by sickness, and want of hands to carry on their necessary works. Those were chiefly supplied by a vast importation of negroes from *Guinea*; who not being born upon the island, conceived an implacable hatred to their masters, and entered into a more dangerous conspiracy than any they had yet formed, to exterminate the white inhabitants. Though the *English* were ignorant of the particulars of the plot, yet they knew in general that some such design was in agitation. They had passed two acts; one "for encouragement of all negroes and slaves that shall discover any conspiracy;" and another "for prohibiting the selling of rum, or any strong liquors, to any negro or other slave." Those precautions had but little effect; for b the negroes proceeded upon a plan much better concerted than could have been expected from such barbarians. They agreed to begin with killing the governor; and the slaves of each plantation were to murder their masters and overseers, while the storekeeper's own negro was to cut his master's throat, and to throw open the magazine of arms and ammunition to the conspirators. They had appointed their own officers, and projected a design for surprising the fort, and thereby to become masters of the shipping. In all this they were encouraged by the scarcity of white inhabitants upon the island; and though the conspiracy, even if prosperous, must have terminated in their destruction, yet it primarily must have occasioned that of the island likewise.

Another conspiracy of the natives.

c THE general persuasion the *English* had that such a conspiracy was on foot, made them more than commonly vigilant; and, at last, two of the head conspirators being overheard to talk of their design, they were apprehended almost upon the eve of its being put into execution. The wretches thought themselves so sure of being rescued, that they suffered themselves to be hung in chains for four days, without any sustenance. Their punishment daunted the other conspirators. They made no efforts to save the criminals, who, on their own request, were taken from their gibbets, and discovered all they knew. Their accomplices were immediately seized, put to the torture, and many of them executed, to the great detriment of their masters and the trade of the island. It is now more than probable, that this conspiracy was privately fomented by *French* agents; and the *Barbadians* resolved to use their utmost endeavours in an expedition against *Martinico*; but in the mean while, d they very prudently passed acts for preventing for the future the like dangers which they had so lately escaped. Notwithstanding the thinness of their island, the *Barbadians* raised two regiments, of 500 men each, one commanded by colonel *Salter*, and the other by colonel *Boteler*, two of their own countrymen. The government of *England* had this expedition so much at heart, that Sir *Francis Wheeler* was appointed to the command of a stout squadron, with two regiments of foot on board, which sailed for *Barbados*, under the command of colonel *Foulk*.

e THIS armament arriving at *Barbados* about the beginning of the year 1693, were immediately joined by the regiments raised in that island, and such a number of volunteers as made the whole to amount to near 1400 men. On the first of *April*, this squadron with the troops on board arrived off *Martinico*, and anchored in the *Cul de Sac Marine*, while the admiral and the commanders of the land troops were searching for a proper place to land their men. According to the best accounts, this expedition was miserably mismanaged. The *English* regulars amounted to above 4000 men, a force that was thought sufficient to have dispossessed the *French* of the island. The *French* had strong posts all along the shore, and the wind blew high; but at last colonel *Foulk* effected a landing with 1500 men. All he could do was to destroy defenceless houses and works in the neighbourhood; and, after being but one day on shore, they reembarked on the 4th of *April*. Next day, Sir *Francis Wheeler* landed with 500 men in *Diamond-Bay*, where he burnt several houses and plantations, while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Next day, colonel *Lillister* landed with another party, and ravaged part of the open country. On the 9th, colonel *Codrington* joined f the squadron with *Lloyd's* regiment, and the *Leeward* forces, and the armament was then thought strong enough to attack *St. Pierre*, the chief fort of the island; before which they accordingly arrived on the 15th of *April*, and anchored within musket-shot of the shore.

Martinico invaded.

g It is said, to the honour of the *Barbadians*, that had all the *English* troops behaved as well as they did, not only *Martinico*, but all the *French Leeward-Islands*, must at this time have fallen into their hands; but the government of *England* had not been sufficiently careful in their choice of officers to command the expedition. Many of them were disaffected to the service, and for that very reason were employed in the *West Indies*; and some of them were known to be *Irish* Roman catholics. The colonels *Foulk* and *Goodwin*, with major *Abraham* and others of their chief officers, remained on board the ships, where they died ingloriously of contagious distempers. Notwithstanding this, the *Barbados* and the *Leeward* troops behaved with the greatest spirit and resolution. They possessed themselves of an

Misfrriage
of the expedi-
tion.

an eminence which commanded the town of *St. Pierre*, landed their heavy artillery, destroyed the country, drove the enemy from all their advanced posts, and obliged them to keep behind their entrenchments. On the 19th, the *French* made a sally, but were repulsed; and so apprehensive were the people of *Martinico* of their danger, that the most wealthy of them shipped off themselves and their effects for *France*; but some of them were intercepted by the *English*. Nothing but the most scandalous mismanagement could have prevented *St. Pierre* from being reduced; but a council of war being held, it was most unaccountably resolved to reembark the troops and artillery, under pretext that they had not foreseen the difficulties they had to encounter, and that both the soldiers and sailors were sickly. Thus ended this promising expedition, in which, according to the *French* accounts, the *English* lost some of their heavy artillery, besides having about six hundred men killed, and three hundred taken prisoners; but those numbers probably include those who died of sickness.

Ruffel, go-
vernor.

Soon after, his majesty king *William* recalled colonel *Kendall*, whom he made one of the lords of his admiralty; and nominated colonel *Francis Ruffel*, brother to the earl of *Orford*, to the government of *Barbados*; and likewise to the command of a regiment, which was to reside and do duty upon that island. This regiment arrived there in 1694, and the assembly took care to accommodate the men with quarters. All this while, the epidemical sickness continued to rage both at sea and on land, and carried off such numbers of seamen, that the assembly was forced to pass an act for manning the *Tiger* and the *Mermaid*, two men of war that lay in *Carlisle-Bay* for the protection of the island. Some of the *Barbados* regiment having been left in the *Leeward-Islands*, after the *Martinico* expedition, the new governor fitted out the brigantine *Marygold* to bring them home. The assembly, about the same time, victualled the *Bristol* man of war, and the *Play Prize*, for their security against the *French*; remitted a considerable sum of money to their agents at *London* for the use of their island; and made a present of 2000 *l.* to their governor, who had carried over with him a numerous and expensive family, besides paying his regiment. Upon the death of queen *Mary* in 1695, the governor, council, and assembly, presented a most dutiful address of condolance to his majesty, which he received with great satisfaction; but the want of œconomy in *England*, and the party-heats which prevailed at court, laid the *Barbadians* under infinite hardships. They were obliged to victual, man, and pay the very ships appointed for the convoy of their trade; and though they made a fresh present to their governor of 2000 *l.* so little attention was paid to the security of the island, that it is said, that when *de Pointis*, the *French* admiral, came in sight of *Barbados*, in his expedition to *Cartagena*, there was not in all the forts upon the island seven rounds of powder. It was thought that the agents of the pirates, who now became to be very troublesome, had shipped off great quantities of that commodity for their new settlement at *Madagascar*. Mean while, governor *Ruffel* died, and the administration in the interim devolved, as usual, upon the president of the council, who was *Francis Bond*, Esq.

Loyalty of the
Barbadians
to king Wil-
liam.

UPON the breaking out of the assassination-plot, the president, council, and general assembly of *Barbados*, voted an address “to congratulate his majesty’s wonderful and happy deliverance from the most barbarous and bloody assassination lately designed against his royal person by execrable villains, and monsters of mankind, who are the dishonour of the present, and will be the horror and detestation of future ages.” The grand jury of the island presented a like address upon the same occasion. Mr. *Bond*’s administration was productive of several excellent measures for the benefit of the island. The right of elections of members to serve in the assembly was secured, and a great point was gained by their passing an act, “That the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.” By another act of the same assembly, judges were restrained from pleading and practising in any courts of the island; and by another act, the militia of *Barbados* was put under a better regulation than it had ever been under before. By that act, cannons were ordered to be mounted upon the principal posts of the island, the inhabitants being every day apprehensive of an invasion; but they were somewhat relieved in 1697, by the arrival of an *English* fleet under admiral *Nevill*, who was ordered to go in search of *Pointis*.

Grey, go-
vernor.

UPON the conclusion of the peace of *Utrecht*, which was of great service to *Barbados*, his majesty appointed the honourable *Ralph Grey*, Esq; brother of the earl of *Tankerville*, to be governor of that island. He sailed from *St. Helens* the 1st of *June*, 1698; and on the 26th of *July*, after touching at *Madeira*, he arrived at *Barbados* in the *Soldados* prize, together with the *Speedwell* man of war, the captain of which narrowly escaped being murdered by some of his crew, who intended to have run away with the ship, and to have turned pirates; but being discovered, they were sent in chains to *England*. The new governor was received with high marks of respect by the administration of the island; and Mr. *Maxwell*, the speaker of the assembly, complimented him on his safe arrival. It may be here

- a here proper to observe, that his excellency's commission nominated him to be "captain-general and chief governor of the island of *Barbados*, *Santa Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominico*, and the rest of his majesty's islands, colonies, and plantations in *America*, known by the name of the *Caribbee-Islands*, lying and being to windward of *Guadaloupe*." Before the arrival of Mr. Grey, the governors of *Barbados* had generally resided upon an estate called *Fontabell*, which was hired for them by the assembly; but that habitation was now not only out of repair, but inconveniently situated, being exposed to descents of pirates and enemies. The assembly, therefore, passed an act "to settle 500*l.* per annum on his excellency for his habitation." Another act passed for declaring and ascertaining the rights and powers of the general assembly of the island; and on the 7th of *September* that same year, the assembly made their new governor a present of 2000*l.*

Mr. Grey's administration happened to be very popular, though he had from the crown an order to receive 1200*l.* a year out of the four and a half per cent. to be paid on the spot by the collectors of the tax; but, being generous and magnificent, his person was very acceptable to the planters, though their island at the time of his arrival was in a miserable condition. The infectious distemper was not quite abated. The expedition to *Martinico* had cost the *Barbadians* above 30,000*l.* above forty sugar-works were deserted; many acres of ground lay waste; the late expensive taxes had disabled some of the principal planters from carrying on their works. Not only corn and provisions of all kinds, but even sugars, were become scarce; and a fresh hurricane destroyed great numbers of plantations that had been repaired. As some alleviation to so many misfortunes, the sickness soon after Mr. Grey's arrival ceased; and though it broke out about two years after, it did not last long. The northern colonies, *New England* especially, supplied *Barbados* with provisions; and though not above 90,000 acres in the whole island were in a condition to pay taxes, the inhabitants supported themselves and their government with invincible spirit and constancy. The laws of the island were collected and printed at the publick expence; and, by the return of health to the island, all its former calamities seemed to vanish. In the year 1701, the governor, Mr. Grey, went to *England* for the recovery of his health, where he soon after became lord Grey of *Werk*, by the death of his brother.

- Mr. Grey left the administration of affairs in the hands of *John Farmer*, Esq; president of the council; and in his time happened the death of king *William*, and the accession of queen *Anne* to the crown; events which were notified in form to the president and assembly of *Barbados*. Her majesty was proclaimed with all the pomp which the government of the island could furnish out; and a most loyal address of congratulation and condolance was sent over, which was presented to her majesty by the lord Grey the late governor. As soon as the war broke out between *France* and *England*, the island of *Barbados*, which now had recovered an entire state of health, fitted out a vast number of privateers to act against the *French Leeward Islands*. A fleet of no fewer than sixteen of them rendezvousing off the island of *Guadaloupe*, their crews landed; and after destroying part of the island, they brought off from it a considerable number of negroes. *Barbados* was, at the same time, threatened with a new conspiracy of the negroes, who had plotted to seize the forts of the island; but being discovered, the ringleaders were apprehended and executed. In 1703, Sir *Bevill Greenville* supplanted Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a *London* merchant, in the government of *Barbados*. Mr. *Crow* had kissed king *William's* hand upon the same, and was very acceptable to the planters; but upon that prince's death, Sir *Bevill* was appointed, to the great disappointment of a number of the islanders. The presents of 2000*l.* which had been made, being found inconvenient for the crown as well as the people, the custom was abolished in Sir *Bevill's* person; but he was impowered to receive as his salary 800*l.* a year of additional revenue, which raised his ordinary income to 2000*l.* Upon his arrival at *Barbados*, the assembly paid him the compliment of appointing his brother-in-law, Sir *John Stanley*, to be one of their agents at *London*; and a new house was built for Sir *Bevill* himself, on a spot called *Pilgrim's Plantation*, which continues to this day to be the residence of the governors.

Sir Bevill
Greenville,
governor.

- Sir *Bevill* having been brought in by the tory ministry, which had the ascendancy in the first years of queen *Anne's* reign, met with many enemies upon the island, who represented him in a very unfavourable light at home. There is some reason for believing that Sir *Bevill's* behaviour was not so cautious as it ought to have been; but the *Barbadians* under him having had great success in privateering, his conduct was the less questioned; especially as he had denied all the charge that had been sent over against him; and none of them seem to have been legally proved. On the other hand, Sir *Bevill* complained of a design that had been formed against his life; and parties went so high in the island, that a member of the council was fined 2000*l.* on that account. In 1750, the want of specie in the island was sensibly felt, on account of the silver being sent off to evade the compliance with a proclamation for reducing it to a certain standard all over the *English West-Indies*.

Indies. To supply this scarcity, the assembly passed an act for striking paper-money to the amount of 65,000*l.* which their treasurer was to give out in bills to the planters, upon the security of land and negroes; and Mr. *Holder*, the speaker of the assembly, being appointed treasurer, had an allowance of five per cent. for managing the bills. This act was exclaimed against by the gentlemen of the greatest property in the island, who complained of it as a fraud, on account of the difficulty they found in negotiating the bills; and no sooner did the assembly rise, than they sent over remonstrances to *England* against the act.

Succeeded by
Crow.

SIR *Bevill Greenwill* found himself now uneasy, and obtained his recal, but died on his voyage to *England*. Upon his death, Mr. *Crow*, who had distinguished himself by his services in *Spain* to the whig administration, was appointed governor of *Barbados*, where he arrived in 1707. He found parties there running very high on account of the paper credit; and the whig interest now prevailing in *England*, one of the first acts of his government was, to remove from their places at the council-board, and from the administration of all affairs, all who were at the governor's disposal, all who had been concerned in the paper-credit act; and Mr. *Holder* was obliged to refund the money he had received for the management of the bills. This served only to encrease the spirit of party in the island; which running higher than ever, Mr. *Crow* was recalled from his government, upon the change of the ministry, at the latter end of queen *Anne's* reign, in 1711, and was succeeded by *Robert Lowther*, Esq. This gentleman was removed from his government in 1713, upon some complaints against him.

Lowther,
governor;

his mis-
management.

Upon his departure, the administration fell into the hands of *William Sharp*, Esq; president of the council; but *Lowther*, notwithstanding his recal, was so loth to part with his power, that he threatened to prosecute two members of the council, *Cox* and *Salter*, for treasonable practices, because they disowned his authority. *Lowther* being at last obliged to leave the island, Mr. *Sharp's* administration was so unexceptionable, that he received the thanks of the ministry; but in 1715, *Lowther* was restored by king *George* the 1st. to the government. Being a proud vindictive man, he made an unmerciful use of his restoration to power. Having a particular quarrel with the reverend Mr. *Gordon*, rector of St. *Michael's*, and the bishop of *London's* commissary upon the island, he represented him to his diocesan in the most odious colours, and obtained, by means of the *Barbados* agents, some harsh proceedings to pass at the board of trade against *Gordon*. The latter, upon this, appealed to the crown; and on the 15th of *March*, 1718, his majesty referred his petition to a committee of the council, complaining as well against a petition of the agents of the island of *Barbados*, and a report of the board of trade thereupon, as against a letter wrote by the governor of the said island to the lord bishop of *London*, highly reflecting on the said *Gordon's* conduct as commissary, and on his principles and character. Mr. *Gordon* obtained from the lords-justices (the king being then at *Hanover*) an order for taking depositions at *Barbados*, and the governor had the same liberty; but upon Mr. *Gordon's* returning to *Barbados*, and serving this order upon the governor, the latter paid so little regard to it, that he committed *Gordon* prisoner to the common gaol. In short, the whole of the prosecution against *Gordon* was so arbitrary and malicious, that the lords-justices voted them to be groundless, and that they ought to be dismissed.

Tyranny of
Lowther.

THIS was not the only act of tyranny which *Lowther* was guilty of in his government. One *Lansa*, a merchant in *Bridge Town*, petitioned the king and council in *England* against an unlawful seizure, which *Lowther* made of his ship, and returned to *Barbados* with an order for making an enquiry into the matter of the complaint. *Lowther* disputed the authenticity of this order; and pretending that it was forged, he not only forced the original from Mr. *Blenman*, who was counsel for *Lansa*, but sent him to prison, and bound him over in 1000*l.* bail. *Blenman*, being unable to obtain any justice upon the island, went over to *England*; where, upon hearing the cause, the lords-justices ordered, That all proceedings on the recognizance be vacated; and if any levy had been made upon the forfeiture, that the same be forthwith returned to Mr. *Blenman*, or his agent. About this time, Sir *Charles Cox* petitioned the king and council against *Lowther*, for removing his brother from the council-board in an arbitrary and illegal manner. While this petition was in dependence, *Lowther* went over to *England*, and left the government of *Barbados* in the hands of his nephew, one Mr. *Frere*. The truth of *Cox's* complaint being fully proved, the lords-justices restored his brother to the presidency of the council, and ordered *Frere*, of course, to resign to him the administration of the island; and he not complying with this order, was summoned forthwith to appear before the council-board of *England*.

Misgovern-
ment of the
island.

EVERY day now produced fresh charges against *Lowther*. Two others of the council, *Alexander Walker*, and *Timothy Salter*, Esqrs. having likewise been arbitrarily removed from the council-board, were restored to their seats there. A petition was presented against the governor for peculation and illegal practices, and signed by Sir *Robert Davers* and *John Walters*, Esq; both of them members of the *British* parliament, Mr. *Allen*, and other gentlemen

- a tlemen of great interest in the island. The allegations of this petition were, that *Lowther*, in violation of his instructions from the crown, had extorted from the island of *Barbados* 28,000 *l* of that currency; and that he had, contrary to the acts of trade and navigation, suffered a *Spanish* vessel to trade with the island. Those charges being fully proved, *Lowther* was ordered to be taken into custody and prosecuted; but the prosecution was afterwards dropped. Other charges, of the most tyrannical nature, were brought against *Lowther* and his creatures, particularly for their having caused a gentleman of the island to be publicly whipped by the common slave-whipper, upon an accusation of private defamation; and all the justices, to the number of eight, who had been concerned in this illegal judgment, were removed from the commission of the peace. Mr. *Cox* being restored to the presidency, and consequently to the administration during the vacancy of the government, a strange scene of anarchy ensued. All the chief places of the island were filled with *Lowther's* friends, who had on their sides a majority both in the council and the assembly; and they had passed an act for preserving the peace and tranquillity of the island. The meaning of this act, in fact, was, to preserve their own places and seats at the council-board and in the assembly, and to restore *Frere* to the presidency, notwithstanding the royal orders in favour of *Cox*. Their party was so strong, that when Mr. *Cox* at last took possession of the presidency, they insisted upon the validity of the tranquillity-act (as they called it); and he was so hampered in his government, that he was obliged to suspend five or six of the refractory counsellors.
- c THE fluctuation of parties in *England*, and the death of secretary *Craggs*, who was *Cox's* great patron, with several other incidental causes, proved favourable to *Lowther* and his party. He suspended counsellors, and their friends sent over heavy complaints against *Cox*, and they obtained an order for resuming their seats at the council-board. This was so complete a triumph to the party, that they exulted more than ever, and perplexed the affairs of the government so much, that even the excise-bill, which was necessary for the support of the public, was in danger of being lost. It must be owned, at the same time, that Mr. *Cox* did not behave with the requisite moderation; and this might prepossess the ministry against him. He had, under no very justifiable pretexts, removed from the bench of justice several men of consequence in the island, who had been friends to *Lowther*, and
- d had endeavoured to commence vexatious prosecution against them; and this served to increase the opposition to his government. The apparent intention of the *British* ministry, upon so many contradictory charges as daily came over from *Barbados*, was to let matters continue in the state they were, until a new governor should be appointed; who was to be furnished with full powers and proper instructions for enquiring into, and punishing all publick malversations on both sides.

- It was about this time that the greatest families in *Britain* were severely feeling the dreadful effects of the *South-Sea* scheme; and the ministry, perhaps with no sound policy, sought to indemnify some of the sufferers by giving them *West-India* governments. Of this number was the lord *Belhaven*, a *Scotch* nobleman, a favourite with the prince of
- e *Wales*, who being at that time well received at court, had interest enough to procure him to be appointed to the government of *Barbados*; but his lordship was unfortunately cast away near the *Lizard-Point*, in his voyage to that island. Lord *Irwin* was likewise appointed; but he also died before he reached *Barbados*, and then the government was given to *Henry Worsley*, Esq. Before that gentleman arrived in the island, the duke of *Portland*, who had been appointed to the government of *Jamaica*, with his dutchess, and a splendid retinue, landed at *Barbados*. Though the island was then in little less than a state of civil commotion, yet both factions seemed to vie with one another in the honours and entertainments bestowed upon his grace, but always in separate parties; and the most noble visitants departed from thence with the highest opinion of the *Barbadian* elegance and politeness.
- f

- WHEN the duke of *Portland* was in *Barbados*, the ineffectual attempt made by the *English* under the duke of *Montague*, to settle the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, took place. We shall not here enter into any discussion of the equitable claim the crown of *England* had to settle those islands, and which seems to be established beyond all dispute; but we shall recount how far the government of *Barbados* was concerned in those settlements. Mr. *Vring*, who had been appointed deputy-governor of both islands, found the affairs of both in a very different situation from what he expected; and, to say the truth, it is not a little surprising that the *English* ministry should suffer the duke of *Montague* to expend the vast sums he did on this expedition, without knowing the dispositions of the
- g *French* court; not to mention the disgrace it brought upon his majesty's government and the honour of the nation. The governments of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *St. Dominica*, had till then been included in the commission of the government of *Barbados*, even after that of the *Leeward Islands* was separated from it. The insidious conduct of the *French* had

Lord Belhaven appointed governor.

Account of the intended settlement of *St. Lucia*.

amused the *English* governors into too great a neglect of those islands; though *William* a lord *Willoughby*, while he was governor of *Barbados*, had always paid great attention to them; and in 1668, he sent to *St. Vincent* a force which the *French* historian, *P. du Tetre*, acknowledges obliged the *Indian* natives of that island, as well as those of *Dominica*, to submit to the *English* government. Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, who succeeded the younger lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Richard Dutton*, who succeeded him, seem to have paid but little regard to those islands; but colonel *Stede*, *Dutton's* lieutenant-governor, hearing that the *French* used to wood and water upon them, sent captain *Temple* thither with a force to interrupt them. This happened about the time that king *James* the II^d entered into a kind of a treaty of neutrality with the court of *France*; by which all matters of debate, both in *America* and the *West-Indies*, were to be amicably adjusted by commissioners, and b the conquests on both sides were to be restored. Even this treaty preserved entire to the crown of *England* its rights upon *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and they still continue to be named in the commissions of the governors of *Barbados*; but it must be acknowledged, that effectual care had not been taken sufficiently to ascertain that right by possession; and the *French* government, which never fails to turn the smallest omission to their own advantage, pretended, for that reason, that they belonged to his most Christian majesty.

IN 1719, M. *D'Estrées* obtained from the regent of *France* a grant of *St. Lucia*, and he accordingly sent a colony to possess and settle it. Though the *English* ministry at that time were but too intimately connected with that of *France*, yet the insolence of this grant became so much a national concern, that the *British* ambassador at *Paris* had orders to present very spirited memorials against the intended colony; and so far had the *English* government been from giving up their right to the islands in question, that the following article always made part of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados*, viz. "If any of the subjects of a foreign prince or state have already planted themselves upon any of the islands of *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, *Tobago*, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same, you are to assert our right to the said islands exclusive of others; and in order to hinder the settlement of any colony there, you are to give notice to such foreigners that shall pretend to make such settlements, that unless they shall remove within such time as you in your discretion shall assign, you shall be obliged by force to dispossess, and send them off the islands." c

Assistance
given to it by
the Barbadians.

It is remarkable, that in the grant made by the regent of *France* to the marshal *D'Estrées* nothing was reserved to the crown of *France* but the faith and homage of the settlers, "and a tenth of the free profits of the mines which shall be wrought there by the marshal or his assigns." This extraordinary grant being remonstrated against (as we have already seen) by the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, *D'Estrées* had orders from his court to discontinue his settlement, and to withdraw his people from the island. This compliance, together with the perpetual interruptions which the governors of *Barbados* had given to the *French*, when they pretended to wood and water upon those islands without their leave, was considered by the court of *England* as an acquiescence in their right to the islands in question; and it was upon that presumption that the duke of *Montague* had obtained his grant. The new colony was under the convoy of the *Winchelsea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander, which brought Mr. *Vring* to *Barbados*. From hence he proceeded to *St. Lucia*, where they arrived the 17th of *December*, 1722. The resistance and danger which *Vring* underwent in attempting a settlement on *St. Lucia*, belong to another part of this work. Perceiving by all accounts that M. *de Feuquieres*, the governor of *Martinico*, had orders from his court, at all events, to oppose the settlement, *Vring* sent to the president of *Barbados* the letter he had received from *Feuquieres* on that head. The president, upon this, dispatched *William Boteler*, Esq; with a letter to *Martinico* for the *French* governor there, remonstrating against the opposition which *Vring* had met with upon the island, mixed with some menaces: but all was to no purpose. *Feuquieres* persisted in his resolution to act according to the letter of his instructions, and the commanders of the *English* men of war that were then in the *West Indies*, hesitated to give *Vring* any assistance. This pacific conduct is not easily to be accounted for, but by either supposing that those commanders did not think themselves warranted in commencing hostilities with the *French*, or that they had received secret instructions from the *English* admiralty to act as they did; but, indeed, the whole management of this expedition is dark and unaccountable. Nothing, however, was wanting on the part of the *Barbadians* to render the settlement successful. The president assembled the council, and understanding that captain *Brown*, of the *Feversham* man of war, had returned a very doubtful answer to *Vring's* request of assistance, *Cox* sent him a letter, in pursuance of his instructions, offering him, on the part of the island, all the aid he could require for making the duke of *Montague's* settlement good. This letter proved to be of no service, for the *French* pushed *Vring* so briskly, that they drove him off *St. Lucia*; nor did he succeed better at *St. Vincent*, which he afterwards endeavoured g

a vowed to settle. Upon the arrival of Mr. *Worfeley* at *Barbados*, he was congratulated by *de Feuquieres* in a letter which contained some reflecting expressions upon *Vring's* attempt. Mr. *Worfeley*, in one paragraph of his letter, in answer to *Feuquieres*, dated the 12th of February, 1722-3, tells him, that "since you are pleased to communicate to me your conduct in the affair of *St. Lucia*, I must say I have a very great esteem for every officer that punctually obeys his master's orders; and had I been in my government when this affair happened, I should have used my utmost endeavours to have maintained the duke of *Montague* in the possession of those islands, to which the king my master has an incontestable right."

b Mr. *Worfeley* appears to have carried with him to *Barbados* strong prepossessions against Mr. *Cox*, the president, and the gentlemen who had opposed Mr. *Louther*; but he conducted himself with so much address, that neither party thought him their enemy, and therefore both courted him for their friend. Add to this, that many gentlemen of great consequence in the island blamed both parties, and sincerely wished to see an end put to their civil dissensions. All this operated favourably for the governor, who was well supported at home, and the assembly was brought to agree to grant him the enormous revenue of 6000 *l.* a year. Their reasons, as afterwards appeared, for this liberality were, an expectation that all their grievances should be redressed, and their depending upon the governor's promise, "that he would be satisfied with that settlement, and make no other demand upon the public during his government." This great point being gained by the governor, and half a crown a head being laid on each negro for defraying it, he proceeded to his enquiries into the state of the island before his accession. A strong charge was urged against the conduct of Mr. *Cox*, who was accused, among other things, of insolent language in the council; but he recriminated upon his opponents, by pleading that their behaviour had been undutiful and unwarrantable. He was likewise accused of having called too many councils, to the great molestation of the members; but he shewed that this was owing to their own non-attendance, by their factiously absenting themselves when any business of importance was to be done. Lastly, he was charged with the like misbehaviour for which Mr. *Louther* had been censured, in his arbitrary commitments to prison, particularly of one *Macmahone*, a lawyer, and one of his keenest opponents. Mr. *Cox's* answer to this was, d that *Macmahone*, by his outrageous disrespectful behaviour, for which he was afterwards convicted before a jury, had drawn the commitment upon himself, and that he had suffered very justly.

But the very able defence which Mr. *Cox* and his lawyers urged, had no effect upon the governor; who, having closed the process, reserved the decision of it to himself; and Mr. *Cox* petitioning him to know his fate, received from Mr. *Hammond*, his excellency's secretary, the following declaration. "His excellency commands me to acquaint you, in answer to your petition in which you have prayed a copy of the judgment his excellency had given in your affair, that upon his hearing the evidences on both sides, he did determine, that you had acted corruptly, arbitrarily, and illegally; and, therefore, he not only removed you from being of his majesty's council here, but also declared you incapable of ever being one. And that it was his farther opinion, you ought to be prosecuted in the manner that the nature of the crimes proved against you required. I am, with very great respect, Sir, your most humble servant." This censure did Mr. *Worfeley* very little service. It exasperated all the friends of Mr. *Cox* against him, and the tax which had been laid upon negroes for the payment of his salary, was now so cruelly felt by all ranks and degrees upon that island, that there was a kind of general coalition of parties against paying it.

f This was in a great measure owing to the indolence of the *English* government, which had suffered the *French* and the *Dutch* plantations in the *West-Indies* to cut the *English*, and the people of *Barbados* particularly, out of the sugar and rum trade, which was almost the sole means of their subsistence. The great imposts which the *Barbados* trade lay under, disabled the planters there from sending their sugars, rum, and molasses, so cheap to market as their rivals could afford to do; so that the latter carried on a prodigious trade with the *English* colonies in *North America*, who supplied them with great quantities of provisions, without which their islands could not have subsisted. The *French* likewise undersold the *English* in all the *European* markets; for they sent their commodities not only to *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, the *Streights*, and other countries on the continent of *Europe*, but to *Ireland* itself, and all this, by means of the small duties they paid; while the *English* planters were bound down by the navigation and other acts to send their sugars first to *England*, which created an immense additional charge by their loss of time and enhancing their freights. But this grievance was in some measure remedied (though the trade, even after that, lay under great clogs) by a *British* act of parliament enabling them to send their sugars to other ports as well as to *England*. The advantage the *French* had over them in this respect was so great, that the planters themselves and merchants in *Barbados* brought

Disadvantages of the Barbadians.

sugars cheaper from *Martinico* than they could expect them from their own islands. Those hardships were too severe to be longer endured, and at last the *Barbadians* laid their complaints before the *British* government, but without effect; though they proved, at the same time, that their island paid 10,000 *l.* a year to the unappropriated revenue, and 50,000 *l.* in customs.

who are disappointed of redress.

THE council, the assembly, and the people of *Barbados*, resented their disappointment in not obtaining their redress of grievances; but they could not get rid of the exorbitant salary which they had voted to their governor. The complaints they transmitted to *England* on this occasion, have something in them very striking, and serve to shew the deplorable state of the island at this period. They represented, that when his excellency *Henry Worsley*, Esq; took his administration of this government upon him, the gentlemen of this island, having for many years before been harrassed with parties and divisions, in hopes to put an end to the same, and to obtain the redress of several grievances, were wrought upon to submit to a settlement of 6000 *l.* sterling *per annum* on the said governor during his residence here; yet, notwithstanding this extravagant settlement, the island was so far from reaping any advantage from their indiscreet generosity, that, on the contrary, the public good had been entirely neglected, and no measures taken to redress the grievances of the island; but his excellency and his creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at leisure to oppress the inhabitants; the militia had been entirely neglected; the forts, breast-works, and batteries were gone to ruin; the public stores were embezzled and wasted; and all persons in office under his excellency busied in nothing but how to raise fortunes from the ruins of the people. To complete this dreadful view of the hardships they suffered under their governor, they added, that the said grievances, and many others tending to the impoverishing and ruin of the island, were still the more insupportable, from the dismal apprehensions his majesty's subjects here lie under in case of a war, the forts and fortifications of the island having gone to ruin, warlike stores of all kinds necessary for the defence of the island being wholly wanted, and no possibility of purchasing a sufficient quantity of powder and other stores, and the inhabitants not in a condition of bearing the necessary charges, either of buying powder sufficient were the same to be purchased, or repairing the forts and fortifications, while the heavy tax which they had for so many years paid, chiefly for his excellency's use, was continued; by which tax almost all the current cash of this island was annually brought together, and hoarded in his excellency's coffers, trade was stagnated, and the value of the produce of the island was very considerably lowered, to the vast damage of the distressed inhabitants, who were forced to part with their goods at any price, to raise their quota of a tax, not only heavy in itself, but much more so in regard of the ill effects it had upon trade and the markets in the colony.

Complaints against the governor.

BESIDES this general representation, a great many private complaints against the governor were sent over by particular merchants, representing their grievances, of which they could get no redress upon the island, because of the servility of the council towards the governor, which rendered it hazardous even to petition him for relief. Among other matters it was asserted, that he had demanded and received at one time 2000 *l.* for the repairs of his house, notwithstanding his engagement to bring no farther burden upon the island than the payment of his salary. The governor, on the other hand, made a vigorous defence to all those charges; and his agents baffled them all before the Board of Trade. In this he was greatly assisted not only by the council, but by the grand jury, which is supposed to be the mouth of the common people of the island, and who presented an address applauding his conduct, and condemning that of his opponents. About the same time, the council had ordered some amendments to be made to the excise-bill, as prepared by the assembly. The council had loaded it with many gratifications to particular persons, for services performed in *England* not specified; a compliance with which the assembly thought to be unreasonable and unjust to their constituents; and therefore demanded, that the merits of the several parties should be enquired into before the money was granted; but the government-interest in *England* got the better of this and all other objections to the liberality of the council, though not without considerable difficulty. In short, the abuses of patent places granted to those who never had been in the island, were acknowledged and universally condemned, but never redressed. The complaints, however, that were sent over upon those occasions were so frequent, and so well supported, that the government of *Great Britain* became sensible of the necessity, on its own account, of looking more narrowly than ever into the affairs of *Barbados*. Mr. *Worsley*, the governor, found such difficulty in receiving his salary, that the island was near 20,000 *l.* in debt to him, and he was obliged to employ legal methods to recover it. Upon his return to *England* in 1732, the government devolved upon *Samuel Berwick*, Esq; president of the council. It was under this gentleman's wise and moderate administration that the *British* ministry first applied in earnest to the relief of *Barbados*. Hardships and oppression had recon-

a reconciled all parties upon the island, so that the *English* government was no longer under any doubt as to the preference of clashing representations; for all concurred in their sentiments as to the interest and distresses of the island; and a petition to the throne, entitled, "The humble petition of the planters, traders, and other inhabitants, of your majesty's island of *Barbados*," was sent over to *England*; representing, "That within these few years, great improvements have been made by the *Dutch* and *French* in their sugar-colonies, and great and extraordinary encouragements have been given to them, not only from their mother-countries, but also from a pernicious trade carried on by them to and from *Ireland*, and the northern *British* colonies; and the *French* do now, from the produce of their own sugar-colonies, effectually supply with sugar not only *France* itself, but *Spain* also, and a great part of *Ireland*, and the *British* northern colonies; and have to spare for *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*: and the *French* and *Dutch* colonies have lately supplied the northern *British* colonies with very large quantities of molasses, for the making of rum and other uses, to the vast prejudice of your majesty's sugar-colonies. As rum is a commodity, and which, next to sugar, they mostly depend upon, and they have in return for such sugar, rum, and molasses, shipping, horses, boards, staves, hoops, lumber, timber for building, fish, bread, bacon, corn, flour, and other plantation necessities, at easier rates than your majesty's subjects of the sugar-colonies have. For the continual supplies received by the *Dutch* and *French* from the *British* northern colonies, have enabled them to put on and maintain a great number of slaves on their plantations, and to enlarge their sugar-works, and make new settlements in new fertile soils; and, at the same time, cost little, being now purchased chiefly with molasses, which, before this late intercourse between the foreign colonies and the northern *British* colonies, were flung away as of no value."

Petition of the Barbadians,

THOSE allegations were all of them self-evident, and too notorious to be contradicted. Add to this, that the *French* and *Dutch* colonies paid but one per cent. of duty for the sugars they exported to foreign parts. To remedy the hardships arising to the *Barbadians* from so many different causes, they proposed, that no foreign sugar, rum, or molasses, should be imported into any of the *British* northern colonies, or into *Ireland*, without being first imported into *Great-Britain*; that thus the *British* sugar-colonies might be at least on a footing with their neighbours. This petition was taken into very serious consideration; foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, were entirely prohibited from being imported into *Ireland*, without being first landed in *Great-Britain*. Foreign sugars, rum, and molasses, imported into any of our northern or southern colonies, were subjected to heavy duties, and certain restrictions were established, under which no sugar-colonies were at liberty to carry sugars to all the foreign parts of *Europe*. Other encouragements were likewise given to the petitioners. We are not to forget that this revival of unanimity and public spirit among the *Barbadians*, was, in a great measure, owing to a printing-press, which, at that time, was set up at *Bridge-Town*, and every week published a paper, in which the most understanding inhabitants of the island had an opportunity of inserting essays and letters concerning the most important interests of their commerce.

who obtain some redress.

BUT the *British* ministry, who consulted the good of *Barbados*, chiefly, perhaps, on account of the benefits they themselves received from it, by the patent, and other, places it furnished, and which it was at this time no longer able to support, did not think it sufficient to give that island the relief above-mentioned, without putting it, in the mean while, under a mild, disinterested, and generous administration. For this purpose, the lord *Howe* was appointed to this government; and he arrived there with his lady in the *Rye* man of war, on the 11th of *April*, 1733. A few days after, he met the assembly, and his speeches and behaviour to them were of so very different a cast from those of their late governors, that the *Barbadians* formed the highest opinion of his present and future administration, in which their most sanguine expectations were exceeded. The only discontent that appeared on the island, was among a few practising lawyers, who apprehended their exorbitant fees would be reduced under so equitable an administration. So pacific a period affords but little matter for history to transmit. The *Barbadians*, unable to furnish his lordship with the same exorbitant salary that had been settled on his predecessor, gave him to the utmost of what their circumstances could afford, which was 4000 *l.* a year; and which he generously spent upon the island, with a large addition of his own revenue. But all his lordship's virtues could not extinguish certain private animosities which still subsisted there, and in a quarrel that happened at *Bridge-Town*, in which several gentlemen on both sides were engaged, one of them, *Keeling*, happened to be killed; upon which, some of the others, among whom was *Macmahone*, the turbulent lawyer, left the island, a bill of indictment being prepared against them. The parties afterwards surrendered themselves, and *Macmahone* alone was found guilty of manslaughter.

Lord Howe, governor.

His death.

ON the 27th of *March*, 1735, the lord *Howe*, who had been for some days ill of a fever, died, to the inexpressible grief of all the island. Their sorrow for this loss was expressed in the most affecting manner, and never was there an experiment made with so much success, of what importance the right choice of a governor is to the prosperity of that or any other of our sugar-islands. The good understanding between the governor, the council, and the assembly, produced the very best effects for the mother country, as well as the colony. As he had not resided as governor in the island above two years, he had rather suffered than gained in his private fortune by his commission. The council, and the assembly, therefore, took an early opportunity, after his death, to make an acknowledgment of the great benefits they had received during his short administration; for Mr. *Dottin*, who acted as president of the council, succeeding him in the government, called the assembly together, and having in a very pathetic speech, represented the vast loss they had sustained by his lordship's death, he proposed the making a handsome present to his widow, who had of herself acquired a most amiable character in the island. A bill was accordingly brought in, and being passed unanimously, was entitled, "An act the better to manifest the gratitude of the people in this island, for the benefits they received from the just and prudent administration of his late excellency." By this act, 2500*l.* was granted to her ladyship, for her use, and for the payment of such debts as his lordship might have contracted upon the island. Soon after, her ladyship sailed for *England*, with the corpse of her lord. The remaining part of Mr. *Dottin*'s administration was employed in settling the fees for the several officers of the island, a measure of the utmost importance to the inhabitants, and in other acts of the same salutary public nature. Though his administration was active and irreproachable, yet he was contented with a settlement of 600*l.* per annum, during its continuance; a proof at what an easy expence the business of government may be carried on.

Dottin, president.

Mr. Byng, governor.

MR. *Dottin*'s administration continued in a calm, equitable strain, from the death of lord *Howe* to the year 1739, when the honourable *Robert Byng*, Esq; son to the lord *Torrington*, and elder brother to the late unfortunate admiral of the same name, was appointed governor of *Barbados*. The war having broke out, at that time, between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the new-governor's equipages were unfortunately taken at sea by the enemy, and the assembly generously made him a present of 2500*l.* as an indemnification for his loss. It does not appear that the *Barbadians* held Mr. *Byng* in the same degree of esteem and affection as they had done his predecessor the lord *Howe*; and some altercation happened between him and the assembly on account of his salary, which at last was fixed at no more than 2000*l.* a year. The short time of his administration was chiefly distinguished by the spirit which the *Barbadians* discovered and exerted against the enemies of *Great-Britain*, and in the large sums they expended in putting their forts in order, and making the necessary dispositions against them and the *French* in case of invasion. In the month of *July*, the *Shoreham* man of war arrived at *Barbados*, with orders for reprisals upon the *Spaniards*, which were received by the *Barbadians* with the utmost joy; but it was thought they would have been more effectual, had they not been published with so much ostentation, that the *Spaniards* were put upon their guard. As the war was not yet proclaimed with *France*, it was common for the *Barbadians*, as usual, to visit *Martinico*; and a misunderstanding happening between captain *Reddish*, commander of the *Anglesey* man of war, and the captain of a *French* man of war, some of the principal *Barbadians* were taken by the *Frenchman*'s boat; but, by the firmness of the *English* commander, they were soon set at liberty, and the offenders obliged to ask pardon. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that besides the loss of the ship *Dolphin*, captain *Rhimes* commander, which carried governor *Byng*'s baggage, and a very valuable cargo besides, the *Barbadians* sustained great loss by the *Spanish* privateers: but, in a short time, they made themselves ample amends, by covering the seas with a number of their own privateers, who carried into the island great numbers of rich *Spanish* prizes.

His death.

GOVERNOR *Byng* died at *Barbados* in 1740, before he had been quite a year in his office. His administration was allowed to have been inoffensive, and he shewed no mean talents for government. Two days after his death, the assembly met, and came to a resolution not to make any settlement whatever upon a future governor. By this resolution, we are given to understand, that the *Barbadians* thought they had been ill-treated by their former governors, on account of their independency; and that they were resolved from thenceforth to proportion their rewards to their behaviour. Mr. *Byng* was succeeded in his government by Sir *Thomas Robinson*, 1743. This gentleman, upon his arrival at *Barbados*, had likewise some disputes concerning his salary; but they were soon compromised. His behaviour, during his administration, was universally allowed to have been affable and unexceptionable; but the ministry of *England* being altered, he was in the year 1746 recalled, and succeeded

a succeeded by *Henry Grenville*, Esq; nephew to the lord *Cobham*, and brother to the present earl *Temple*. This gentleman, after his arrival in the island, had little or no dispute about his salary, which is said to have amounted to 3000*l.* a year; and he is reported to have understood the commercial interest of the island better than any of its former governors.

Mr. Grenville, governor.

b THE island of *Tobago*, which, as we have already seen, had been always named in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*, was, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, stipulated to be neutral. The *French*, by an incredible effort of assurance and perfidy, privately sent orders to the marquis *de Caylus*, their then governor of *Martinico*, to settle this island, which they accordingly had begun to do, when their design was made known to Mr. *Grenville* the governor of *Barbados*. He immediately ordered captain *Tyrrel* to visit that island in a frigate, and to learn the truth of the report. The captain, on his arrival at *Tobago*, found, that three hundred men had already landed there, under the protection of two men of war, and two batteries, and every hour expecting farther reinforcements for carrying their design into execution. Mr. *Grenville*, not to be wanting in the duties of his commission, had sent a proclamation, which had been stuck up in the chief posts of the island of *Tobago*, commanding the *French* to evacuate the same, upon the pain of military discipline in thirty days time; *De Caylus*, on the other hand, published an ordinance, authorizing his master's subjects to continue in, and settle on, the same, and promised them assistance and protection against all who should attempt to dispossess them. As c *Tobago* is, of itself, about the largeness of *Barbados*, besides a lesser island lying near it, and admitted of prodigious improvements, through the richness of its soil, the *French* would have carried a great point had they completed their settlement. Captain *Tyrrel* informed their officers, that their attempt was a direct breach of treaties, especially that of *Aix la Chapelle*; and that, if they did not desist from their intended settlement, he would employ force to oblige them. It is a little surprising on this occasion, when we consider how positive the stipulation for the neutrality of this island was by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, that a sufficient force was not fitted out to act offensively, especially as the *French* ships of war, when night came on, made the best of their way to *Martinico*; and d the *English* captain having executed all that he had in charge, returned to *Barbados*.

Opposes the settlement of Tobago by the French.

It was not long after this, before Mr. *Grenville* had an opportunity of transmitting a full account of this transaction to *England*, where it no sooner became public, than a vast indignation appeared among all ranks of subjects. The peace of *Aix la Chapelle* itself had not been universally approved of by the nation, and this daring violation of it was resented by all parties. Instructions were sent to the *English* envoy at *Paris* to make the proper representations on that head. The *French* ministry were prepared for this, and endeavoured to shew that Mr. *Grenville's* proceeding had been too hasty, and was unwarrantable. *Puy-sieux*, one of their ministers, had even the insolence to hint, that the *French* having been e in possession of *Tobago* towards the middle of the last century, it could not be properly considered as a neutral island. Being driven from this argument, he pretended that all that *de Caylus* designed, was to secure to the *French* a liberty of wooding and watering upon the island; but a copy of the original order of *Caylus* being produced, a dispatch was immediately sent off, commanding him to discontinue the settlement, and to evacuate *Tobago* of its new inhabitants. The plan of the *English* ministry, at that time, undoubtedly, was to keep well with *France*, of whose power, as we since have seen by experience, they had conceived too high an idea. The opposition in the house of commons believing that the *French* would not have attempted so flagrant a breach of the peace without some tacit encouragement from the *British* ministry, and receiving daily intimations that the *French* intended to f settle the other neutral islands, as well as *Tobago*; an address to his majesty was moved for in the house of commons, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the house copies of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados* for ten years last past, so far as they related to those neutral islands. This motion was opposed by the then minister Mr. *Pelham*, as having an undutiful tendency against the prerogative; and the motion was over-ruled.

g THE people of *Barbados*, all this while, continued in great tranquillity. The publication of the *French* orders, revoking their settlement of *Tobago*, gave them infinite satisfaction; and the daily increase of their trade perfectly reconciled them to their government both there and in *Great-Britain*; not to mention, that the vast number of prizes brought to their island increased their riches and importance. The time for Mr. *Grenville's* government being expired, he was, at the recommendation of the first lord of trade in *England*, succeeded by Dr. *Pinfold*, an eminent civilian, who still holds that government. During this gentleman's administration, the inhabitants of *Barbados* bore no mean share in the glorious

The Barbadians assist in the expedition against Martinico.

Pinfold, go-
vernor.

Account of an
unsuccessful
expedition a-
gainst Marti-
nico.

rious events which distinguished the *British* arms during the latter part of the last and the beginning of the present reign. A resolution having been formed to reduce the island of *Martinico*, which had been at all times so formidable to the *Barbadians*, the same was communicated to their governor, and they entered into it with a spirit and ardor hardly to be paralleled in the *English West-Indies*; for they immediately ordered a large body of volunteers to be raised and disciplined at their own expence. They were greatly encouraged in this by a memorial presented to the *French* king by the chief inhabitants of *Martinico*, in which they represented their island as being in the most distressful circumstances, and as having been abandoned by its mother-country. Captain *Hughes* had sailed from *St. Helen's* on the 12th of *November* 1758, to join commodore *Moore*, who was then lying at *Carlisse-Bay* in *Barbados*. *Hughes* carried with him eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, with six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery in sixty transports, besides 800 marines distributed through the ships of war. The land forces were commanded by major-general *Hopson*, an officer of judgment and experience, but thought not to be of sufficient activity for the command of such an expedition. He had under him major-general *Barrington*, the colonels *Armiger* and *Haldane*, with the lieutenant-colonels *Trepand* and *Clavering*, who acted as brigadiers. This Squadron, in seven weeks and three days, arrived at *Barbados*; where Mr. *Hughes* resigned his command to commodore *Moore*. The governor, council, and assembly of *Barbados*, immediately before this junction, had given directions for the inhabitants to furnish every thing that was in their power to render the expedition successful. Proclamations for that purpose were issued, the number of the volunteers augmented, and to save the labour as much as possible of the regulars, the *Barbadians* presented every ship with forty negroes for drawing the artillery. The whole of the troops did not exceed 5000 men; but before they left *Barbados*, they were joined by 200 highlanders of lord *John Murray's* regiment, under the convoy of the *Ludlow Castle* man of war. The whole armament sailed on the 30th of *January*; but the men were in a sickly condition, through diseases occasioned by the heat of the climate.

THOUGH *Martinico* was the first and chief object of this expedition, yet it was intended for the reduction of all the *Caribbee Islands*. *Martinico* itself lies in the latitude of 14 degrees and 30 minutes north; and through the natural indentments, which the *French* call *Cul de sacs*, that run along its shores, and are extremely dangerous, on account of their sands, discernible only at low-water-mark, is very difficult of access, and the more so, as all the approachable posts of its coasts were strongly fortified. Though it does not extend above fourteen leagues in length, and seven in breadth, yet it is by far the most considerable of all the *French Caribbees*; and the chief reason why their government had neglected it so much as it did, was, because they thought that nature and art had rendered it impregnable. Besides the difficulties we have already mentioned the *English* were to overcome, a ridge of almost impassable mountains runs quite through the island north-west and south-east, and all the space on both sides those mountains are intersected with deep gullies, which are very difficult to be passed, through the impetuosity of the water which poured through them in the rainy seasons. The chief fortifications of the island were the citadel of *Port-Royal*, and the town of *St. Pierre*, both which, especially the first, were regularly fortified. *Port-Royal* is the capital of the island, and is situated at the bottom of a bay of that name. As to the other defences of the island, they consisted of a body of regulars, then upon it, and a numerous well-disciplined militia, which the *French* had always accounted to be invincible by all the force the *English* could bring against them; and, indeed, their government had spared no pains to render the island populous. They likewise could bring into the field a very considerable body of negroes, the best of any in the *West Indies*, because well-affected to their masters, most of them having been born upon the island; but, to the reproach of the *French* government, the place in all other respects was unprovided with necessaries, even to its wanting water and ammunition. At a place called *Casnavire*, they had thrown up some intrenchments, thinking the descent would be attempted there. On the 15th of *January*, the *British* Squadron entered the bay of *Port-Royal*, and was somewhat annoyed by a battery about half-way up the bay, from the little island of *Ramieres*. Upon the advance of the *English*, a *French* ship of 74 guns, and two frigates, put themselves under the protection of the citadel; but the two frigates escaped in the night. The first operation of the *English* was to attack the battery of *Fort Negro*, which they soon mastered, and then they destroyed the other battery at *Casnavire*; upon which, the *French* troops, which had been drawn up to oppose the debarkation, retired to the citadel, and the *English* landed without any molestation, and took post in the island.

It happened fortunately for them, that the *French* general of the island had neither experience nor courage answerable to such a command; and it was as fortunate for the islanders, that the *British* officers either had no good understanding among themselves, or had formed no settled plan of operations; at least it appears that they were entirely ignorant of the

- a the nature of the island they were attempting to reduce. The vivacity of the islanders supplied the defects of their general. They plied the *English* as they lay under arms all night from their musketry, under the shelter of their woods. They had broken up all the roads, and next day, as the *English* advanced to an eminence called *Morne Tortueson*, which overlooked the town and citadel of *Port-Royal*, they lost abundance of men from the fire of the *French*, without being able to perceive from whence it came. Though this eminence was the most considerable post of the island, yet the *French* general had neglected to fortify it, and was preparing to blow up the fortifications of the citadel, when general *Hopson* drew off from the attack, and all the *British* troops were reembarked within less than four and twenty hours after their landing. The reason given for this unaccountable resolution, was,
- b that the troops could not advance regularly; and that the naval officers could not undertake to land the heavy artillery so near to the fort as the general required. It is said, that when this resolution was taken, the principal inhabitants found themselves in so miserable a situation, through their want of cannon and ammunition, and the cowardice of their general, that they were deliberating in the town-house of *Port-Royal* about sending to the *English* terms of capitulation.

- WHEN the *British* troops were reembarked it was proposed in a council of war to attack *St. Pierre*, where about forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. This proposal was opposed by the *British* commodore for reasons which operate equally against any enterprise of danger; and he gave it as his opinion, that the armament should proceed immediately to the reduction of *Guadalupe*; in the mean time, that no charge of backwardness might lie against him, he gave directions for sounding the bay of *St. Pierre*. Captain *Jekyl*, in the *Rippon*, was at the same time ordered to silence a battery, about a mile and a half to the northward of *St. Pierre*, which he did very gallantly; but his ship received such damage from two other batteries, and was in such danger of running aground, that orders were given for towing her off. All thoughts of any operation being effectual against *Martinico* being now at an end, the armament directed its course towards the island of *Guadalupe*; an object not so splendid, but more important than *Martinico* itself. It is one of the *Caribbee Islands*, lying about thirty leagues to the westward of *Martinico*, and is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; or, to speak more exactly, the
- d whole forms two islands, divided from one another by a salt water river, which is about 300 feet over where it is widest.

- THOUGH *Guadalupe* was one of the oldest settlements the *French* had in the *West-Indies*, and its intrinsic value even exceeding that of *Martinico*, yet its importance was little known to the *French* themselves till after the treaty of *Utrecht*, or to us till after we had conquered it. The expence which the *French* government had been at in settling and fortifying *Martinico*, and the private interests of their governors and creatures in the *West-Indies*, rendered *Guadalupe* of little public consideration compared to *Martinico*; and the people there could only trade with *Europe* but by the way of *Martinico*; so that the *English* in general imagined that all the rich produce of *Guadalupe*, in sugars and other commodities that came to *Europe*, belonged to *Martinico*. The western division of *Guadalupe*, which is known by the name of *Basse Terre*, but commonly called *Guadalupe*, is its principal, and contains the metropolis, with a citadel and other fortifications. The eastern division, which is called *Grand Terre*, has in it little or no fresh water; but it is defended by a fort and redoubt, called *Fort Lewis*, which commands the road of *Gosier*. No place in the world is better furnished with fresh water or rivers than the western division. *Guadalupe* abounds in high hills; of which one is a volcano, but presents one of the most beautiful landscapes to the eye that nature exhibits. The plains are fertile to profusion in sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and ginger. The air is remarkably salubrious for an island that lies between the tropics, and it is seldom mentioned but as being one of the most desirable spots in the *West-Indies*.
- e Two small islands, called *All Saints* and *Deseadá*, on the eastern side of *Guadalupe*, belong to its government; and besides all the advantages we have already mentioned, the woods of the island produce great plenty of game, and the plains all kinds of roots and vegetables for the common uses of life.

Expedition of the English against Guadalupe.

- It was the 23d of *January* when the *English* fleet came before the town of *Basse Terre* (for so the capital of *Guadalupe* is called); and it was resolved to attack the citadel, town, and other batteries, which all together composed a most formidable fortification; from the ships. Four large men of war were brought to bear upon the citadel, while the rest were disposed of so as to act against the town, and the batteries which opposed the landing. Captain *Trelawney*, in the *Lion*, began the engagement by attacking a battery of nine guns. It was not long before the firing became general and dreadful. It was incessant from nine in the morning till night; but, in the mean while, the continual showers of bombs which seconded the cannonade, and which fell into the town, set it on fire; and the flames being encreased by the rich but combustible materials they met with in the warehouses,
- g nothing

Conquest of Basse-Terre.

nothing could be more dreadful than the prospect it presented all along the shore. Never did the commanders of an *English* fleet exert themselves with more intrepidity, and at the same time with more judgment, than they did on this occasion. The captains *Leslie*, *Burnet*, *Gayton*, *Jekyl*, *Trelawney*, and *Shuldam*, distinguished themselves in an extraordinary degree. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to sea, captain *Shuldam* in the *Panther* was for some time unsustained; and the ship of captain *Jekyl*, after silencing the guns of one of the forts, running aground, was for some time exposed to a severe fire of musketry from a numerous and resolute militia, which lined the shore, and who, bringing up an eighteen pound cannon, must have destroyed the ship, had not captain *Leslie*, in the *Bristol*, ran between it and the battery, and thereby saved her. Towards night, all the guns of the citadel and batteries were silenced; and at five in the afternoon next day, the *British* troops, after their ships had taken many of those of their enemies, who endeavoured to make their escape, landed, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. It is said, that this success was not a little owing to the wisdom of the *British* commodore, who, by shifting his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, and by keeping aloof without gun-shot, that he might give directions with the greater coolness, taught the officers under him that prudence ought to unite with courage in the character of a commander in chief.

A *GENOESE* deserter, who fell into the hands of the *British* troops, informed them, that the regulars upon the island did not exceed 100 men, who had retired with so much precipitation, that they could not execute a design they had of blowing up the powder magazine in the citadel, which was accordingly saved, and most of the enemy's great guns were rendered serviceable by the matrosses, who drilled out the nails with which they had been spiked. But the taking of *Basse Terre* was far from reducing the island, the nature of which was such, that it might have been defended foot by foot. When *Basse Terre* was no longer tenable, the governor, *Nadau D'Etreil*, retired with about 2000 of the inhabitants and the armed negroes to the strong passes, particularly one in the mountains, called *Dos d'Ane*, the *Ass's Back*, which was deemed impregnable, and the most important in the island, as it opened a communication with *Capesterre*, the principal and most beautiful district of all *Guadaloupe*. Here they assembled, and the governor gave out that he would defend it to extremity. The *British* commanders, being informed of the enemy's situation, sent a flag of truce with offers of capitulation to the governor. His answer was, that they were not to form a judgment of the strength of the island from the facility with which they had reduced *Basse Terre* and its citadel; and that if they proceeded to unwarrantable extremities, he had a master powerful enough to revenge them.

Cowardice
of the French
governor,

THIS behaviour of *D'Etreil* carried with it a shew of resolution; but his cowardly retiring from the defence of *Basse Terre*, and his subsequent conduct, sufficiently evinced the small attention the *French* court had paid to the choice of their *West Indian* governors. His cowardice was partly supplied by the spirit and resolution of the inhabitants and militia. Both they and their armed negroes kept up from their woods a constant fire upon the scouting parties of the *English*, even while their habitations were all on fire round them, and were not afraid of even encountering them upon an equality. A lady of fortune, one *Ducharmey*, signalized herself in person, at the head of her negroes, and obliged the *English*, who lost twelve soldiers, besides thirty who were wounded in the attack, to storm the intrenchments she had thrown up in defence of her estate. It was now the 6th of *February*, and the reduction of the island seemed still to be at a great distance. The islanders had formed a most sensible plan of defence, which was, to take every advantage of the strength and knowledge they had of the ground, by cutting off their enemies whenever they saw an opportunity. They knew, at the same time, that the *British* army was sickly, and but indifferently furnished with provisions; so that above 500 were obliged to be sent sick from their hospitals, which were too crowded to contain them, to the island of *Antigua*; and they shewed so much resolution in all encounters, that the *English* officers resolved to shift their scene of action to *Grand Terre*, to which their great ships were accordingly sent round; and a body of their marines and Highlanders, after a severe cannonading and driving the *French* sword in hand from their intrenchments, took possession of *Fort Lewis*.

and courage
of a lady.

SOME days after this, viz. on the 27th of *February*, major-general *Hopson* died at *Basse Terre*, and was succeeded in the chief command of the army by general *Barrington*, an officer of far greater enterprize and activity. The commodore had ordered two ships of war to cruise off the *Dutch* island of *St. Eustatia*, and to intercept all the supplies and provisions with which those mercenary republicans had hitherto furnished the inhabitants of *Guadaloupe*. *Barrington*, on the first day of his command, ordered the *British* troops to strike their tents, the better to amuse the enemy; and, in a few days after, he recalled his detachments from their advanced posts, and ordered the batteries in and about *Basse Terre* to be blown up. The army was then reembarked; but colonel *Debrisay* was left with a regiment

and

a and a detachment of artillery in the citadel of *Basse Terre*. This disposition had all the effects which the *British* general had foreseen. The enemy, deceived by the reembarkation of the troops, attacked the citadel, and were preparing to besiege it in form, when the brave colonel *Debrisay*, major *Troilop*, a lieutenant, with some bombardiers and soldiers, were unfortunately blown up by the explosion of a powder-magazine, which damaged the south east bastion of the citadel. Upon this accident, the enemy redoubled their attacks upon the fortifications, but were constantly repulsed; and general *Barrington*, understanding what had happened, sent major *Melvil*, an officer of great merit, to succeed *Debrisay* in the command of the citadel, and the chief engineer to repair the damage that had been done to its works.

b CERTAIN intelligence by this time was come, that M. *de Bompert*, a *French* admiral, with eight sail of the line, and three frigates, and a large body of land forces, were arrived at *Martinico*, where they lay at anchor in the bay of *Port Royal*. Upon this, Mr. *Moore* called in his cruizers, and set sail for the bay of *Dominica*, an island about nine leagues distant to the windward from *Guadalupe*, leaving general *Barrington* with the transports, and no more than one forty-gun ship for their protection, while he resumed his operations against *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Moore*'s taking his station at *Dominica*, instead of sailing directly to *Martinico*, where he might either have fought the enemy's squadron, or blocked it up, occasioned many speculations, especially as he left the seas open to the *French* privateers, who, on that occasion, carried prizes into *Martinico* above fourscore *British* ships.

c GENERAL *Barrington*, in the mean while, knew what his country expected from the armament under his command, and ordered 600 men to make a new descent upon *Grand Terre*, under colonel *Crump*, who landed between the towns of *St. Anne* and *St. Francis*. Another detachment of 300 men landed, and, after a vigorous resistance, destroyed the battery and entrenchment that defended the town of *Gosier*, and drove its garrison into the woods. The detachment then forced their way to *Fort Lewis*, where an *English* garrison still continued, and which was ordered to sally out to favour their attempt; in which they succeeded with some loss and difficulty. Thus far the way was cleared towards a final reduction of the island, which still seemed to be at a great distance; and the general ordered the colonels *Crump* and *Clavering* to attempt surprising all at once the three towns of

Grand conquest of all *Guadalupe*.

d *Petitbourg*, *Gonyave*, and *St. Mary's*, situated on the *Basse Terre* side of the island. This design, though well laid, miscarried, partly through the tempestuousness of a dark night, and partly through a panic which seized their negroe conductors, who ran their flat-bottom boats upon shoals. This disappointment was far from daunting the ardour of the *British* general and officers, who shewed an alacrity hardly to be paralleled under such difficulties and discouragements as they had to encounter. Some fresh volunteers had, by this time, landed from *Barbados* and the other *English* islands, and general *Barrington* detached the same two colonels with them, and about 1300 more men, to land in a bay under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, near the town of *Arnonville*, which lies at the bottom of the little *Cul de Sac*.

e THE absence of the *British* fleet at *Dominica*, was, at this time, sensibly felt by our troops, as the communication between *Guadalupe* and *St. Eustatia* was again open, and furnished the islanders with supplies of all kinds. They had foreseen the descent near *Arnonville*, but had thrown up a very strong entrenchment at a post behind the river *La Corne*, which covered the bay *Mahaut*, where their succours from *St. Eustatia* landed. The enemy had neglected nothing that could improve by art the natural strength of this post, upon which, indeed, the defence of their island chiefly depended, and which, perhaps, no troops in the world but *British* could have mastered with so inconsiderable a force. *Durcure's* regiment and the *Highlanders* advanced with the greatest intrepidity and coolness to attack it, under the fire of four field-pieces and two howitzers. The enemy had no idea of such

f resolution, and the assailants drove them from their entrenchments on the left, with vast rapidity, into the redoubt, which they became masters of. The *French* made a better stand within their entrenchments on the right, where they were well provided with cannon and musketry; but the *English* passing the river on that side upon an occasional bridge, they were driven from that post likewise, and about seventy of them, among whom were some of their chief planters, were made prisoners; while the *English* had two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded: and the truth is, when we consider the difficulties of the service, and the resolution of the enemy, the loss of our troops on this expedition was but very inconsiderable.

PETITBOURG was next to be attacked; and though the banks of the river *Lizard* were strongly fortified by entrenchments and cannon, colonel *Clavering* forced them, and pursued the enemy to *Petitbourg*, from whence he likewise drove them by the assistance of captain *Uvedale* of the *Granada* bomb-ketch. So many dreadful blows seemed to have stunned the *French*, who, on the 15th of *April*, abandoned the strong post of *Gonyave*, which,

had it been well defended, was next to inaccessible. This important post being gained, colonel *Crump* proceeded with 500 men to the town of *Mabaut*, lying upon the bay of that name. A magazine of stores from *St. Eustatia* lay there; all which he seized, and burnt the place. On the 20th of the same month, colonel *Clavering* made two dispositions of the detachment under his command, one under colonel *Barlow* to attack the enemy, who were assembled at *St. Mary*, in the rear; and another under himself for forcing their entrenchments, within which, it was given out, they were to make their last stand for the island. The *French* every where gave way to colonel *Barlow*, and retiring into their lines at *St. Mary*, when they saw the *English* endeavouring to turn them, abandoned them likewise to oppose their enemy upon equal terms; but they were soon defeated by a gallant fire from the *British* musketry, whose commanders beat them out of all their works, obliged them to abandon their artillery, and took up their quarters for the same night within the lines of *St. Mary*. Nothing was now left to the inhabitants but to obtain as good a capitulation as they could; and, while they were drawing up the terms, the *English* troops entered without resistance the country of *Capesterre*, the principal division of the island, where one planter surrendered himself with no fewer than 870 negroes that belonged to his own estate; and his example was followed by many other chief inhabitants.

Terms of the
capitulation
is obtained.

Two *French* gentlemen, *Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, were chosen by the latter as their deputies, for settling the terms of the capitulation for the inhabitants, and were conducted by colonel *Clavering* to general *Barrington*, who then was at *Petitbourg*. The general, and the chief *British* officers, were not at this time, as the event shewed, without some well-grounded apprehensions of the islanders receiving succours from the *French* armament that had lately arrived at *Martinico*. Every hour was diminishing the small number of *British* troops, who continued still unprotected by their squadron; and, considering the natural strength of the island, it was hard to say what the event might be, if the inhabitants were driven to despair. The two deputies were authorized to treat by *D'Etreil*, whose commission, as governor, included *Guadaloupe*, *Grand Terre*, *Deseada*, and the *Saintes*. Very little difficulty attended the settling the capitulation: the honours of war were granted to the governor, who with the other regular officers, the commissary-general, and the officers of the admiralty, were to be sent to *Martinico*; and such of them as had estates upon the island, were at liberty to appoint attorneys to act for them; and in case the island should be left to *Great-Britain* by a peace, they had leave to sell their estates, and to carry off the produce; that all the armed negroes should be sent off the island, with all privateers-men, deserters, and the like; and that the island, with all magazines of provision, ammunition, and implements of war, with the papers relating to the revenue, should be immediately delivered up to the *English*.

BESIDES those articles, which related only to the military and royal establishment of the island, another capitulation was drawn up for the inhabitants of the island, represented by Mess. *Debourg*, *De Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, and authorized by *D'Etreil*. This capitulation was of more importance than the former; and the inhabitants, in consideration of the brave defence they had made, during an attack of three months, had the most honourable terms granted them. They were allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; and the priests and religious were to be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions. The inhabitants were not to be obliged to serve in arms against his most Christian majesty, and were to be indulged in the continuance of their own civil government, and in the possession of all their properties and privileges. They were to be subject to no imposts but those they had paid under the *French* government, unless the island was finally ceded to his *Britannic* majesty; in which case, they were to pay the same taxes and imposts as were paid by the *English* *Leeward-Islands*. All their prisoners were to be exchanged, and their free mulattoes and negroes were to be considered as prisoners of war. None but the inhabitants, actually resident upon the island, were to possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace the island should be ceded to the king of *Great Britain*, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the *English* government, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire where-ever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. This article, which was the eleventh of the capitulation, was granted; but the absentees were at liberty to sell only to *British* subjects. By the 14th article, however, they were to have all the profits of their estates, which they were left at freedom to manage by their attorneys. By the 16th article, it was provided, that the *English* government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into *England*. The 21st article, which was of the utmost importance, ran as follows: "The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his *Britannic* majesty's

a majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions." This article was granted, with an exception to the privileges of particular companies in *England*, and to the laws there, which prohibit the carrying on trade in any other than *English* bottoms.

Such are the material articles which were complained of by the people of *Barbados*, and their correspondents in *England*, as being too favourable to the *French* sugar-trade. But the wisdom of granting the capitulation was evinced in a few minutes after it was signed, when a messenger came into the camp of the islanders, informing them, that M. de Beau-larriais, general of the *French* islands, had landed under convoy of *Bompart's* squadron, with a reinforcement of 600 regular troops, about 2000 buccaniers, or rather free-booters, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, for the relief of the island. The same hour, however, brought advice, that the *French* officers, hearing of the capitulation being signed, instantly reembarked their men and their stores, and sailed back to *Martinico*. Few histories afford instances of so critical a transaction as this capitulation proved to be. The inhabitants were far from being diminished in their numbers, and would have still found resources in their courage and the natural strength of their island, had they not been dispirited by the cowardice and misconduct of their governor and military officers. If the succours from *Martinico* had arrived but one hour sooner, it is probable they would have baffled all the power of the *British* troops that were upon the island, notwithstanding the incredible efforts of courage and military conduct they had exerted. As to the disappointment the people of *Barbados* met with, however great it was, after their services in promoting the expedition, it did not weigh against the vast national advantages which attended the conquest.

It is certain, that many thought the public spirit they discovered on this occasion, was not a little influenced by insular considerations. They had long felt the vast progress which *Guadalupe* had made in the sugar-trade, and which, when compared to that of their own island, might be considered as only in its infancy. The soil of *Barbados* in many places was worn out; it no where retained its original fertility, and required great expences to keep it in good condition. Many of their planters were in hopes of being able to make advantageous settlements under the government in *Guadalupe*, and were in a condition to have purchased them; in which case, their estates in *Barbados* would have acquired time for rest, and for recovering their fertility (T). They were disappointed in all those views by the critical capitulation of *Guadalupe*, which at that time was said to produce as much sugar as *Barbados* and all the other *English* sugar-islands.

Merits of the
Barbadians.

No sooner was the return of *Bompart's* squadron to *Martinico* known, when the inhabitants of *Guadalupe* left the *Dos d'Ane*, and the *English* generously assisted them in the repairing the devastations of *Basse Terre*, and in erecting huts for their shelter, till their houses could be rebuilt. After this, the islands of *Saintes* and *Descada*, with *Petit-terre*, accepted of the same capitulation which had been granted to *Guadalupe*. The inhabitants of *Mari-galante*, an island lying about three leagues to the south-east of *Grand Terre*, refusing to accept of the same terms, the general sent thither a body of troops, with three ships of war and two bomb vessels, which took them under convoy at *Prince Rupert's Bay*, where commodore *Moore* then was; and the appearance of this armament soon reduced the inhabitants to reason. All this while, the operations of the *British* fleet under commodore *Moore* were not a little unaccountable; for though he had undoubted intelligence, while he lay in *Prince Rupert's Bay*, of *Bompart's* having sailed to the relief of *Guadalupe*, and though, upon that, he returned to the windward, yet he afterwards fell to the leeward; by which the two squadrons never met, and Mr. *Moore*, at last, receiving advice of *Bompart's* safe return to *Martinico*, repaired to his former station in the bay. The conquest of *Guadalupe* being finished, colonel *Crumpe*, who had greatly contributed to it, was left governor of the island, colonel *Mcivil* had the government of the citadel of *Basse Terre*, and colonel *Del-garno* commanded at *Grand Terre*. Three regiments were left upon the island, and the rest of the troops were reembarked, some for *North America*, and others for *England*.

Farther con-
quests.

HAVING thus finished our history of the reduction of *Guadalupe*, upon the authorities of the *London Gazette* and other accounts, which were, at that time, looked upon as unquestionable, we shall, in justice to commodore *Moore*, insert some of his observations, tending to clear up his conduct, which he thought had been too virulently attacked by the people of *Barbadoes*; because he had been active in preventing the pernicious trade which many of them had carried on, by supplying with stores and provisions, the privateers of *Martinico*, without which they could not have fitted out their ships; especially as Mr. *Moore*, by the

Examination
of Mr.
Moore's con-
duct.

* Continuation of SMOLLETT's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 451, &c.

(T) The whole of this reasoning, though very plausible at the time, is extremely questionable, when we consider the vast quantities of sugar-grounds which the

French had in *St. Domingo* and other islands, which would be easily employed for that culture.

disposition of his cruizers, had cut off all communication between *St. Eustatia* and *Martinico*. Mr. Moore alledges, that had his advice been taken, the island of *Guadalupe* must have been much sooner reduced than it was; and he endeavours not only to clear himself from every charge of being backward in the service, but affirms, that the expedition against *Guadalupe* was owing to his advice, which was founded on the thorough knowledge he had of the (till then concealed) importance of that island. We shall omit some other observations of less consequence, which Mr. Moore has made upon the published narratives of this expedition. He justifies himself for sitting his flag on board the *Woolwich* frigate, by the request of the general, who was in the same frigate, and desired him to be present, that they might advise together; and in the papers he communicated on that head, he seems to have had a very mean opinion of the courage of the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. But as there appears in the papers and observations that have been published in his name, an evident tendency towards depreciating the merits of the land service, we can say nothing as to that, and several other allegations. As to his failing to the bay of *Dominica* upon receiving intelligence of M. *Bompert*'s arrival at *Martinico*, though we are no judges of naval operations, yet considering the vast importance of destroying *Bompert*'s Squadron, we can by no means think them satisfactory, unless the commodore had advanced some other arguments besides his bare opinion, that *Bompert* could not have been attacked in the bay of *Port-Royal*. The consequence discovered, that the not attacking him there, or the shutting him up behind the caennage, hazarded the success of the whole expedition, because if *Bompert* had sailed an hour or two before he did, in all probability it had been ruined; an event of a too dreadful importance to be left to chance, or to the precarious foresight of an officer. The commodore denies, that when colonel *Crumpe* burned the town of *Mahaut*, that any provisions had been landed there since the first invasion of the island, which was owing to the good look-out of his cruizers, and which, he says, obliged a trader of *St. Eustatia* to offer to sell him 10,000 barrels of beef, which he intended for the *French* market. We apprehend there is little force in this argument, excepting what is due to the credibility of the commodore's own information; because the stores said to be found there by colonel *Crumpe* might have been amassed before the attack of the island. He pretends, that the troops who were landed by *Beaubarnois* did not exceed 600 blacks and whites, and those in a wretched condition, and that by landing his marines on the back of them, they might all of them have been taken prisoners; adding, that the buccaneers existed no where but in imagination, as the date of those adventurers expired above fifty years before this period. All this depends likewise upon the commodore's single assertion. He takes no notice of the arms and ammunition that were landed at the same time, and we have substituted the word free-booters, instead of buccaneers, which entirely removes his objection to their real existence. That such a landing was effected is undoubted; and when we reflect upon the spirit shewn by the inhabitants, and that they were still in possession of the *Dos d'Ane*, and several other strong posts of the island, neither the commodore nor any other man can say what the consequence might have been, had not the capitulation been signed. With regard to the other parts of the commodore's defence of his conduct, they do not come under our cognizance, as we do not pretend to pronounce upon the prudence of an officer, nor the operations of a sailor.

History of the
conquest of
Martinico.

THE next great expedition which failed from *Barbados*, and to which the inhabitants of that island contributed in a most eminent degree, was that to *Martinico*. No attempt had been made by the *English* government from the time that *Guadalupe* and its neighbouring islands had been reduced, to the period when it was more than suspected that a family compact had been entered into between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, with a view principally of distressing *Great Britain*. It was then foreseen that a rupture between her and *Spain* was unavoidable, and that she was consequently under the necessity of reducing *Martinico*, before she could be in a condition to attack *Spain* in her *West-Indies*, in case a war with that nation should succeed. From this consideration, the court of *Great Britain* came to a resolution of sending to the *West-Indies* an armament superior to any that had ever been seen in those seas, and that it should rendezvouse at *Barbados*; and the government and administration of that island having received proper notice of this intention, exerted themselves as they had done before in the expedition against *Guadalupe*, in contributing all they could to the success of the undertaking. The war against the *French* in *North America* having in the year 1761, been decisively finished in favour of *Great Britain*, it was resolved to employ all the troops that could be spared, after the reduction of *Canada*, upon the expedition against *Martinico*, which the *French* affected to say, was impregnable to the *British* arms, and had already repelled their utmost efforts. Eleven battalions were drawn from *New York*; a considerable draught was made from the garrison of *Belleisle*, and all the

* Continuation of SMOLLETT's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 458, &c.

a troops that had been cantoned in the *Leeward Islands* were ordered to the rendezvous at *Barbados*; and general *Monckton*, who had so gloriously distinguished himself at the conquest of *Quebec*, was appointed to the command of the land-forces, while rear-admiral *Rodney* was to command the marine.

Mr. *Rodney* sailed in 1761 from *England*; but soon after his departure, he was separated from the rest of his squadron in a hard gale of wind. After his arrival at *Barbados* on the 22d of *November*, he was by degrees rejoined by them, and by the 9th of *December*, all his ships were re-assembled. By the 14th of *December*, all the troops arrived from *Belleisle*; and by the 24th, general *Monckton* landed with all the *North American* forces. Some days were spent in watering the ships and recruiting the men, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* contributed all that was in their power. On the 7th of *January*, the whole armament arrived off *Martinico*, in *St. Ann's Bay*, where Sir *James Douglas*, a captain under Mr. *Rodney*, silenced some batteries that were raised on the shore. In this service the *English* lost the *Raisonna-ble*; but all her men, guns, and stores, were saved. After beating about for some time for a safe landing place, *Cas des Navires* was pitched upon, and the ships having silenced all the batteries there, the troops landed without opposition, and without the loss of a man, on the 16th. Several skirmishes passed after their landing, but to the disadvantage of the *French*, some of whom were killed. The *English* encamped upon the heights above the *Cas des Navires*; but upon examining the country, they found it stronger and more inaccessible than *Guadalupe*. The grounds were intersected with gullies and ravines, with rivulets between them at certain distances; and wherever they were passable, the *French* had erected batteries to defend them. Though the regulars upon the island were not very formidable, yet the militia, as also their mulattoes and negroes, were numerous, brave, and well-disciplined, and all of them in arms. The *English* happened to land at a place where those obstructions were greater than any where else in the island. The eyes of their army were bounded by two great eminences, *Morne Tortenson*, and *Morne Garnier*, both of them fortified with the utmost care, though they seemed almost inaccessible by nature. *Morne Tortenson* was the first to be attacked, and batteries were raised to defend the *English* troops in their passing a very wide gully, lying between them and it. Three dispositions were made for the attack. It was begun by the grenadiers under major *Grant*; brigadier *Rufane* with his division, assisted by 1000 seamen, in flat-bottomed boats, fell upon the enemy's redoubts along the shore; and brigadier *Walsh* with his brigade and the light infantry, under colonel *Scott*, after attacking the left of a plantation, were to endeavour to get round the enemy. All those operations were performed with astonishing impetuosity and success. The attack began at break of day, and by nine in the morning, the enemy having been driven from post to post, were obliged to abandon *Morne Tortenson* to the *English*, who were to the last degree amazed upon viewing its strength and situation, at the dangers they had surmounted, and the numerous redoubts of the *French*, all of them mounted with cannon. The enemy, after suffering severely, especially from the grenadiers, fled, part of them to *Morne Garnier*, and part of them to *Fort Royal*, the *British* grenadiers pursuing them to the bridge of that place, where they even made some prisoners.

The vast difficulties attending it.

After this, the general took possession of certain posts that were proper for carrying on the attack against *Morne Garnier*; and on the 25th he began to erect batteries on *Morne Tortenson* for carrying on that against *Fort Royal*: but here the troops were galled from *Morne Garnier*, and reduced the general to the necessity of erecting batteries to the left, to silence those of the enemy, and to cover the passage of the troops over a ravine. It must be acknowledged, that had the *French* kept upon the defensive, had they been commanded by brave and steady officers, under a resolute and experienced general, it would have been extremely difficult for the *British* troops to have surmounted the dangers that now lay before them. But on the 27th, the *French* presuming that their enemies were entirely discouraged and dispirited, and that they wanted only a pretext to make the best of their way back to their ships, attacked the *British* light infantry, and colonel *Haviland's* brigade. Here fortune most surprisingly seconded the ardour and intrepidity of our troops, to whom nothing could have happened of such advantage as this attack. They repelled their enemies, they improved their own defensive situation into a most vigorous charge, and being well supported, pursued the enemy across the ravine, where they seized their batteries, and took post even in the enemy's redoubts; and this rout was so happily improved, that by nine at night, *Morne Garnier*, with all its works, was in possession of the *English*.

Nothing but the want of proper officers could have induced the *French* to make so ill-judged an attack, and so disgraceful a retreat; for they left a mortar loaded, and their guns unspiked, besides ammunition and provision in the hands of the *English*. But general *Monckton* was now preparing to batter the citadel of *Fort Royal* from the eminences he had gained; which the enemy perceiving, their despondency became as great as their presumption had

Account of its
capitulations,

been before. On the evening of the 3d of *February*, they beat the chamade, and accepted a of a capitulation, by which the garrison was to be sent to *Rockfort* in *France*; but the militia and free-booters, with all others in arms upon the island, were to remain prisoners of war, till the fate of the island was determined. In consequence of this capitulation, which was not more fortunate than unexpected, the *British* troops took immediate possession of the citadel. The conduct of M. *De la Touche*, the governor-general of the island, was equally absurd and unaccountable. He had abandoned the citadel of *Fort Royal*, at a time when it was very defensible; and retired with his remaining regulars to *St. Pierre*, the principal town upon the island, with a sullen kind of defiance both to the *French* and the *English*; and he seemed to disdain having any correspondence with the latter so much, that he did not send to enquire about his prisoners, or his dead or wounded. The islanders perceiving b the amazing progress of the *British* arms, and that they were, in a manner, abandoned by their governor, sent deputations from all quarters of the island to capitulate against his express order; and a capitulation was accordingly settled between their excellencies Mess. *Monckton* and *Rodney*, generals by land and sea of his *Britannic* majesty, and the inhabitants of the island of *Martinico*; represented by Messieurs *D'Aleppo*, Seig. *Defragny la Pierre*, captain of horse, and *Fereyre*, captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of the island. By this capitulation, the inhabitants were to march out of their posts with the honours of war, but afterwards were to give up their arms. They were to have the free exercise of their religion, nor were they to be obliged to take arms c against the *French* king; and they were to live as *British* subjects, under their own civil government, till his *Britannic* majesty's pleasure was known. They were, the religious as well as laity, to be secured in all their property, and to be put on the footing of the other *English* subjects in the *Leeward Islands*. If the island was ceded to *Great Britain*, the inhabitants, who chose it, were at liberty to dispose of their estates to *British* subjects; their trade was to be continued; and, upon very moderate conditions, they were allowed to make white and clayed sugars.

end final con-
quest

By this time *Pidgeon-Island* surrendered, which, according to Mr. *Rodney* (U), gave the *English* forces possession of the noblest and best harbour in these parts of the *West-Indies*. *De la Touche* still continued to make a shew as if he would defend *St. Pierre*; and disapproved of the capitulation made by the other inhabitants. Mr. *Rodney* was just about to embark to d reduce this stubborn governor-general, when the principal inhabitants of the island, seeing how irresistible the *British* arms were, and reasonably apprehending that if matters came to extremity, they might lose the benefits of the capitulations which had been granted to the rest of the island, forced him, in a manner, to send two deputies to *Fort Royal*, where the *British* general was, and where they arrived on the 12th of *February*, with an offer of a capitulation for the whole island on the part of the governor-general. Mr. *Monckton* sent back his answer to these proposals, and on the 14th, the capitulation arrived signed. The *French* governor-general struggled hard for a suspension of arms for fourteen days; and after that, if no *French* succours arrived in the island, the capitulation was to take place: but this was denied him, and he was obliged to put the whole island, with all its forts and e posts, into the immediate possession of the *British* troops. In other respects, this capitulation did not much differ from that already granted. The governor-general desired with all his garrison, some cannon, and arms, to be sent to the *Grenades*; but they were sent to *France*. *De la Touche*, in this capitulation, employed much art and chicanery to obtain some articles, by which the *English* government might have been loaded with the *French* king's debts to private persons; and a road might have been opened to such collusive practices as might have greatly diminished the value of the conquest; but all those artifices were seen thro', and rejected in the capitulation. *La Touche*, it seems, had a suspicion of a secret correspondence being carried between the *English* and some of the inhabitants of the place, and therefore he demanded five of the latter to be delivered up to him; but his request was refused, because f they had, by the former capitulations, been taken under the *British* protection.

Thus the whole island of *Martinico*, the capital of the *French* trade and dominions in the *West Indies*, was reduced to the subjection of *Great Britain*. It is not to be denied, that during the whole of this expedition, the people of *Barbados* had great merit in diligently supplying the fleet and army with all the provisions which their island afforded. The officers who distinguished themselves the most in this glorious reduction, were the brigadiers *Haviland*, *Grant*, *Rufane*, lord *Rollo*, and *Walsh*; the lieutenant-colonels *Fletcher*, *Massey*, *Vaughan*, and *Scot*; major *Leland*, and captain *Kennedy*. The entire reduction of this island cost the *French* above 1000 of their best men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The loss of the *British* troops, considering the nature of the service, was surprisingly small. No more

(U) See copy of a letter from rear-admiral *Rodney* to Mr. *Cleveland*, dated in *Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, February* 20, 1762.

a than seven officers were killed, and about 100 common men, and about 350 upon the whole were wounded. This expedition was distinguished above all that ever had gone from *Great Britain*, by the unanimity which prevailed between the officers and men of the sea and land service.

DURING the reduction of *Martinico*, Mr. *Rodney* had made proper dispositions for reducing all the rest of the *French Caribbee Islands*. That of *St. Lucia* surrendered to captain *Harvey*, with a very considerable quantity of ordnance, powder, and military stores. The island of *St. Vincent*, at the same time, was very closely blocked up, and commodore *Swanton* was detached with a squadron, which had on board a detachment of land-forces under major-general *Walch*, to reduce *Granada*. All those undertakings succeeded without any effusion of blood. The island of *Granada*, and the fort upon it, which was very strong, surrendered upon the same terms that had been granted to the inhabitants of *Martinico*; and to this desirable event, the fame of the *British* clemency did not a little contribute. The *Grenadillas*, with the island of *St. Vincent*, underwent the same fate. Those conquests were the more important, on account of the period at which they were obtained; for the very day of the surrender of *Granada*, which was the 5th of *March*, the most powerful armament that ever went from *England* to the *West Indies*, sailed from *Portsmouth*, to reduce the *Havannah*, which must have been next to impracticable, had the *French* remained in possession of *Martinico*, and their other *Caribbee Islands*. The people of *Barbados* had undoubtedly formed to themselves very sanguine hopes of wealth and commerce upon their mother-country becoming mistress of all the *French Caribbees*. A number of adventurers, some of them with very considerable stocks, had of late offered to settle on their island; but they could neither get employment, nor lands to cultivate, the soil being improved to the utmost, and therefore they were obliged to remove to other *British* islands or settlements, and many of them, particularly those from *Ireland*, are said to have settled upon the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. It was on the other hand easily to be foreseen, that had the *English* kept possession of *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, and the other islands they conquered, great numbers of the *French*, from their attachment to their religion and government, would gladly have disposed of their estates to *British* subjects, the *Barbadians* especially, which would have given the latter an opportunity of extending their commerce to an inconceivable degree. But the peace of *Fontainbleau*, in the beginning of the year 1763, destroyed all their expectations. It long remained a doubt with the government of *England*, whether they ought to give up the conquests they had made over the *French* on the continent of *America*, or those in the *West Indies*. Many reasons determined them to part with the latter: for though their keeping possession of *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and the other *French Caribbees*, might have greatly extended their sugar-trade, yet it could not have secured the whole of it to *Great Britain*; as both the *French* and the *Spaniards* were still possessed of vast tracts of land in the *West Indies*, proper for that culture; and even the *Dutch* and *Danes* had settlements there, which they could have improved in raising sugars. In short, the monopolising of that trade to *Great Britain*, by maintaining those islands, was found to be a mere chimera; and, as the primary object of the war was to secure the *British* settlements in *North America*, which they did by the conquest of *Canada*, and the cession of *Louisiana* and *Florida*, the retention of the latter was thought to be by far the preferable alternative. We are now to give some description of the produce and commerce of *Barbados*.

The other French Caribbee Islands.

Our best geographers have laid down the island to lie between long. 59. 50. and 60. 2. west from *London*; and between north lat. 12. 56. and 13. 16. As to its extent, it is very difficult to ascertain it. The most general opinion is, that it is twenty-five miles from north to south, and fifteen from east to west; but those mensurations are subject to so many difficulties and uncertainties, that the reader, perhaps, will form a more adequate idea of the extent of this island, when he is told, that in reality it does not contain above a hundred and seven thousand acres. *Barbados* is the most windwardly of all the *Caribbee Islands*, excepting *Tobago*. The whole of the island may be considered as one continued garden, every foot of which is so precious, that it is improved to the utmost, and presents to the eye, wherever it is turned, the most delightful prospects. The climate is hot, but not unwholome, because of the sea-breezes; and a temperate regimen renders it as safe to live in as any climate in *Europe* south of *Great Britain*, and, according to the opinion of many, as *Great Britain* itself.

Description of Barbados.

THE chief town of *Barbados* is *Bridge-Town*, which lies in the inmost part of *Carlisle-Bay*. This originally was a most unwholsome situation, and chosen entirely on account of its conveniency for trade; but it is now deemed to be as healthy as any place in the island. The town itself would make a figure in any *European* kingdom. It is said now to contain about 1500 houses, and some contend that it is the finest the *English* possess in *America*. The rents of the houses, which in general are spacious, well-built and finished, are as high as such

Its fortifications.

such houses would let for in *London*. The wharfs and quays are well defended from the sea, and very convenient. The harbour is secure from the north-east wind, which is the constant trade-wind there, and *Carlisle-Bay* is capable of containing 500 sail of ships, and is formed by *Needham* and *Pelican* points. But that which renders *Bridge-Town* the finest and most desirable town in the *West-Indies*, is its security against any attacks from foreign enemies. It is defended on the westward by *James-Fort*, which mounts 18 guns. Near this is *Willoughby's Fort*, which is built upon a tongue of land running into the sea, and mounts 12 guns. *Needham's-Fort* has three batteries, and is mounted with 20 guns; and *St. Anne's-Fort*, which is the strongest in the island, stands more within land. In short, according to Mr. *Douglas*^a, there is all along the lee-shore a breast-work and trench, in which, at proper places, were 29 forts and batteries, having 308 cannon mounted, while the windward shore is secured by high rocks, steep cliffs, and foul ground. Such was the state of the fortifications of the island in 1717: but since that time it has admitted of such additions, that though the plunder of this small, but rich island, is the most alluring object our enemies can have; yet it does not appear, that during the two late wars, while we were conquering all their *West-Indies*, that they ever thought in earnest of an attack upon *Barbados*. The powder and stores of the island are kept under a strong guard in a stone magazine, within a small fort of eight guns, on the east side of the town. The church of *St. Michael* exceeds in beauty, largeness, and conveniency, many *English* cathedrals, and has a fine organ, bells, and clock. In short, *Bridge-Town* is destitute of few elegancies or conveniencies of life that any city in *Europe* affords. It has a free-school for the instruction of poor boys, an hospital, and a college. The latter was erected by the society for propagating the Christian religion, in pursuance of the will of colonel *Christopher Codrington*, who left about 2000*l.* a year for its endowment, for maintaining professors and scholars to study and practise divinity, surgery, and physic.

Attempts of the French against it,

It is certain, that sixty years ago, at the beginning of queen *Ann's* reign, and war with *France*, the *French* had an eye upon *Barbados*; and *Labat*, one of their most judicious missionaries and voyagers, who was upon the island, was of opinion, that the plate and furniture of *Bridge-Town*, if plundered, was equal in value to the capture of the *Spanish* galleons; and that *Chatteurenauld*, in 1702, might have made himself master of the island, had he not proceeded to convoy the plate-fleet to *Vigo*. But the missionary, at the same time confesses, that the conquest of *Barbados* could not have been effected by a less number than that of 5000 men, and those creoles and buccaneers, and twelve men of war to prevent any succours from coming to the islanders. But he supposes, at the same time, the *Irish Roman* catholics, who were then very numerous upon the island, would join the *French* against their masters. The opinion of this judicious missionary has in it some weight, even at this time; for though the island is now incomparably better fortified than it was sixty years ago, yet there is some reason for doubting, whether it is equally populous. Thirty thousand souls are supposed to be the utmost extent of the white inhabitants; so that the whites upon the island, capable of bearing arms, cannot be very numerous. According to a report of the military state of this island in 1736^b, it had 22 castles and forts, 26 batteries, mounted with 463 pieces of ordnance, many of which were honey-combed, and near 100 wanting to complete the fortifications; which, with the military stores and arms, were much decayed. The militia consisted then of one troop only, two regiments of horse and foot, making in all, 4326 men; but the militia is now computed at 1500 horse, and 3000 foot. It is to be noted, that all freemen here are obliged to enter themselves in the regiment of their own district; and that there is a law obliging all persons, who design to go off the island, to leave notice thereof at the secretary's office three weeks before their departure. The reader in the note (X) will find a very full and accurate

^a *DOUGLAS's Summary*, Vol. I. p. 133.

^b *System of Geography*, Vol. II. p. 751.

(X) The government of this island as it is now constituted, resembles that of the other islands. It consists of the governor, a council of twelve men, who are, as it were, of his own nomination, being appointed by letters of *mandamus*; and an assembly of twenty-two, chosen yearly out of the several parishes; viz. two for each, by a majority of votes. The members of the council sit in the court of chancery with the governor, and are, by virtue of their posts, styled honourable. The governor has the sole power of appointing and displacing all military officers; but judges and justices of the peace, (though removeable by him for sufficient reasons) are to be appointed by consent of the council, of whom no member can be displaced, without consent of the rest, unless on an extraordinary occasion not fit to be divulged to the whole body; and then the governor's reasons

for such suspension are immediately transmitted home. The governor, besides his salary of 2000*l.* sterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. is intitled to no perquisite, except a third of seizures; and restrained from receiving any gift or present from the assembly, or others, unless it be granted as a settlement by the first assembly he meets after his arrival. Though the senior counsel is to administer affairs in his absence, or after his death, till the arrival of another, he cannot pass any acts but what are immediately necessary for the peace and welfare of the island, nor dissolve the assembly then in being, nor remove or suspend any officer, civil or military, without the consent of at least seven of the council. The president is allowed for his trouble one half of the salary and emoluments allotted to the governor for the time being; and five members of council

- a account of the government of the island, which comes from so good an authority, that we chuse to give it in the words of the writer. The governor collates rectors to the parishes of the island, which are in number eleven. The perquisites are very considerable; their stated income is about 150 or 200*l.* a year each; but the rectory of *St. Michael's* in *Bridge-Town*, is supposed to be worth 7 or 800*l.* a year. The bishop of *London* is the ordinary of all the *English West-Indies* and *America*, which makes his see the most extensive of any in the world. Dr. *Sherlock*, while he held it, made an attempt, in the reign of *George* the Second, to introduce suffragans into *America*, for the more regular performance of the sacerdotal duties. But the motion was discouraged at the council-board, and his lordship got no credit by it, because it was considered as tending to the too great aggrandizement of his own authority.
- b The church affairs of *Barbados* are governed by a surrogate, of the bishop's appointment. There are upon the island some jews and quakers, and but very few other dissenters. The *Barbadians* formerly were remarkable for their unanimity, both in politics and religion; and their modern dissensions regarded rather persons than principles, and were occasioned through parties formed by oppressive rapacious governors.

The forts upon the island, and what we may call the military establishment, are supported by a duty of four pounds of gunpowder for every ton of shipping that unloads there; and the amount of the duty is about 600*l.* a year. Every pipe of *Madeira* wine pays a duty of 4*l.* 10*s.* and this amounts to about 9000*l.* a year, and the duties upon other liquors, to about 2000*l.* a year. Besides those duties, the assembly imposes occasional ones for public

council make a quorum, to transact all public business, and to constitute a court of chancery, and court of errors; which courts are held monthly. The members of a new assembly are chosen on the expiration or dissolution of a former, on the *Monday* after the third publication of a writ directed to the parish-churches throughout the island for that purpose; and where they are returned to the governor in council, they take all the state-oaths, subscribe the test, and then chuse a speaker, who cannot act as such before he is presented to, and approved by, the governor. The speaker, and eleven other members, constitute a house for transaction of business. They may make what rules they think proper, which are binding on themselves. They may expel any of their members, and may give leave to two of them to go off the island for six months, for recovery of their health. They have a right to try and determine all controverted elections, but can only adjourn themselves from day to day; all longer adjournments being to be made by the commander in chief. The assembly annually nominates the treasurer, the store-keeper of the magazine, the agent, and the comptroller of the excise; as also, an inspector of health, and the gaugers of casks; but all those officers are to be approved of by the commander in chief and council, which the clerk and marshal of the assembly, of their own appointment, are not. The assembly, likewise, ascertain all the public levies, which cannot be raised without their consent; and they prescribe the uses to which the money must be applied. Four of the council, and six of the assembly, or any six of them, are a committee for settling the public accounts of the island. The governor has a negative in the passing of all laws agreed to by the council and assembly. Three of the council and three of the assembly, or any four of them, are appointed as a committee, to correspond with the agency in *Great-Britain*. The treasurer can pay no public money, nor make any particular appropriation of money, without an act, or an order from the governor, with the consent of the council. The chief-justice of the pleas of the crown, and chief baron of the court of exchequer, are appointed by the governor, and have four other barons named with them: and any three of the five make a court for determining all matters. The island being divided into five precincts, there is a judge in each, who holds a court of common-pleas for trial of all causes, once every month, till the 26th of *September*, and then adjourns to the last *Monday* in *January*. From these courts there lies an appeal in all causes above 10*l.* value, to the governor and council, and from them in all above 500*l.* value, to the sovereign and council of *Great-Britain*. The five judges of the common-pleas courts are appointed by the governor, have each of them four assistants named with him, and any three of the five make a court for determining

all suits for above eight pound. The chief judges of those courts take the probate of all deeds, which is the greatest profit of the office. The sole judge of the court of vice-admiralty is a patent-officer, though, for many years past, he has acted under a commission from the governor, who also appoints the two masters in chancery, the solicitor, and the escheator-general; but the attorney-general is appointed by patent, as are, also, the chief-clerk, register, and sole examiner in chancery, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the peace; the secretary, and the clerk of the council; the provost-marshal, serjeant at arms, and marshal of the several courts; and the clerk of the market; all which officers are executed by deputies named by the patentees, or their attorneys. The casual receiver has his commission from *England*; the auditor-general is appointed by the lords of the treasury, and executes his office here by a deputy. The surveyor-general of the customs, with the other officers, are appointed by the commissioners of the customs, and, on any vacancy, the surveyor-general nominates till it is supplied from *England*. The naval office is granted by patent, and executed by a deputy; the surveyors of land are appointed by the commander in chief; the justices of the peace are appointed by a commission, which generally issues soon after a governor's arrival; and one of the persons named in that commission is nominated every half year, by the commander in chief, with the consent of the council, to preside as chief justice of the court of grand session, which is appointed by law to be held in *June* and *December*, besides the quarter-sessions held by the justices in every parish. The chief-justice, with five other justices, are empowered to hold the court, to which are returned, from every parish, six of its inhabitants, who are freeholders, to serve on the grand inquest, and petty-juries. The coroners for the several parishes are appointed by the commander in chief, and so are the gunners and matrosses belonging to each of the five divisions, tho' they are under the command of the colonels of the foot, to which each division respectively belongs.

The commissioners for taking care of the fortifications are, the members of council and assembly resident in each parish or district, together with the field officers of the island in the precincts where the regiments are to which they belong. The governor, as captain-general, usually presides at the councils of war, but sometimes he grants the commission of president to another officer. There are six regiments of foot here, and two of horse, besides a troop belonging to the island, called the troop of horse-guards, the royal regiment of foot-guards, the *Windward* regiments of horse and foot, the flying regiment of foot, *St. James's*, or the *Hole* regiment of foot; *Scotland* regiment of foot, and the *Leeward* regiments of horse and foot. Here is also a good train of artillery. Ibid.

uses, which sometimes amount to about 2000*l.* a year more. All those are exclusive of the four and a half per cent. duty paid to the crown, which of late years has amounted to a large sum. The negroes, mulattoes, and militive slaves, upon the island, are computed at an hundred thousand, and form great part of the wealth of the planters; but *Barbados* is not so subject now, as formerly, to the insurrections of negroes, because many of them are born upon the island, and entirely reconciled to their state, which their masters, for their own interest, make as agreeable to them as possible. They are not even without some property, having little indulgences granted them, and particular times allowed them, in which what they earn becomes their own.

Its trade.

THE trade of *Barbados* is very extensive; they bring their lumber, that is, timber of all kinds, their bread, flower, *Indian* corn, rice, tobacco, some salt-beef and pork, fish, pulse, and other provisions from *New-England*, *Carolina*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York* and *Virginia*. They import their slaves from the coast of *Guinea*; but since the acquisition of *Senegal* to the crown of *Great Britain*, great improvements may be introduced into that trade in favour of the *English* colonies. They import their wine from *Madeira*, *Tercera*, and *Fayal*; and likewise some brandy. *Ireland* furnishes them with beef and pork, and the *Dutch* island of *Curassao*, with salt. The great value, however, of *Barbados* to the mother-country, is best known from its vast consumption of *British* and *Irish* manufactures and commodities. Of these they import *Osnaburghs*, so called from a town in *Germany*, famous for manufacturing this coarse linnen-cloth, which clothe their slaves*, linnen of all sorts, with broad cloth and kerseys, for the planters, their overseers and their families; silk and stuffs, for their ladies and household servants; red-caps, for their slaves, male and female; stockings and shoes, of all sorts; gloves and hats; millenery-ware and perriwigs; laces for linnen, woollen, and silks, peas, beans, and oats, from our western counties; and biscuit from *London*; wine, of all sorts; strong beer, (which they have also from *New England*;) and pale ale, pickles, candles, butter and cheese; iron-ware for their sugar-works, such as saws, files, axes, hatchets, chissels, adzes, hoes, mattocks, planes, gouges, awgers, hand-bills, drawing-knives, nails, and all sorts of leaden ware; powder and shot; and brass and copper-wares: but *Birmingham*-wares, though good commodities, soon rust and canker, by the evening damps of this climate; and therefore stand in need of continual repair, or new tools in their room: and to this moisture of the air it is imputed, that clocks and watches seldom go right in this island. The *Barbadians* take off likewise large quantities of *East-India* goods from *England*; and in short, there is nothing that sells in an *English*, or even *European* shop or market, that does not find a ready vent in *Barbados*, if agreeable to the climate. The soil of *Barbados* being too precious for common culture, renders it of infinite advantage to those parts of the *British* dominions, where the ground is best employed in producing the necessaries of life. Even coals, pantiles, hearth-stones, and the like commodities and manufactures, are profitable branches of imports into this island. But besides what the *Barbadians* consume themselves, they are very considerable exporters of *British* goods to *Africa*; and they even pay for their slaves in our manufactures; such as guns, powder, and arms, stuffs, hats, and wearing-apparel of all kinds. Some authors, who are acquainted with the island, pretend, that formerly *Barbados* required a supply of 100,000 slaves every thirty years; and when the *African* trade was under a parliamentary enquiry in 1728, it appeared, that in three years only, the number of negroes imported at *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to 42,000, exclusive of those carried to *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*. Thus much for the imports of *Barbados*.

Its negroes.

Exports.

As to its exports, sugar is its staple commodity. In the course of the history of the island, we have introduced that of the sugar trade; and have observed, that both the population and commerce of *Barbados*, were in former times superior to what they are now; nay, if we are to believe some writers, in the year 1676, this island employed 400 sail of ships, each at an average, of 150 tons, and the current cash of the island was about 200,000*l.* while its exports to *Great Britain* in sugar, ginger, indigo, and other commodities, amounted to about 350,000*l.* yearly. It is even said, that *England*, the aforesaid year, by exporting the goods imported from *Barbados*, got 200,000*l.* and that she had the like profit for many years before. But even those were not the golden times of *Barbados*, whose trade, before the Restoration, was still more considerable, though far from being so profitable, to the mother-country; or indeed, to the planters themselves, as great part of it was engrossed by the *Dutch*, and centered in *Holland*: nor did it settle in *England* till after the navigation-act, and several others of the same kind were passed by the legislature, both here and at *Barbados*. Those acts rendered *London* the great mart all over *Europe* for sugar, which commerce had formerly been in the hands of the *Portuguese*, by their being masters of *Brasil*. It was calculated, that from the year 1636 to 1656, *England* acquired by *Barba-*

* System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 751.

† Ibid. ibid.

- a. *Two millions of money, and double that sum the twenty years following. The settling and improvement of the French sugar-lands, with the decay of population in Barbados, from the causes already mentioned, no doubt, in after-times hurt the Barbados sugar-trade; but an accurate calculator says that in the space of an hundred years, the people of England have received twelve millions of silver by means of this plantation; and had 50,000 of her inhabitants maintained at that time, by the people of this colony. It appears, from the remarks on the present state of the sugar-colonies, that the Barbadians in 1730, exported hither 22,769 hogsheds of sugar, each weighing thirteen hundred weight; of which, near 18,000 hogsheds came into the port of London only: and that they made 340391 l. clear profit of the whole; because it was proved, that the rum and molasses paid all the charges of a plantation. Barbados has now lost all its indigo-trade, that culture being much more proper for the northern colonies; but it ships off a great deal of ginger, of which the inhabitants cure large quantities for England; as also lignum vitæ, sweet meats, citron, and other strong waters, molasses, rum, and lime-juice.*
- b. *The inhabitants of Barbados are reducible to three classes, viz. the masters, the white servants, and the black servants. The former are either English, Scotch, or Irish; but the great encouragement which the British legislature has given to the peopling of that and our other islands, has induced some Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Jews, to settle among them with their estates; by which, after a certain time, they acquire the rights of naturalization in Great Britain. The white servants, whether by covenant or by purchase, lead more easy lives than common day-labourers in England, and when they come to be over-seers, their wages and other allowances are considerable. As to the black servants, the notions which generally prevail in Europe concerning them are very erroneous, it being, as we have already hinted, the interest of every planter to be even more careful of his black than of his white servants; the former with all his posterity, unless they should happen to be set free, being his perpetual property. Most of the negroes are employed in the field; but some of them work in the sugar-mills and store-houses, while those of both sexes, who are most likely and handy, are employed as house-maids and menial servants. The original price of a negro, when he comes from Guinea, is from twenty to forty pounds, according to his likelihood; but when they improve in any mechanic, or other trade, their price rises greatly: so that 400 l. has been refused for a good sugar-boiler. The men are indulged in a plurality of wives. But it is ridiculous to imagine, that their being converted to Christianity introduces any alteration into their state of servitude. All the difference is, that a planter of any humanity may shew some indulgences to a negroe who discovers sentiment or reflection enough to desire to be baptized. But the truth is, the negroes in general are of such dispositions as call for the utmost vigilance, and the most severe discipline. They are obstinate, sullen, treacherous, and vindictive; and many of them shew but few faculties that entitle them to be considered as rational creatures. Plantains, being a fruit so called, is the chief support of the negroes, who have various ways of dressing it; but they have every week, at stated times, an allowance of Indian corn-bread, salt-fish, or salt-pork. Every negroe family has a cabin, and adjoining to it, a small piece of ground by way of garden, in which the more industrious sort plant potatoes, yams, and other roots, and rear live stock, which they are at liberty to eat or to convert into money for their own use, and it is incredible what savings of this kind some of them make. They are fond of rum and tobacco, and they generally lay out their earnings in fine cloaths, and ornaments for themselves and their wives. In all other respects, the manner of gentlemen and their families living at Barbados, is the same as in the most polite towns and countries in Europe; only the nature and narrowness of their country disable them from hunting and other out-door exercises.*

Inhabitants.

- c. *As to the particular parishes, settlements, and towns in other parts of Barbados, besides Bridge-Town, there is but little either variety or improvement in describing them. It is sufficient to say here, that no article, either of conveniency or luxury, is wanting to the inhabitants, according to their different-ranks, and that the island is divided into precincts and parishes as follows. In the south part of the island, in St. Michael's, or Bridge precinct, are the parishes of St. Michael, St. George, and St. John. In St. James's, or the Hole precinct, are the parishes of St. James, and St. Thomas. In St. Peter's, or Speight's precinct, is the parish of St. Peter, with All-Saints chapel. In the west is the parish of St. Lucy. In the north, in St. Andrew's Overhill, or Scotland precinct, are the parishes of St. Andrew, and St. Joseph. In the east, in Ostine's precinct, are the parishes of Christ-church and St. Philip. We are now to consider the soil and other productions of Barbados.*
- d. *This island has two streams that are called rivers on its east-side, and in its center it is said to have a bituminous spring, which sends forth a liquor like tar, and serves for the*

Division of Barbados.

Its soil and produce.

same uses as pitch or lamp-oil. The island abounds in wells of good water, and contains a reservoirs for rain-water. Some parts of the soil are said to be hollowed into caves, several of them capable of containing 300 people. These are imagined to have been the lurking-holes of run-away negroes, but they are probably natural excavations. The woods that formerly grew upon the island have been all cut down, and for the most part converted into sugar-plantations. When those plantations were first formed, the soil was infinitely more fertile than it is now; for the land, in some places, about thirty years ago, was so worn out, that the planters were obliged to raise cattle for the sake of their manure, which reduced their profits to less than one tenth of their usual value. Notwithstanding the smallness of *Barbados*, its soil is different, being, in some places sandy and light, in others rich, and in others spongy; but all of it cultivated according to its several natures: so that the island presents to the eye, the most beautiful appearance of spring, summer, and autumn. The sugar-cane is cultivated from *August* till the latter end of *January*. The inhabitants have few orchards or gardens, because they employ their lands in a more profitable culture, and they can bring *Indian* corn from *North America* cheaper than it can be sold for when growing upon the island. Oranges and lemons grow in *Barbados* in great plenty, and to great perfection, and the lemon juice made here has a particular fragrantcy.

THE citrons of *Barbados* afford the finest drams and sweetmeats of any in the world; the *Barbados* ladies excelling in the art of preserving the rind of the citron fruit. The citron-tree is small, but its fruit is so large, that it often pulls it to the ground; its stalk is darkish, and its leaf dark-green; but indeed *Barbados*, of all spots in the world, is by nature the best fitted for furnishing those exquisite luxuries, many of which are equally salutary as delicious. The lime-tree is prickly, like the *English* holly, so that, formerly, hedges were made of it. It grows about seven or eight feet high, and so much resembles the lemon-tree, that the difference is scarcely to be discerned at a little distance. The juice of the limes, or dwarf-lemons, (for such they are) is the most agreeable souring we know of, and great quantities of it begin now to be imported from *Barbados* to *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. The tamarinds of *Barbados* is an agreeable, yet wholesome, sweetmeat, and has many medicinal virtues. The anana, or the pine-apple, is common at *Barbados*, and its flavour much more exalted than in *Europe*, with all the modern improvements of gardening and hot-houses. The aloe, mangrove, calabash, cotton, cedar, mastic, and bulley-trees, grow here in great plenty, as does the cocoa, and the cacao tree, the latter yielding a fruit of which chocolate is made. The other trees of this island are the fig-tree, the fibres of which, shooting out of its trunk, take root again, and if suffered to grow, would produce a continued grove. The cassia fistula-tree is said sometimes to grow eight feet in twelve months. It would here be improper to enter into a description of the numerous fruits and trees, all of them unknown in *Europe*, that grow upon this island; such as the prickled-apple, pomegranate, papa, guava, custard-apple, macow-tree, palmetto, locust-tree, and iron-wood. The plantain-tree, or shrub, deserves a more particular description, because it is of the greatest utility, by its being the most wholesome nourishment which the negroes of the island have. Its growth is very quick, one sprout keeps its ascendancy over several that come out of the same root, and is surrounded with leaves, which rotting, are succeeded by fresh ones; and these last expand as the sun rises and grows intense. The plantain-tree is full grown, when it is eight or ten feet high, and then it no longer sheds its leaves. The negroes love the fruit when green, the *English* when ripe, and think it both nourishing and pleasant. *Barbados* likewise produces some sensitive plants, with a good deal of garden-stuff that is common in other places. The yam, which grows there, is a root resembling potatoes, and the cabbage-tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, being so called by its bearing a flower or fruit resembling our cabbages in form and taste. In short, a native of the finest, the richest, and most diversified country in *Europe* can scarcely form an idea of the variety of delicious, and, at the same time, nutritive, vegetable productions with which *Barbados* abounds, and for which we refer to the natural histories of that island.

Its cattle.

WHEN *Barbados* was first discovered by the *English*, few or no quadrupeds but hogs were found upon it. For convenience of carriage to the sea-side, some of the planters at first procured camels; which, undoubtedly, in all respects, would have been preferable to horses for their sugar and other works, but the nature of the animal disagreeing with the climate, their breed could not be preserved. They then applied for horses to *Old* and *New England*, from the former they had those that were fit for shew and draughts; from the latter those that were proper for mounting their militia, and for the saddle. They had, likewise, some of a coarse kind from *Curassao*, and other settlements. They are reported to have had their first breed of bulls and cows from *Bonavista*, and the isle of *May*, and they now breed upon the island, and often do the work of horses and negroes. Their asses are the most serviceable in carrying burdens to and from the plantations. The hogs

a of *Barbados* are finer eating than those of *England*, but the few sheep they have are not near so good. They, likewise, have goats, which when young, are excellent food, and plenty of raccoons and monkeys are found in the island.

BARBADOS produces a variety of birds, the most famous of which is the humming-bird, the description and beauty of which is now well known in *Europe*; it being, according to the general report, the smallest and most beautiful bird that is known. The *Barbadians* have not often wild fowl. Teal are sometimes found near their ponds. A bird, which they call the man of war, is said to meet ships twenty leagues from land, and their return, is, to the inhabitants, a sure prognostic of their arrival. When the wind changes to south, and south-west, they have flocks of curlews, plovers, snipes, wild pigeons, and

b wild ducks. The wild pigeons are very fat, and plentiful at such seasons, and rather larger than those in *England*. The tame pigeons, pullets, ducks, and poultry of all kinds, that are bred in *Barbados*, have a fine flavour, and are accounted more delicious than those of *Europe*. Their rabbits are scarce; they have no hares, and if they have deer of any kind, they are kept as curiosities. The insects of *Barbados* are not venomous, nor do either their snakes or scorpions ever sting. Their musketoes, a kind of gnats, are troublesome and bite, but are more tolerable at *Barbados* than they are upon the continent. They have various other insects upon the island, some of which are troublesome, but not in a

c greater degree than those produced by every warm summer in *England*. *Barbados* is well supplied with fish, and some caught in the sea surrounding it almost peculiar to itself, such as the parrot-fish, snappers, and grey cavallos, terbums, and coney fish. Their mullets, lobsters, and crabs caught here are excellent; and the green turtle is, perhaps, the greatest delicacy that ancient or modern luxury can boast of. Besides the variety of eating found in it, it is at once, so light and so nutritive, that no bad consequences are known to attend it from indigestion or surfeit, be the quantity devoured ever so great. At *Barbados* this delicious shell fish seldom sells for less than a shilling a pound, and often for more. There is found in *Barbados* a kind of a land crab, which eats herbs wherever it can find them, and shelters itself in houses and hollows of trees. According to report, they are a shell fish of passage, for in *March* they travel to the sea in vast numbers. As to other parts of the natural history of *Barbados*, such as the cultivation of sugar-canes, rum, and molasses, they do

d not come under the plan of this history; neither shall we undertake to trace the commerce and interests of the island through all their various labyrinths, especially as their channels are changed according to the different views, circumstances, and systems of the *European* nations, and particularly of *Great-Britain*.

S A I N T L U C I A.

THIS island may be considered as lying next to *Barbados*, from whence it is distant only twenty-one leagues. It lies six leagues south from *Martinico*, and the same

e distance north from *St. Vincent*. The island, which takes its name from its being discovered on the day of the popish martyr *St. Lucia*, is fifteen miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It has upon it, besides several other hills, two that are remarkably round and high, and are said to be of the volcano kind. At the bottom of those hills are plains, finely watered with rivers, and very fertile. The air, by the disposition of the hills, which admit the trade-winds into the island, is found to be very healthy. The soil produces trees, which are fit for building houses and windmills, and have often been employed for that purpose by both the *French* and the *English* planters. It likewise produces cocoa and fustic. As to the bays and harbours of the island, the *French* had so great an opinion of those of *St. Lucia*, that during the negotiations for peace in 1761 and 1762, they preferred

f it to any two of the other neutral islands, and made their acquisition of this island an indispensable condition of their continuing the negotiation. The chief harbour of the island is called the *Little Careenage*; and it is, in the opinion of our neighbours, and of many among ourselves, the finest harbour in all the *Caribbees*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that it was thought of so great importance, both by the *French* and *English*, that both possessed it by turns, though neither of them ever fully settled it. The *English* have an undisputed right to the prior occupancy of *St. Lucia*, which was always included, as we have already mentioned, in the commission of the *English* governor of *Barbados*.

It appears from the best accounts, both *French* and *English*, that the *Caribbees*, who were the original inhabitants of *St. Lucia*, and gave name to those islands, were a fierce, intrac-

g table race of savages, and equally irreclaimable by good usage as severity. In the year 1637, the *English* were settled upon *St. Lucia*, where they had lived for some time before; but the year after, the *Caribbeans*, instigated, as the *English* alledged, by the *French*, either killed, or drove off from the island, all the *English* settlers, with their governor,

Birds.

And fishes.

Description of
St. Lucia.

Settled by the
English,

who are mas-
sacred by the
savages.

Settled by the
French,

who are mas-
sacred like-
wise.

The French
repossess the
island;

for so the chief man among them was called. We do not, however, find that the *French* at this time laid any formal claim to the property of the island. The reason of the enmity of the barbarians to the *English*, was as follows. An *English* vessel, lying at *Dominica* under a *French* flag, the *Caribbeans* taking her for a ship of that nation, came on board to traffic, as usual; but becoming drunk by brandy, the captain set sail with them. The savages, perceiving his treachery, all leapt overboard, and got to their island, excepting two, whom the *English* captain put in irons, and sold for slaves. The savages, who escaped, instigated all the *Caribbeans* who were dispersed through the *Windward Islands*, both *French* and *English*, to revenge this treachery, which they did to the full; for they landed upon all the *English* settlements that were accessible to their canoes, and massacred as many of them as they possibly could. They surprised in the night-time those of *St. Lucia*, killed the governor, and most of the inhabitants, in their beds; a few only of them escaping to *Montserrat*. The *English*, who survived, carried their complaints to M. de Poincy, then governor of all the *French Caribbean Islands*, against M. Parquet, who was then governor of *Martinico*, and whom the *English* accused of being the instigator of the massacre. De Poincy acquitted Parquet of the charge, as the latter endeavoured to prove, that he had sent intelligence of the design of the savages to the *English*, as soon as he knew it. Notwithstanding this, the *English* still continued to suspect both those governors of having been at the bottom of the massacre.

THIS dreadful catastrophe discouraged the *English* from reinhabiting *St. Lucia*; nor could the *English* governors of *Barbados* prevail with any of their countrymen to live in an island where they were subject to such tragical visits, and was at such a distance from all relief from their other settlements. *St. Lucia* thus lying uninhabited, when the civil wars broke out in *England*, Parquet, in 1644, sent thither forty men, under one Rouffelan, who was well provided with stores and ammunition. This proceeding revived the suspicions of the *English*, and the rather, as the first thing which Rouffelan did, was to build a strong pallisadoed fort upon the island, surrounded by good ditches, and defended by cannon and patteringoes; after which, his people proceeded to cure tobacco, and raise provisions of all kinds, and likewise to build dwelling-houses, under the protection of the fort. This little settlement thrived excessively, because Rouffelan having married a *Caribbee* woman, was very agreeable to the savages, who not only left him and his colony unmolested, but traded with them. But all the good fortune of the *French* upon this island, ended with the life of Rouffelan, who died in 1654, and was succeeded by one la Riviere. This gentleman had so good an opinion of the friendly disposition of the savages, that he built a dwelling-house for himself and his family, without the protection of the fort. The savages, by this time, had lost all affection for the *French*, and secretly conspired to cut them off. Barbarous as they were, they concealed and carried on this design in a most artful manner. They visited la Riviere as usual, and trafficked the same as before. At last, towards the end of the year, a large number of them came to his house, and after being entertained with liquor, one of them gave a signal, which they had concerted among themselves, and all of them falling upon the *French*, they murdered la Riviere, with ten others, plundered his house, and carried off his wife, two of his children, and a negro slave. La Riviere was succeeded by Haquet. This gentleman being fully apprised of the savage treachery of the *Caribbeans*, used all imaginable precautions to avoid it; but, as the event proved, all was without success. They repaired to his fort with the most friendly appearances, and traded fairly with him for turtle and their other commodities. In the year 1656, pretending that they had left a large quantity of turtle on a neighbouring hill, he was prevailed upon, attended with no more than three of his soldiers, to repair thither, and the savages spying their opportunity, threw him from the hill into the sea. Haquet was stunned, but not hurt by the fall. He recovered himself, and made the best of his way to the fort; but before he could reach it, he was mortally wounded in the side by one of the savages arrows, and died in three days after. Haquet was succeeded by one Breton, who being of low extraction, and using the garrison ill, they conspired to assassinate him; but he escaped into the woods, and eluded all the search they could make for him. The garrison, upon this, stripped the fort; and seizing a ship in the road, escaped to the *Spaniards*, who protected them.

ABOUT ten days after, a *French* ship passing by from *Grenada*, her captain perceived, that tho' the conspirators had carried off all the furniture and moveables they could transport, yet that the fort itself and its artillery were in good condition. He therefore left it in custody of four of his seamen, whom he furnished with necessaries and provisions. As this captain was preparing to sail Breton made him a signal, and he was received on board the ship. Parquet, understanding what had happened, sent to *St. Lucia* one Coulis, with twenty-five soldiers, and thirteen others, to reside there till M. Aygremont, the governor, should arrive. In Aygremont's time, the *English* attacked the fort of *St. Lucia*, but the *French*

- a *French* pretend that they were beaten off. Be this as it will, it is certain that the savages held the *French* in such detestation, that in 1660, *Agreement* was assassinated as he went a-hunting with them. Two years after, Mr. *Warner*, an *Englishman*, whose mother was a *Caribbean*, and his father, the *English* governor of *St. Christopher's*, having received a commission to be governor of *Dominica* for the *English*, purchased for his countrymen the isle of *St. Lucia* from the *Caribbeans*. In consequence of this acquisition, the *English* sent five men of war, with 14 or 1500 men on board, to take possession of the island, and were joined by about 700 of the *Caribbeans* in their canoes. One *Bonnart* was then the *French* governor of the fort, and having not a dozen of soldiers under him, he surrendered it upon the first summons, upon condition, according to the *French* author *Labat*, that he and his
- b men, with their baggage, cannon, and ammunition, should be carried to *Martinico*. The same writer pretends, that the governor and soldiers only were sent thither; but it is extremely improbable, that such a capitulation should be granted to a dozen of men, shut up in a weak palisadoed fort, besieged by 1500.

THE *English* having got possession of the island, under so fair a title as that of a bargain with the natives, one Mr. *Cock* was made governor of it; but no care had been taken by the *English*, the bulk of whom we may suppose to have been men of desperate circumstances, and not very regular in their manner of living, to keep possession of the island. Their provisions fell short, and epidemical diseases made such havock of them, that in a short time, the poor settlement was reduced to eighty-nine persons. In such a dismal situation, it is no wonder that the few survivors, having before their eyes nothing but death by famine or diseases, set fire to the fort in 1666, and abandoning the settlement, dispersed themselves through the other *English* islands. Father *la Tetre*, another *French* writer, pretends on this occasion, that the *English* made an offer to the *French* of yielding up the island to them, which was accepted of; but that the *English* were persuaded by lord *Willoughby*, then governor of *Barbados*, to retract their offer, on his promising to relieve them. His succours, however, were so long in coming, that they were obliged, in the manner we have mentioned, to abandon the settlement. Two days after, lord *Willoughby*, who perfectly well understood the commerce of the *West Indies*, and the importance of *St. Lucia*, arrived, as some say, in person, with reinforcements, and took a new possession of the

c island. This possession was from year to year renewed with all requisite solemnities, by succeeding governors of *Barbados*, within whose commission *St. Lucia* lay; but the inattention of the administration under *Charles* the second, and his close connections with *France*, prevented any material progress being made for its prosperity. By the treaty of *Breda*, in that reign, and that for the neutrality of the *West Indies* and *America*, in the succeeding, the *British* claim to *St. Lucia* was in some measure suspended by the arts of *France*, though *St. Lucia* was certainly among the islands that by those treaties, as well as by that of *Ryswick*, were stipulated to be restored to the crown of *Great Britain*.

but give way to the English,

- SAINT LUCIA continued, after this, to be resorted to, equally by *French* as *English*; but the only constant inhabitants of it were ship-carpenters, hewers of wood, and other
- e labourers for felling and preparing timber for ship-building, from the size of the largest vessel, down to that of the smallest canoe. In process of time, runaway soldiers and sailors found *St. Lucia*, on account of its rocks and fastnesses, to be a most excellent receptacle for them; and in the year 1689, when Sir *Hans Sloane* was there, a small colony of *Barbadians* resided on *St. Lucia*, and lived by furnishing their own island with timber. Even the treaty of *Utrecht* did not restore *St. Lucia* to the *English*, the *French* pleading, that it was not comprehended in the islands to be restored by the peace of *Ryswick*, because it was not conquered from the *English*, but abandoned by them; and, therefore the *French* entered upon it as an unoccupied island. We have, in the history of *Barbados*, mentioned the remonstrances made by the *French* court on the part of *Great Britain*, on account of the
- f marshal *D'Estrées'* grant and settlement of *St. Lucia*; and it is certain, that the court of *England* always considered *St. Lucia* as an island belonging to *Great Britain*, and which might be planted by her subjects as soon as conveniency should offer. In consequence of this claim, about the year 1715, while the island lay in a state of seeming neutrality, captain *St. Loe*, commander of his *Britannic* majesty's ship *Valour*, had orders to interrupt the *French* cutting logwood upon *St. Lucia*, which produced a heavy complaint from *du Quesne*, general of the *French* islands, who sent one of his officers with a letter to the president of *Barbados* on that head. The president, in his answer, justified what had been done by captain *St. Loe*, and asserted the *British* right not only to *St. Lucia*, but to *Tobago*, desiring the *French* forthwith to remove their settlements from the former island, and asserting that the resort of the *French* to both had only been occasionally wink'd at on the part of *Great*
- g *Britain*. The settlement and evacuation of M. *D'Estrées'* colony at *St. Lucia* followed this transaction; and king *George* the first, on the 22d of *June*, 1721, granted to *John* duke of

and at last it becomes neutral.

Dated Fort Royal, Martinique Feb. 24, 1715, N. S.

Montague,

Dated Pilgrim, in Barbados, Feb, 21, 1714, O. S.

Montague, his letters-patent, constituting his grace captain-general of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, with liberty to settle the same with *British* subjects.

IN consequence of this grant, the following vessels were fitted out for those settlements, viz. the *Elizabeth*, of 130 tons, four guns, three officers, and nine servants; the *Charles* and *Freemason*, of 200 tons, ten guns, thirteen officers, and one hundred and eight servants; the *Griffin* sloop, of 90 tons, twelve guns, three officers and forty-eight servants; the *Little George*, of 100 tons, four guns, eight officers, and thirty servants; the *Adventure*, of 200 tons, twelve guns, thirteen officers, and one hundred and forty-one servants; the *Hopewell*, of 250 tons, six guns, eleven officers, and eighty-nine servants. In all, 520 tons, 48 guns, 51 officers, and 425 servants. This Squadron was furnished with 56 pieces of cannon, 1163 muskets and bayonets, 500 cutlasses, 1000 grenado-shells, fixed with fuzes: 4 brass cohorn-mortars, 100 barrels of musket-ball, 20 barrels of bird and drop shot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 200 barrels of all sorts of nails, a great quantity of tools for carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and masons; 20 tons of bar-iron, 10 tons of cordage; all sorts of working-tools, household-furniture, wearing apparel, and, in fine, of every thing fitting for the secure and commodious being of a new settlement. Besides the above stores, were 30 house-frames, one large house-frame for the governor, 50,000 feet of board, 95000 shingles, 40 live sheep, and 2 breeding sows. We mention those particulars, that the reader may have some notion of the vast expence to which the noble duke was put in this settlement, and for which he never had any consideration allowed to him or his family. All his Squadron was put under the convoy of the *Winchelsea* man of war, captain Orme commander; and after taking in additional supplies at *Madeira* and *Barbados*, they arrived at *St. Lucia* on the 17th of *December*, 1722; only the *Adventure* and the *Hopewell* came too late to be of any service to the infancy of the settlement.

Miscarriage of the duke of Montague's settlement;

THE duke of Montague had appointed captain *Nathaniel Vring*, late commander of the *West-India* packet-boat, to be deputy-governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; captain *John Braithwaite*, to be lieutenant-governor, and Mr. *William Falkener*, to be secretary. The Squadron arriving at *Pilgrim-Bay*, off *St. Lucia*, failed from thence three leagues farther to the southward, and arrived at *Petit Careenage*, where they found a good harbour, at the entrance of which, Mr. *Vring* landed fifty men, to raise a battery at a place which he called *Montague's-Point*, intending afterwards to fortify a hill within musket-shot of the point. Soon after, a sloop arrived from *Martinico*, with a copy of a mandate by the *French king*, dated *September* 21, 1722, at *Versailles*, and which had been published by beat of drum through all the towns of *Martinico*, importing, "that neither *St. Vincent*, nor *St. Lucia* belonged to the king of *England*: that the first of them ought to remain to the *Caribbeans*, according to conventions made with that people: that the second belonged to the king of *France*, who had been willing, however, to suspend the settlement of that island, at the request of the king of *England*: that the duke of Montague's undertaking to send and take possession of these islands, and to transport families to them, being contrary to the rights of his most Christian majesty, his intention is, that, in case the *English* should take possession of *St. Lucia*, and settle there, the chevalier *de Fouquiere* (governor-general of the islands) shall summon them to retire in fifteen days; and, if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms."

THE propriety of the *British* court's conduct on this occasion is extremely questionable. As their ministry was not only in peace with *France* at that time, but intimately connected with its administration, we cannot account for the reason why the duke of Montague was put to so prodigious an expence, in attempting to make this settlement, before the *British* court knew the sentiments of that of *France*; or why he was not supported in the attempt. Even the captains of *British* men of war refused to assist him, though lying in the neighbourhood. Mr. *Vring* found all this out, when it was too late; and all he could do was to send a letter to the governor of *Martinico*, proposing a suspension of all hostilities, till such time as they could hear from their respective principals. The sequel is scarcely credible. Mr. *Vring* perceived, that not only the captains of the *British* ships of war, but all the *English* interest in *America*, the government of *Barbados* excepted, were averse from granting him any assistance, either by land or sea. Notwithstanding this, he landed his cannon and stores, and was in hopes of raising a defensible fortification upon the hill, before the time limited by the *French* mandate was expired. On the 29th of *December*, several *French* sloops stood into *Schoque-Bay*, with an intention, as afterwards appeared, to dispossess the *English* settlement; and it is reported, that their force amounted to between two and three thousand men. As *Schoque-Bay* is but an hour's march from the fort, where Mr. *Vring* was then attempting to build, he drew up a proclamation, requiring all strangers and foreigners, then within the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, or either of them, to submit and conform to the government therein established, or to depart thereout.

which is opposed by the French.

THIS

a THIS proclamation was sent to the *French* at *Sboque*, who treated it with infinite contempt, and their numbers were every day encreasing, both from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*: Mr. *Vring*, on the other hand, had not with him above eighty persons capable of bearing arms, and received a letter from the marquis *de Champigny*, the commander of the *French* troops, commanding his evacuation of the island, and flatly refusing to give the *English* the smallest respite, nor even time to receive advice from *Europe*. *Vring* consulted those who were about him, and all of them agreed to leave the island, upon condition that all their deserters should be restored, and sufficient time be allowed for reembarking the cannon, arms, ammunition, provisions, stores of all sorts, and whatever had by them been disembarked in that island, which the *French* were also to evacuate at the same time. Those demands were agreed to; but the *French*, to make every thing secure, continued advancing against the *English*, who every day expected the *Adventure* and *Hopewell*, with 240 men on board. Those not arriving, and the *French* every day pouring in fresh reinforcements from their islands, Mr. *Vring* reembarked all his company, demolished his fort and barricado, and, on the 14th of *January*, set sail for the island of *Antigua*. It must be acknowledged, that *Vring*, before his departure, had some regard for the honour of his nation; for the following is part of one of his memorials: “The *French* at this time opposed the *English* settlement, but by article 7th of the treaty, concluded on the part of the *English*, by Mr. *Braithwaite*, empowered by Mr. *Vring*, the duke of *Montague*’s deputy-governor, and on the part of the *French*, by M. *de Champigny*, for the evacuation of *St. Lucia*, *Jan.* 8th, O. S. 1722-3, it is agreed, that immediately after the evacuation of the said colony of M. the duke of *Montague*, the sieur marquis *de Champigny* obliges himself also to make an evacuation of the *French* forces, and leave the island of *St. Lucia* in its former state and condition, till there shall be a decision of it by the two crowns. To the rights and pretensions of which, the said sieurs *de Champigny* and *Braithwaite* declare, they have neither inclination or power to bring any prejudice to the present treaty.”

b THE evacuation of *St. Lucia* by Mr. *Vring* did no prejudice to the *British* right to that island; for Mr. *Worfeley*, who was then governor of *Barbados*, had *St. Lucia* still continued in his commission, but received instructions for its evacuation, in consequence of an agreement between the courts of *France* and *Great Britain* for that purpose, the *French* being tied down to the same condition. From that time to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, concluded at *Paris*, *February* the 10th, 1763, the island of *St. Lucia* was always considered as neutral; but by the 9th article of the said treaty, it is stipulated, to be delivered to *France*, and his most Christian majesty is to enjoy the same in full right.

S A I N T V I N C E N T.

c THIS island is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles north-west of *Barbados*. The original inhabitants of it were *Caribbeans*, but by a strange intermixture of shipwrecked, or runaway negroes, the negro complexion and species has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of *St. Vincent*, before the cession of it to the crown of *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being so ferocious as many of the other savages, because they often traded with the *European* nations, and gave them refreshments for hatchets, scissars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is observable, that *St. Vincent* was more populous than the other *Caribbee Islands* of the same dimensions, because it was the general rendezvous of those savages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they seldom were at peace. By all accounts, the *Caribbeans* consulted their own interests very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnership of their soil; for the latter tyrannized over them to such a degree, that they made several attempts to introduce the *French* and *English* into the island, that they might dispossess the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that those attempts succeeded; for many of the negroes having some knowledge of the *European* discipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to dispossess them, and are said to have lived on the island plentifully and comfortably.

d IN 1719, the *French* from *Martinico* endeavoured to dislodge them, but lost many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that *St. Vincent* is one of the best of all the *Antilles* islands. The soil is excellent, as likewise the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the *Europeans* succeeded in making a settlement upon it, it must have soon become a kind of storehouse for *Martinico* and the other *Caribbee Islands*, as every thing necessary for life is here easily raised. The negroes assimilate themselves as much as possible to the *Caribbeans* in their dress and manner of living; but they are easily distinguishable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have separate chiefs, but no one claims to be sovereign; their government approach-

St. Vincent, a neutral island.

ing more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of *Montague's* attempt a to people this island, and that of *St. Lucia* took place, the *French*, from *Martinico* and their other islands repaired hither, and prepossessed the inhabitants, both negroes and *Indians*, against the *English*, who, they said, intended to make them slaves. All the endeavours of Mr. *Egerton*, who was sent thither by captain *Vring*, to persuade the natives to submit to the duke of *Montague's* proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepossession; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a king of *England*, or any other potentate, had to dispose of their island. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more secure.

The English attempt to settle it, but mis-
carry.

Mr. *Egerton* thus failing in his solicitations, Mr. *Braithwaite*, who had been appointed b lieutenant-governor under Mr. *Vring*, was sent from *Antigua*, to which island the settlement designed for *St. Lucia* had retired, in the *Griffin* sloop, attended by the *Winchelsea* man of war, to make a fresh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more necessary, on account of the orders lately arrived from *England*, which were peremptory, that a settlement should be made on *St. Vincent*. Mr. *Braithwaite* coming to an anchor off the island, was visited by a person who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he soon had reason to believe, that this chief was an impostor, and had no other view than to get from him some presents. The currents soon drove Mr. *Braithwaite's* ship off from this station, and he anchored in a spacious bay to the leeward of the island, which then presented a place very proper for making a settlement. Here he landed, but found c the shore covered with *Indians*, headed by a *Frenchman*, and all of them furnished with fire-arms. They immediately seized *Braithwaite*, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was surrounded by a guard of about 100 *Indians*, some with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A *Frenchman* served as interpreter between the chief and *Braithwaite*, who found himself under the necessity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the island only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hostages in case the chief could be persuaded to trust himself on board the *English* ship. This offer was rejected, and *Braithwaite* was given to understand, that his safest course would be to get under sail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a settlement upon the island; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the shore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when d he got into his boat he sent on shore a present of some refreshments to the *Indian* chief. The scene was now changed. The *French* interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the savage general, was withdrawn, and the present was not only received with great thankfulness, but the messenger was given to understand, that the *English* were welcome to whatever the island afforded. A present of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the *Indians*, who spoke very good *French*, going on board Mr. *Braithwaite's* ship, offered to remain there as hostages, if he chose again to go on shore. *Braithwaite* sent them on board the man of war, and went on shore with captain *Watson*; but he found that the negroes and the *Caribbeans* were united, and that the negroe chief had with him 500 blacks, most of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to suffer *Braithwaite* to wood and water e under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the *Indian* and negroe chiefs to go on board the *Winchelsea*, where they were very handsomely entertained, and had presents made them by Capt. *Orm*. Being plied with liquor, *Braithwaite* discovered that they were invincibly resolved against the *English* making any settlement upon their island; and he was informed, that had he owned any such design when on shore, they could not have protected him. He understood, at the same time, that the *Dutch* had made a like attempt, but without success; that the *French* had furnished the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promised to support them with all the force of *Martinico* against the *English*. *Braithwaite*, notwithstanding all this opposition, learned, that the *Caribbeans* and the negroes were equally averse to the *French* as to the *English* government, and that they were determined to oppose all f *Europeans* settling among them.

Is ceded to
Great Britain.

Thus ended this fruitless expensive expedition, which cost the duke of *Montague* an immense sum of money. It is evident, that the *French* imposed upon the *English* throughout the whole transaction; nor is it easy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon *Braithwaite's* report, and the captains of the *English* men of war declining to act offensively in support of the settlement, the *English* government at *Antigua* gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous; and at the same time ineffectual, to make any further attempt for a settlement upon *St. Vincent*. The island, therefore, was considered as neutral between *Great Britain* and *France*, till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, signed the 10th of *February*, 1763, at *Paris*, when it was ceded by the ninth article g to the crown of *Great Britain*.

The GRENADILLAS, or GRENADINE ISLANDS.

- a** THE chief of these is *Grenada*, which lies in west longitude, 61. 40 and north lat. 12. *Description of Grenada,*
b It is the last of the windward *Caribbees*, and lies thirty leagues north of *New Adalasia*, on the continent. According to father *Titre*, it is twenty-four leagues in compass, but *Labat* makes it no more than twenty-two, and it is said to be about thirty miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fish, which, probably, occasioned the *Caribbeans* to resort in greater numbers to this than to any other of the *Antilles* islands. In 1638, the famous *Monf. Poincy* attempted to make a settlement here, but he was driven off by the *Caribbeans*. *Monf. Parquet*, the governor of *Martinico*, in June 1650, carried over 200 men from *Martinico*, furnished with presents to reconcile the savages to them, but with arms to subdue them, if they should prove intractable. It is not easy to account for the right this *Frenchman* had to make such a settlement upon an island already inhabited by natives, which had often disclaimed all subjection to the *French*. The number of the latter are said to have frightened the savages into submission; and, if we are to believe the *French* accounts, their chief not only welcomed the new settlers, but, in consideration of some knives, scissars, hatchets, toys, and the like, presented to them, yielded to *Parquet* the property of their island, only reserving their own habitations to themselves. The *French* set about raising tobacco, and that which grew on this island was remarkably fine. They scarcely had got in one crop, when they began to discover that all the seeming complaisance of the natives was dissembled; for they took every opportunity of surprising and cutting off their new guests. This produced a war, and the *French* settlers having received a reinforcement of 300 men from *Martinico*, forced the savages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after exhausting all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Soon after, they were joined by other savages from the neighbouring islands, and attacked the *French* anew, but were again defeated; yet they were so desperate, that forty of them who had escaped from the sword, threw themselves over a precipice into the sea. The *French* then vented their rage upon their habitations, which they destroyed, together with all their provisions; but fresh supplies of *Caribbeans* arriving, they renewed the war with great briskness, and killed numbers of their enemies; the latter, upon this, came to a resolution of exterminating the whole race upon the island. An hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the savages unawares, and most inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, besides burning their boats and canoes, to cut off all communication of the few survivors with the continent, or the neighbouring islands. Notwithstanding all those barbarous precautions, the *Caribbeans* still proved the irreconcilable enemies of the *French*; and their frequent insurrections at last obliged *Parquet* to sell all his property in the island to the count *de Cerillac* in 1657, for 30,000 crowns. The count sent thither a person of brutal manners to govern it; upon which the better sort of the *French* abandoned it, and he was shot to death by those who remained. In 1664, no more than 150 planters, out of 500 who were settled on the island when the count bought it, lived upon it, and he sold it to the *French West India* company for 100,000 livres; but in 1674, they were obliged to surrender all their rights in it to the king. After this it continued to be inhabited chiefly by *French*, but never was fully settled; and, after the conquest of *Martinico* by the *English*, it was easily reduced; the full property of it, and the *Grenadines*, being a cluster of small neighbouring islands, was confirmed to the crown of *Great Britain*, by the definitive treaty of 1763. *which is likewise ceded to the crown of Great Britain.*
- c** *GRENADA* and the *Grenadines* produced very fine timber, but the cocoa-tree is observed not to thrive so well there as in the other islands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, serve as thatch for houses. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the island, supplies it with fresh-water streams, which renders its soil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the island, some of which might be fortified to great advantage; so that it is very convenient for shipping, not being subject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its soil is fit for producing, besides tobacco, sugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this island carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the *West Indies* of its dimensions. The chief port is called *Lewis*, and stands on the west side of the island, in the middle of a large bay, with a sandy bottom. It is pretended that a thousand barks from 300 to 400 tons, may ride secure from storms, and that one hundred ships of 1000 tons each may be moored in the harbour. A large round basin, which is parted from it by a bank of sand, if cut through, would contain a considerable number of ships, but at present large ships, on account of this sand bank, are obliged to pass within
- d** eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the opposite mountain,
- e**
- f**
- g**

mountain lying at about half a mile distant. One of those mountains, when the *English* reduced the island, was strongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but surrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, and lost all spirit. *Grenada*, however, at the time of its surrender, contained the face of a settlement, having a mean church, and some places of rendezvous, where the *French* assembled to defend themselves from the attacks of the savages.

MARTINICO, GUADALUPE, and the other FRENCH CARIBBEES.

WE have already had occasion so often to mention the chief of the *French Caribbean Islands*, when treating of the conquest of them by the *English*, that our description of them is in a great measure anticipated, and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the historical facts before that period. *Martinico* is the largest of all the *Caribbean Islands*. It lies betwixt 14 and 15 deg. of north latitude, and between 60 deg. 33 min. and 61 deg. 10 min. west longitude; about twenty leagues north-west of *Barbados*. It is said to be about sixty miles in length from north-west to south-east; but its breadth is unequal. The produce of the island, besides tobacco, is much the same with that of *Barbados*, and its coasts abound with turtle; but the *French* are far from being so expert as the *English* in that species of fishing.

First settlement
of Martinico.

IN 1637, Mons. d' Enanbuc, a famous *French* settler, brought from *St. Christophers*, which then belonged to that crown, a hundred soldiers to *Martinico*, all of them well provided for forming a colony. He landed at *Basse-Terre*, which lies to the west and south parts of the island; and if we are to believe the *French*, the inhabitants yielded up to d' Enanbuc all that coast, on which he built a fort called *St. Pèter*, at the mouth of a river of the same name, though by some it is called *Royal Anne*. Upon the savages retiring to *Cape-Sterre*, the new colonists applied themselves to rear whatever the island was capable of producing; especially, mandioca, peas, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco; for at this time, the culture of sugar was but little known to the *French*. D' Enanbuc then returned to *St. Christophers*, but left one *du Pont* to be his lieutenant-governor in *Martinico*. It is in vain for the *French* to pretend, that the inhabitants formed plots against them, and murdered them whenever they had an opportunity. The *French*, by their own accounts, were the aggressors, by invading the natives; and it was natural for the latter to endeavour to repossess their own country. Hostilities multiplying every day, the new settlers gave no quarter to the savages, who sending for assistance to all the neighbouring islands, they were joined by other *Caribbeans*, to the number of fifteen hundred, in canoes, from which they landed under the fort. The *French* governor, on their approach, had removed all his men and provisions within his entrenchments; so that the savages imagining the fort to be abandoned, advanced within pistol shot of the walls, without any order. This was what *du Pont* had foreseen; and, watching his time, he poured upon the savages a full discharge of his cannon and musketry, which killing one half of them, the survivors fled to their canoes. This discomfiture of the *Caribbeans* secured to the *French*, for some time, the quiet possession of their settlements, which they not only enlarged, but supplied with fresh colonists drawn from *St. Christophers*; so that, in a short time, the natives were obliged to sue to them for peace.

THE *French* then proceeded to a regular settlement of the island, which they divided into five wards or parishes. Each parish contained a church or chapel, an armoury, storehouses, dwelling-houses, and other conveniencies. The governor took up his residence in *St. Pèter's* ward, on account of the fort we have mentioned, but made a present of some fine buildings, raised at the expence of the colony, to the jesuits, who were very powerful at *Martinico*, as well as in the other *French* settlements. *Martinico*, notwithstanding all its natural advantages, suffered greatly at this time, by a report that its soil produced and harboured serpents and other venomous reptiles. This notion prevailed so strongly, that the people of *St. Christophers*, and the neighbouring islands, declined coming on shore at *Martinico*; and the inhabitants were obliged to carry their tobacco, which they now raised in great plenty, and of an excellent kind, on board the ships. In process of time, they learned from Mons. *Poincy*, the same who attempted to settle *Grenada*, the art of cultivating the sugar-cane; and *Martinico* then maintained eight hundred men fit to bear arms, besides covenanted servants.

Insurrections
there.

ABOUT the year 1646, many of the inhabitants refused to pay their imposts to the *French West India* company, within whose charter *Martinico* was included. This produced an insurrection in the island, which was quelled by the death of the chief ringleaders. It was about this time, that the differences which we have mentioned in the history of *Barbados*, arose between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese* in *Brasil*; and the former retiring from that country, landed

- a landed at *Martinico* with some rich Jews, who offered to settle there. The jesuits made a strong opposition to this proposal, on pretence that the new guests would introduce judaism and heresy into the island. The large sums of ready money which they were possessed of, prevailed over the jesuits remonstrances with the governor, to allow them a settlement upon the island in a separate quarter. The climate not agreeing with them, many of them died, while others moved off the island, and the few who remained set up public houses, by which they acquired fortunes. But all this while, the possession of the *French* themselves in *Martinico* was very precarious, on account of a general revolt of all the *Caribbeans* from their government. Nothing but the most horrible massacres ensued. Many of the more dis-
b tute among the *French* spirited up the savages; and *Parquet*, who was then governor of the island, was besieged in his own house, where he must have been murdered, had he not been relieved by the arrival of some *Dutch* ships, who seeing several parts of the island in flames, landed 300 men, and defeated the savages. This gave *Parquet* an opportunity of taking the field; and the natives, with the negroes who had joined them, were every where slaughtered, or obliged to fly to *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*. By their flight, the *French* became masters of *Capesterre*, and at last of the whole island, having clapped up a peace with the neighbouring *Caribbeans*. In 1650, the king granted the old *French West-India* company his licence to sell *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *Grenada*, and the *Grenadines*, to *Parquet*, who purchased them for 50,000 livres.

- MARTINICO* becoming thus *Parquet's* private property, was of no great service to Old
c France. Its inhabitants being under little or no controul, traded with the *English*, *Dutch*, and other *European* nations; but at last, *Lewis* the XIVth, in 1664, redeemed the island from the proprietaries, and granted it to a new *West-India* company. Next year, this company being united with that of *Cayenne*, they purchased all the other *French Caribbean-Islands*, to which they appointed governors. This change of property made little or no alteration in the affairs of *Martinico*, where the same abuses continued, and the same illicit trade was carried on as before, to the vast prejudice of the *French* revenue; but at last, in 1674, the *French* king suppressed this new company likewise, and all the forementioned islands became part of his domain. After this, *Martinico* was attacked by the famous *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*; and we have, in the history of *Barbados*, already given an account of the expedi-
d tions undertaken by the *English* against this island. But though those expeditions were unsuccessful, they were of infinite prejudice to the *French*, the most wealthy of their planters retiring, with their effects, to places where they could live with more security, many of them moving to *Old France* itself. *Labat*, who was then upon the island, attributes the calamities which the natives suffered, to a kind of an epidemical frenzy, which broke out among them, and drove many of them to put an end to their own lives, while others were guilty of such extravagancies, as proved them to be totally void of all reason. The best cure for this madness was found to be darkness, a low diet, and severe bastinadings, which sometimes brought the patients to themselves.

Invaded by
the English.

- In the year 1700, the *French*, settled upon the island of *Martinico*, were computed to be
e 1500, besides the negroes, whom they employed, and great numbers of *Caribbeans*, who were readmitted into the island, but were obliged to work as slaves, and to live among the *French*, that they might have no opportunity to form conspiracies and plots with their countrymen, or to associate together. On the 29th of *October*, 1727, *Martinico* was in danger of being destroyed by an earthquake, which lasted, with very short intervals, for eleven hours, and threw down *St. Peter's Fort*. Many lost their lives in this calamity; and besides churches, convents, and other public buildings, above 200 sugar-works were ruined. One mountain was levelled, another cleft in two, and copious streams of water issued from the fissure. A few years recovered the island, and the inhabitants having the *Guadalupe*
f sugars shipped from thence, with many other advantages from their mother-country, grew rich and flourishing. Before it was subdued by the *English*, it could raise 10,000 white inhabitants, fit to carry arms, and above 40,000 negroes or slaves. Besides this force, some companies of regulars were always quartered in the island; so that the *French* at last gave it out to be impregnable; and it is certain, that nothing but the most notorious misconduct, as we have already observed in the history of *Barbados*, could have rendered the *British* troops masters of it with so little loss as they suffered in its conquest.

Its flourishing
state,

- MARTINICO* is not only the chief of all the *French Caribbean* or *Antilles-Islands*, but the residence of the governor-general, and the intendant of them. It is likewise the seat of a sovereign council, which superintends all their other islands, and even their settlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortuga*. This council consists of the governor-general, the intendant,
g the governor of the island, an attorney-general, the lieutenant-governor for the crown, and twelve councillors. Its powers are very extensive, for it judges in the last resort upon all matters that come before its court by way of appeal. The governor-general, if upon the island,
Mod. Hist. Vol. XV. L 11

and govern-
ment.

island, is president of the council, or in his absence, the intendant. If both are absent, the eldest councillor then present collects the votes, and pronounces the sentence of the court, the constitution of which is preferable to the like in *Old France*, as the members rise to their seats by merit only. The other officers on the island are two lieutenant-governors, one for *Capesterre*, and another for *Basse Terre*, with a secretary of the marine, whose commission is very extensive. But some of those high-sounding officers have more power and honour than profit attending them, their revenues consisting chiefly of some exemptions of their negroes from the capitation-tax, and a few casual perquisites, but those not considerable.

THE *French* governor-general is commonly a man of quality, and both he, the intendant, and the lieutenant-governor, are paid out of the finances of *Old France*. The governors of *Martinico*, as well as of *Guadalupe*, are paid in sugar, as indeed are all the officers of the island, excepting some inconsiderable sums, that issue from the treasury of *Old France*. The hundred weight of sugar is rated at four livres ten sols. The governors are allowed 60,000 pounds weight, with a pension of 1000 crowns, paid in *Old France*. The lieutenant-governors have 20,000 pounds weight, and 5000 livres salary. The king's judges, attornies, and other officers, have each an allowance of 6000 weight; but the councillors of the sovereign council have no more than 1200 weight, or twelve of their negroes exempted from the capitation-tax. This is a tax paid by the white men and the free negroes, who are hired servants, and consists of 100 weight of coarse sugar a year, for each domestic or negro, who is employed in manufacturing it; and of six livres for every other. All provisions imported into the island are subject to a duty of one per cent. in specie, and a third of all forfeitures and fines goes to the crown. *Martinico* owes its flourishing state, in a great measure, to the *French* government having transported thither, by way of punishment, great numbers of its protestant subjects; some of whom voluntarily settled there.

Air of Martinico.

THOUGH *Martinico* is generally said to be healthful for people settled upon it, yet it is certain, that the vast quantity of water which runs through it, creates a humidity, which is very noxious to the constitutions of the inhabitants. *Martinico* is likewise much subject to epidemical diseases, but those chiefly imported in ships from *Asia* and *Africa*. *Labat*, who resided upon the island, says, that a *French* ship from *Siam*, in bringing off the remains of two colonies they had there, landed at *Martinico*, where the crew and the passengers infected the inhabitants with a most horrible distemper, which corrupted the whole mass of the blood; and, after producing the most shocking symptoms among those affected with it, the patient generally died in four or five days. This was in the year 1705. As we know very little of *Martinico*, it having been too short a time in our custody after its conquest, for us to be perfectly acquainted with it, we are obliged to have recourse to the *French* writers for our description of the island.

Description of St. Peter's, and other parts of the island.

SAINT PETER'S, which we have already mentioned to have been the capital of *Martinico*, was built in 1665, in order to overawe the mutineers of the island against its proprietors, the second *West-India* company, who were at the same time the proprietors of all the *French Antilles*. The town itself extends along the shore: and a battery, which commands the road, is erected on the west side, which is washed by the river *Royolan*, or *St. Peter*. The principal entry to the fort is from the east; and the fort itself, towards the sea, is very strong. Upon the high ground, which over-looks the town, is built a wall, which extends thirty-five fathom, and is well mounted with cannon, with a large town at each extremity. This fortification commands the parade and the town. The fort has no ditch, nor covered way, but the walls are four feet and a half thick, with a parapet and battlements of stone, and the gates are defended by strong pallisadoes. The parade is a square, of about 300 feet, surrounded on three sides by houses, from which five streets run, and with the fort in its front. The town itself is divided into three wards; the middle, which is properly *St. Peter's*, begins at the fort, and runs westward to the battery of *St. Nicholas*, which is mounted with eleven guns, and is situated on a mountain. Under the walls of the second ward, ships ride at anchor more securely than under the fort; for which reason, this ward is called the *Anchorage*, and extends from the battery of *St. Nicholas* to that of *St. Robert*, which bounds the town on the west side. The third ward, called the *Gallery*, extended along the sea-side, from fort *St. Peter* to the *Jesuits* river; but 200 houses of it were destroyed by a hurricane in 1695. It was afterwards rebuilt, and became the most populous ward of the three. But those fortifications, formidable as they appear upon paper, made a very inadequate defence against the *English*, when they reduced this island. The houses of *St. Peter's*, particularly those of the intendant, the governor of the island, and the other public officers, were found to be neat, commodious, and elegant. The parish church of *St. Peter* is built of stone, its front is of the Doric order, and every thing about it,

- a shewed both the taste and magnificence of the jesuits, who officiated in it; the whole being 120 feet long by 36. The church of the *Anchorage*, which belongs to the Jacobine friars, is likewise of stone, and is 90 feet long by 30; two chapels belonging to each church. The building of this church was greatly forwarded by the officers of the marine, who ordered their crews to assist in it; and therefore they enjoy some particular marks of distinction, such as pews and burying-grounds. Nothing can be more delightful than to walk from the yard, in which this church stands, to the Jacobine convent. It is formed by two rows of fine orange-trees, and crossed by two others, half a mile in length. The kitchen-garden of the convent is furnished with all kinds of delicious fruits. The jesuits cloister is built of marble and free-stone, and commands a very fine prospect over a great variety of gardens and vineyards.

- b *FORT-ROYAL* is the next place of great consequence in *Martinico*; and it lies by land at the distance of 7 leagues, and 9 by water from *Fort St. Peter*; but the land-road is so very incommodious, that travellers generally chuse to go by water. This fort is built on an eminence, fifteen or eighteen fathom above the surface of the sea, by which it is surrounded, excepting a neck of land, of about fifteen fathom over; so that the fort may be said to lie in an isthmus. It is built of earth, and its chief defence consists of the fortification raised upon this isthmus, which are two demy-bastions and a half-moon, but all of them small; a wet-ditch, a glacis, and a covered-way pallisadoed. On the flank of one of the demy-bastions lies the harbour, which has a communication with a fortified platform by a pair of stairs. On that side, the fort is shut in by a double wall; and a parapet, with some port-holes, lies towards the sea. The soil, on which the town is built, is a kind of a quicksand; but though it contains regular streets, and one large church belonging to the Capuchins, it is said not to be comparable to *St. Peter's*. *Cul de Sac Robert*, which lies in this island, is a large bay, almost two leagues deep, with two little islands at its entrance, which, by breaking the force of the waves, renders the bay a fine, safe, natural harbour; for the largest ships, which may be admitted here, to a great number, may reach the shore by a plank in many places. *Fort Trinity* lies at the bottom of *Trinity-Bay*, and is formed by *Point de Caravel* on the east-side, and on the west by an isthmus, which is joined to the land by a neck, about 200 feet broad. It is said, that the tide here flows to the height of fifteen or eighteen inches, and in new and full moons, to above two feet, which contradicts a common opinion that there is no reflux, or if any, only an imperceptible one, between the tropics. The lieutenant-governor of *Capesterre* has his residence in *Trinity-Town*, which is likewise inhabited by a considerable number of merchants, and by its convenient situation for the *European* trade, and the safety of its port, during the hurricane-season, is become one of the most thriving parishes in the island. The manufactures of cocoa, sugar, cotton, and other commodities, carried on here, are very considerable. In former times, the *Caribbeans* or natives had their chief town at *Carbet*, (so called from them) near *Fort St. Peter*, in *Basse Terre*. The rivulets and gullies which abound in *Martinico*, render travelling upon the island very incommodious; but under the direction of a better government than that which *Martinico* had when it was conquered by the *English*, those gullies might be made highly serviceable in defending the island.

- c THE conquest of *Martinico*, in a manner, closed the operations between the *English* and *French* in *America* during the late war. It struck the court of *Versailles* with greater consternation than even the loss of *Canada* had done; and the rather, because their ministers at foreign courts had in no very decent terms reproached that of *London*, for want of judgment in fitting out an armament against an island that might securely bid defiance to all their power, by its artificial as well as natural strength, and the numbers, spirit, and martial disposition of its inhabitants. This conquest, as we have already partly observed, facilitated the reduction of the other *French Caribbean-Islands*, as it in a manner annihilated all their power there. As to the inhabitants of *Martinico*, they remained with great tranquillity under the military government of the *English*, during the short time they held it, and even seemed well pleased at their change of masters. This disposition proved very favourable to the *English*, who having, by that time, resolved upon an expedition against the *Havannah*, were obliged to draw off great part both of their land and sea-forces from *Martinico*, to reinforce that expedition. During a negotiation for peace, that was managed between Mr. *Pitt* on the part of his *Britannic* majesty, and M. *Buffy* on that of the *French* court, the latter seemed from the beginning to have made no difficulty of putting the *English* in possession of *Canada*, provided they could recover *Guadalupe*; but *Martinico* being conquered, they added to the *English* the possession of *Louisiana*, almost as far as *New Orleans*.

Reflections on its conquest by the English.

THE subjects of *Great Britain*, however, not foreseeing what turn those negotiations might take, had availed themselves of the conquest of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, by opening in both islands a very promising trade; and even numbers of them settled there. It was there-

Stipulation re-
garding Mar-
tinico in the
treaty of
1763.

therefore necessary to prevent all loss and inconveniency to private property, to specify in the eighth article of the definitive treaty, that all *British* subjects, "who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to *France* by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above; and which shall serve for this use only, without being retained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his *Britannic* majesty and his most Christian majesty, that the number of *English* vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to *France*, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast, shall set sail at a fixed time, and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the *English* being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two *French* clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said islands and places restored to *France*; and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated."

In consequence of this article, on the 20th of *December*, 1763, public notice was given in the *London Gazette*, for all merchants and others concerned in the trade to *Martinico*, and the other restored islands, to send in to lord *Hallifax*'s office all the above specified particulars, that his lordship knowing the numbers of the vessels, might accordingly apply to the courts of *France* and *Spain* for passports. Upon the whole, the *French* shewed, during the whole course of the negociation, an eagerness for the restitution of the three islands *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and *St. Lucia*, that was impolitic; and, probably, must be ineffectual. Their retaining the property of *St. Lucia* may be some advantage to them, but can be of no detriment to *Great Britain*, as we shall farther remark in our account of *Dominica*. The *French*, by all accounts, are endeavouring to give this island all the additional strength that it can admit of; but they are undoubtedly mistaken in imagining as they do, that they ever shall be able to revive that gainful sugar trade which they carried on before the last war from *Martinico*. The acquisition that has been made by the *English* of the other *Caribbee-Islands*, where sugar, indigo, cotton, and the like commodities may be raised in as great perfection, and with as much facility, as they can be in their islands, must soon convince them of their error; besides the infinite losses they have sustained in their *North American* possessions, which used to supply their islanders with many necessaries for their plantations and commerce, and likewise took off large quantities of their sugar, rum, and molasses.

Guadalupe.
Discovery and
name of Gua-
dalupe.

THE island of *Guadalupe* was by the *Caribbeans* called *Carukera*, or *Carriceura*, and was discovered by *Columbus*, who gave it the name it now bears, from a distant resemblance it has to a chain of mountains of the same name in *Old Spain*. When he landed here, it was peopled by a set of savages who knew the arts of life better than those who inhabited the other *Caribbee-Islands*. His landing was opposed by the women of the island, who furiously attacked his men with their bows and arrows; but they were soon dispersed by the fire-arms of the *Spaniards*, who thereby obtained an easy possession of the island, where they found the houses of the barbarians stored with large quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, and looms for weaving it; mention is likewise made of iron, bows and arrows, and cotton hammocks. Those particulars raise some suspicion as to the veracity of the *Spanish* accounts; unless we can suppose the natives either to have descended from the inhabitants of the old world, or to have acquired some knowledge of manufactures after the two former voyages of *Columbus*. Honey, wax, pompions, (for so a bastard kind of pine-apple is called,) a sort of cinnamon-tree, mastic, aloes, sandel-wood, ginger, and several other *West-India* fruits, were found here in large quantities. The birds discovered on the island were parrots, partridges, turtle-doves, herons, falcons, to mention no others; because the histories of places, which come from the first discoverers of *America*, ought to be read with great caution. Whatever may be in this, *Columbus*, who, notwithstanding his personal merits, and the obligations he has laid the public under by discovering *America*, was no other than a commissioned pirate, acting under the authority of two powers, the pope and the king of *Spain*, who had no right over the places he conquered. He behaved accordingly; for after landing his men, he plundered and burnt the houses of the natives.

GUA-

a *GUADALUPE* lies thirty leagues north-west from *Martinico*, and is supposed to be near an hundred leagues in compass. We know nothing of its history from the time of *Columbus* landing on and plundering it, till the institution of the *French* general company of the *American* islands in 1635, within whose commission *Guadalupe* lay. This company being unable of themselves to plant or cultivate their islands, empowered M. *St. Olive*, or, as he is called by *Labat*, *de Loline*, who was their lieutenant-general of *St. Christopher's*, which was then a flourishing plantation, and one *du Pleſſis*, to contract with some merchants of *Dieppe*, for settling *Guadalupe*. The religious differences in *France*, at that time, as well as in *England*, soon produced adventurers, who, besides the inducement of enjoying liberty of conscience, were stimulated by views of interest, which, in fact, united all parties and religions in such adventures. Those merchants contracted with 400 men, who were obliged to serve them three years; but many of the adventurers, who were protestants, did not imagine that the new settlement was absolutely under the direction of cardinal *Richelieu*, who sent along with them four *Dominican* friars, provided with full powers from pope *Urban* the VIIIth. The commission of the adventurers from the general company of the *American* islands left it optional to them to settle either *Martinico*, *Dominica*, or *Guadalupe*.

MARTINICO, as being the most promising, was pitched on; but when the colonists landed on that island, nothing but mountains and precipices presented to them, and they found it full of those serpents and poisonous animals we have already mentioned, which determined them, after erecting a cross in sign of possession, to remove to *Guadalupe*. The value of this island, by what has fallen from the *French* and *Spanish* writers, was, at this time, far from being unknown to the *Europeans*; for we are told that the *Dominicans* had obtained the mission of it, on the merit of eighteen of their order (*Spaniards* in all probability) having been put to death there in 1603 and 1604. The adventurers happened to make an unfortunate choice of the place on which they landed; for the soil, which was red, seemed to be proper only for making bricks. As an addition to this misfortune, their two conductors, *D'Olive* and *du Pleſſis*, disagreed in the partition of their command, which afterwards proved very detrimental to the colony; and they had been guilty of an unpardonable oversight, in not carrying along with them provisions sufficient to subsist them for at least twelvemonths, without the assistance of the natives. On examining their stores, they found no more left than could maintain them for two months, and the two chiefs dividing them between them, as well as their men and ammunition, agreed to separate.

D'OLIVE built fort *St. Peter*, so called, because he took possession of it on that saint's eve. At first, the natives were far from shewing any disgust or dislike towards them. On the contrary, they assisted them in rearing their huts, and furnished them with cassava-bread, with seed for raising tobacco, cotton, and peas, and even taught them to catch turtle and other fish in canoes. It is probable, that the colonists made ungrateful returns for those acts of friendship, for otherwise we can scarcely account for the dreadful famine, with which, in a short time, they were afflicted. This became so raging, after consuming their bread, that many of them died of bloody fluxes, others retired to *St. Christopher's*, and those who remained, were reduced to the horrible necessity of even devouring dead bodies, which they pulled from the graves. A ship arriving from *Dieppe*, with 140 men, landed a month's provision, but that being spent, the famine and mortality raged as much as ever. Notwithstanding the horrors of this narrative, the miseries of the settlers must have been partially alleviated, either by the commiseration of the natives, or the produce of the grounds; as it is impossible to conceive they could subsist in such misery for near five years, which father *la Tetre* informs us they did. Their sufferings, however, were very great, and famine had reduced their bodies to such a state of weakness, that they were unable to clear the ground, so as to raise other plants, roots, fruits, or corn.

In the course of those calamities *du Pleſſis* died, by which the direction of the colony devolved upon *D'Olive*. The *French* writers themselves observe, that the settlers were equally afflicted by the insatiable avarice and cruelty of their commanders as by the hand of Providence. *D'Olive* at last broke with the savages, numbers of whom he massacred, as being the readiest way to procure subsistence. As usual, they applied to the *Caribbeans* of the neighbouring islands, who attacked the *French* in such numbers, that so many of them were cut off, as scarcely to leave to the remainder the name of a colony. And indeed, when we consider the calamities they are said to have struggled with, it is surprising that any one among them was left alive. We are, therefore, reasonably to presume, that their sufferings were over-rated by themselves or their historians; especially, as the war between them and the *Caribbeans* is said to have been carried on with great slaughter and cruelty on both sides, from *January* 1636 to 1639. During this period, it appears even from the *French* accounts, that several reinforcements were sent them, both from *Europe* and *St. Christopher's*; but they tell us, that all their convoys of provisions miscarried, as if the hand of God had been upon the colony to blast it. We need not, however, search for extraordinary

dinary causes, when natural ones readily present themselves; for it is generally allowed, that the tyranny and rapaciousness of *D'Olive* were insupportable, and that the colonists resolved to undergo any extremity, rather than continue under it. When the settlement was brought to its lowest ebb, *D'Olive* detached a party of his best men to bring provisions from *St. Christopher's*; but they either perished in the voyage, or carried away the ship, to rid themselves of *D'Olive's* tyranny; for they never were more heard of.

D'Olive, one of them, put under arrest.

D'OLIVE's ambition for command was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of resigning even that of this miserable colony; and he sent over a *Dominican* to be his agent at the court of *France*, which he understood was filled with complaints against him, as well as to solicit speedy supplies from the company. The *Dominican* managed so well, by representing the colonists as heretics, and that all the outcries against *D'Olive*, were from his vigilance and strict discipline, that the company received a mandate, which was to them a law, from cardinal *Richelieu*, importing, that they should renew *D'Olive's* commission, and constitute him sole governor of the colony. The *Dominican* returned with his commission, and the governor immediately assembled his officers to hear it read; but while this ceremony was performing, the *Dominican* church, with all its rich furniture and plate, was consumed by fire; nor were the perpetrators ever discovered, a strong proof of the detestation in which this commission was held by the colonists. In the mean while all *Richelieu's* authority could not prevail with the merchants of *Duppe* to make any addition to the expences of men and money they had laid out upon the colony; and even the company turned a deaf ear to all *D'Olive's* repeated applications for fresh supplies; nor could such of the colonists as had served out their time, be prevailed upon, either by entreaties or threats, to remain longer in the island. The dreadful situation he found himself in, affected his brain, and becoming blind, he went to *St. Christopher's*, where he was put under arrest by *M. de Poincy*, governor-general of the *French* islands.

Guadalupe new settled by de Poincy.

DE POINCY knew the value of *Guadalupe*, and the reasons why the colony had miscarried. He immediately formed a plan for selling *St. Christopher's* to the *English*, and for carrying over all its inhabitants to settle *Guadalupe*. The bad success of the former colony probably prevented this proposal from being executed; but *de Poincy* was so thoroughly convinced of its expediency, and the advantages that must attend it, that, at the request of the company's agent, he sent over men and ammunition to *Guadalupe*, where the *Caribbeans* had again come to a great head; and he published advertisements or placards through all the *French* part of *St. Christopher's*, offering to such of the inhabitants as inclined to remove to *Guadalupe*, their passage free, and to maintain them till their own plantations could subsist them. He even prohibited the *French* of *St. Christopher's* to cultivate tobacco in their mountains or higher grounds; and thus they were put under a kind of necessity of complying with his proposals. On the 14th of *January*, 1640, a hundred and thirty-two *French* of *St. Christopher's* sailed for *Guadalupe*; but being driven back, and their ship in bad condition, they did not reach it before the last of the month. *Poincy* hearing of their arrival at *Guadalupe*, raised as many more, and, to encrease their number, he released all the civil debtors upon the island, whom he likewise sent over to *Guadalupe*, where he found the interest of the king and the company demanded their services. Two officers, *Vernae* and *Sabouilly*, were appointed by *de Poincy* to manage the affairs of the new colony, and their first measure was to make a partition among their settlers of all the estates and effects that had belonged to *D'Olive's* planters, and which the few remains of his colony thought ought to be appropriated to them. The misunderstanding this occasioned was of infinite damage to the colony. The officers continued to exercise such tyranny over their inferiors, that many of them ran into the woods, where some of them joined the *Caribbeans*, who carried on incessant war against the *French*, while others occasionally plundered both parties. *Sabouilly* defeated the savages, and once more forced the greatest part of them to leave the island; but upon their departure, the fugitive *French* uniting in a body, *de Poincy* was obliged to send over 500 men from *St. Christopher's* to reduce them, and the colony thereby recovered some degree of tranquillity.

Fresh calamities of the colonists,

THE new settlers still laboured under vast disadvantages. The air of the island, which was not yet cleared, proved fatal to their constitutions, and carried numbers of them off. The survivors found, that without the assistance of the savages, it was impossible for them to procure subsistence while they were clearing their plantations. The *Caribbeans*, therefore, were once more admitted to a communication with the *French*, who furnished them with knives, scissars, nails, and the like articles, of small value; and received in return, hogs, turtles, and a great variety of other fish, which subsisted them while they were clearing their grounds. Before the end of the year 1640, *M. Aubert* was appointed by the *West-India* company their governor of *Guadalupe*; and while he continued in that station, he was, by his prudence, justice, and moderation, of vast service to the colony. He re-established a good understanding with the savages, and the terms being faithfully observed

- a on both parts, sufficiently proved, that all the former misfortunes of the colony had been owing to the tyranny and rapaciousness of its governors and officers. The advantages of the new settlement became every day more and more evident, by the revival of tranquillity and plenty, and many eminent planters were encouraged thereby to settle in the island. This desirable situation did not long continue. The members of the *West India* company in *France* had but a very slender stock of credit, and most of them were men of ruined fortunes, desirous of repairing them by every practice of oppression and rapaciousness. The promising aspect of their colony at *Guadalupe* was too tempting to be resisted, and M. Houel, one of their own number, being sent over to inspect the affairs of the island, upon his return in 1642, made so favourable a report of it, that *Aubert* was displaced, and *Houel* sent over governor in his room. We know little of the history of this governor's administration, during his ten years residence upon the island, any farther than that dissension and animosity among the colonists again got footing under him; but, in the main, the colony acquired strength and riches, though, perhaps, not in so great a degree as it might have done, had it continued under its former governor. *Houel*, going over to *France*, left the government of *Guadalupe* in the hands of his brother and nephew; and when major-general *Penn*, in his expedition against *Hispaniola*, appeared before it with an *English* squadron, he found it in so good a posture of defence, that we are told^a, he did not think proper to attack it. This, however, is a ridiculous assertion, raised by the *French* themselves; for it must have cost *Penn* his head had he made any such attempt, there being then the strictest intimacy between *Cromwell* and the court of *France*.

but at last began to thrive.

- ABOUT this time, the colony upon the island of *Guadalupe* was threatened with utter ruin by three most dreadful hurricanes, which happened in the space of fifteen months, which destroyed most of their plantations, and almost all the live stock they had to subsist upon; so that a depopulation by famine must have ensued, had not the colonists been relieved from other islands. When the hurricanes ceased, the air was infected, and prodigious quantities of large caterpillars devoured the fruits of the ground: but those natural calamities were not the only misfortunes the colonists had to struggle with. *Houel*, who was naturally of a tyrannical and avaricious disposition, by his oppression often provoked the colonists into insurrections; and to quell them, he had recourse to the negroes and other slaves upon the island, into whose hands he put fire-arms. Fortunately for the colonists, these negroes were of two sorts, those from *Angola*, and those from *Cape Verde*; but having been always at war with one another in *Africa*, they could not unite in *America*, so as to make their conspiracy against the *French* a common cause. They carried it, however, as far as it could go; for though they could not agree about uniting together, yet they were unanimous as to a conspiracy into which they entered against the *French*. Their plan was, to murder all their masters, but to preserve the females for a breed, and then to divide the island between them, under two kings, as they called themselves, the one to reign over *Basse Terre*, and the other over *Capesterre*, which was appointed for their general rendezvous. Before the day of execution arrived, the hearts of the *Cape Verde* negroes failed them, either through fear, or from the aversion they had to their brothers of *Angola*. The latter punctually observed their rendezvous, notwithstanding their disappointment. Having waited a whole day for their *Cape Verde* friends, they fell with great fury upon the *French* plantations at *Capesterre*, many of whom they destroyed, killing the planters, and carrying off their arms. They then sheltered themselves in the woods, from whence, for fifteen days, they made excursions, destroying all the *French* who fell into their hands. This obliging the *French* to unite, the savages were defeated; their two kings taken and put to death, as were many of their ring leaders, while the inferior sort suffered different, but severe, punishments. The *Caribbeans* about *Capesterre* were accused by the *French* of having fomented this and another conspiracy, which was likewise defeated; and those savages, to clear themselves, entered into a compromise with the *French*, to renounce all farther connections with the negroes.

Destructive hurricanes in the island.

- THOSE disturbances were not confined to slaves and savages; for *Houel's* oppressions and exactions irritated the *French* themselves into a revolt, which was appeased only by his promising to abolish their grievances. But his danger was no sooner over, than they were renewed, and he was so rapacious as to strip even his brother and nephew of their estates upon the island, and obliged them to come from *France* to *Guadalupe* to reclaim them. The planters and merchants took their part, and *Houel* was forced again to patch up an accommodation, which he broke likewise; but at last, *de Poincy* interposed, and matters were once more seemingly accommodated. This reconciliation been soon broken, both parties had again recourse to arms, and the *French* king was daily pestered with remonstrances and petitions from both sides; so contradictory to each other, that in 1663^b, he gave a com-

Oppressions of Houel, its governor.

^a System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 734.

^b CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 149.

mission to the marquis *de Tracy*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Canada*,^a to repair to the *French Windward Islands*, with the new title of his majesty's viceroy of *America*; and, after settling every thing there, to take upon him the government of *Canada*. When *Tracy* arrived at *Guadalupe*, he found the affairs of the island in vast disorder. The slaves had again deserted to the number of 400, and from their fastnesses in the woods, headed by a daring fellow of their own number, they committed great disorders. *Tracy*, having with him a strong body of regulars, threw some of them into the forts of the island, and with the others he found little difficulty in reducing the slaves to their duty. At last he found means to establish a kind of a general peace over all the *Antilles*; in which the *English*, the *French*, and the *Caribbeans* were parties. During *Tracy's* residence in *Guadalupe*, he was guilty of many shameful injustices towards the *French* of the reformed religion,^b on pretence of their having insulted the Roman catholics, and encouraged the disorders of the island.

Guadalupe
again purchas-
ed.

By this time, the *French West-India* company were bankrupts, and sold to *Monf. de Boisseret*, *Houel*, and others, the islands of *Guadalupe*, *Deseada*, *Maragalante*, *Xaintes*, and other small islands; nothing being reserved to the *French* crown more than the bare right of sovereignty; and then the company was dissolved. It could not have subsisted so long, had it not been for the spirit of colonizing that then possessed the *French*, and especially the protestants; for though it was established under the powerful patronage of cardinal *Richelieu*, yet its capital did not exceed 4000 *l.* sterling. The court of *France* looked upon the bargain they had made with the new proprietors, as a transaction they had no power to^c conclude, and as a nullity in itself. It was upon this presumption, that *Tracy* had been sent over to regulate the affairs of those islands; and in *July* 1664, a new *West India* company was instituted, comprehending all the *French* possessions in *America*, on the continent as well as in the islands; but not till after the new proprietors of *Guadalupe* had been reimbursed their purchase money. The first governor of *Guadalupe*, under this new company, was *Monf. de Lion*. The king was to be at the expence of its military establishments, and his troops accordingly continued to garrison the forts upon the island. The company, on the other hand, had vast funds and resources for carrying on their commerce; and one of the first of the royal instructions was, that they should use all means to recover the trade of the *French Antilles-Islands*, out of the hands of the *Dutch*, who, during the^d troubles which happened in the *French* king's minority, had almost engrossed it. They likewise had it in charge to recover from the knights of *Malta*, and other private owners, all the smaller islands, which they had obtained by sham purchases from the late proprietors.

New institu-
tion of the co-
lony by Col-
bert.

THE institution of this new *West-India* company was a bold and spirited undertaking, and every way worthy the genius of the great *Colbert*, who formed it; and who proposed, that it should defray half the military expence of the *French* nation; but he did not foresee, that the *French* had not stability enough in their nature for executing, to the full, so momentous a plan. Though the company, while it existed, did wonders in answering the expectation of the government; yet the services they performed were turned against themselves, and *Colbert* immediately concluded, that if private persons made such advantage by trade, the profits must be more than doubled should the crown resume into its own hands the property of those islands; but, as we have observed in the history of *Canada*, this was far from being the case of that and the other *French* settlements upon the continent. In consequence of this scheme, the new *French West-India* company was suppressed in 1674; and then their trade, and all their possessions, by means that are not material for this history to transmit, were resumed into the *French* king's hands, whose ministers, from that time, seemed to have adopted a commercial system that was entirely new. In imitation of the courts of *England* and *Spain*, their plan was to confine the trade of the *French Antilles* to *France* alone; but this, in a great measure, depended on the concurrence of their *Guinea* company, who, as it happened at *Barbados*, disputed their right of importing negroes from *Africa*; and of their farmers-general, to whom the late *West-India* company was greatly in arrears, without their having any prospect of being repaid, but from the profits of that trade.^e

THOSE different claims threw the *Antilles-Islands* into a state of indecision with regard to their trade, and they still admitted *Dutch* vessels to trade with them, five of which were burnt by the *English* in one of the harbours of *Guadalupe* in 1677; and some of the *French* plantations in *Grand Terre* were plundered at the same time. As to the other naval transactions which then passed between the *English* and *French* at *Guadalupe*, we must refer the reader to the history of *Barbados*. Upon the whole, the *French* saw, that through the mis-^gmanagement, pride, and avarice of their own governors, the *English* had got the start of them in their *West-India* trade; and that the same motives had induced their settlers and officers to be guilty of the most flagrant breaches of justice and good faith against the *En-*
lish

a *lib* over all *America*. Had the resentment of the *English* been left in their own hands, they might easily have redressed themselves; but the *French* king, sensible of the ascendancy he had over *James II.* proposed a fresh negotiation between the two crowns for regulating their differences in *America*, and for preventing all future disputes between their subjects. *James* had great notions of trade; but he had attached himself chiefly to the *African*, whose interest, as he thought, the proposed treaty would serve; and therefore, after many preliminary discussions, the treaty proposed by the *French* was signed at *Whitehall*, November the 5th, 1636, by *Barillon*, its ambassador at *London*, on the one part, and by the *English* officers of state on the other.

b THE great points settled by this treaty, which was of the utmost prejudice to the *English* interest over all *America*, were, First, That the subjects of both crowns there, (upon the continent as well as in the islands) should live together in amity, and each be at liberty, without interruption, to pursue their separate views, intentions, and improvements. The second article, which seems upon the main to have been copied from the treaty of *Westphalia*, forbade all manner of trade or correspondence between the subjects of the two crowns, in their several ports or harbours; and both were to enjoy their privileges, prerogatives, and jurisdictions in their utmost extent, with all their benefits of trade. But notwithstanding the above stipulations, 3dly, certain regulations were laid down, under which, in cases of necessity, the subjects of one nation might enter into the ports and harbours of the other; and all necessary assistance was to be given by either in case of shipwrecks, or other sea accidents. By the fourth article, the *English* were at liberty to load and bring salt from the ponds of *St. Christophers*, and the *French* were at liberty to water in the same island; but both in the day-time, upon the third firing of a gun, and with a flag flying. By the fifth article it was stipulated, that neither nation was to harbour the fugitives, whether white, black, or *Indian*, that had belonged to the other; or the goods that they had purloined. The sixth article provided against all depredations committed by the privateers of either nations, the masters of which ships were to give security in a thousand pound for their good behaviour; and likewise to subject their ships to the making good all acts of injustice they should commit. The seventh article bound up both the contracting parties from granting commissions, or letters of marque, to the ships of any power with whom either might be at war, and that neither should assist or comfort the pirates or free-booters of either. The eighth article provided, that all *American* disputes between the two contracting parties, if they could not be settled in *America* within the space of a year, should be stated and sent home to their respective courts for discussion. The ninth, and last article we shall mention, was the most insidious of all on the part of *France*; for it provided, that whatever war might break out between the two crowns, a strict neutrality should be observed amongst their subjects in *America*.

e SUCH are the heads of this treaty of neutrality, which, during the short time it lasted, raised the *French* affairs in *America* from a despondent to a formidable state. Any one who has read the foregoing pages may easily conceive the vast advantages which the *French* derived from a neutrality in *America*, at a time when the *English* subjects there had not only provocation, but power sufficient to have reduced all their settlements. The *French* lost no time in improving the happy crisis. They extirpated the *Caribbeans* from *Guadalupe*, as those poor savages had no longer the *English* to apply to for protection or assistance; but they invented a distinction between the savages they had thus destroyed, on pretext of their having been slaves or rebels, and those who had taken refuge in *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*; and whom, they said, they had received into their protection. They had even the effrontery to carry this infamous distinction to the court of *England*, and had formed a sketch of a treaty for maintaining the *Caribbeans* in those two islands, till they were in a condition of exterminating them from thence, as they had done their brethren from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

f It is admitted by *Labat*, that in the descent made by the *English* upon *Guadalupe*, under commodore *Walker* and colonel *Codrington*, had not the officers of the *English* troops differed among themselves, the like misunderstanding among the *French* officers must have put the island into the hands of the *English*. The truth is, this invasion, though in a manner recent, and, at that time, of great importance to both nations, is so variously related by *French* as well as *English* writers, and most of them too upon the spot, pretending that they deliver nothing but what they saw, throws the utmost confusion and uncertainty upon the whole; so that all we know, is, that the *English* did infinite damage to the island: but upon the arrival of M. *Gabaret*, the governor of *Martinico*, they thought proper to reembark with a considerable loss of men, but chiefly by sickness. During the remainder of that war, as well as the two wars which broke out between *France* and *England*, *Guadalupe* became the great rendezvous of the privateers; and their chief exploits against the *English* were performed off that island; but as those transactions do not fall

within the bounds of this history, we omit them, to pass to matters of more general concern.

150,000 hog-
heads of sugar
made in Gua-
dalupe.

AFTER the *French* king took *Guadalupe* under the immediate protection of his own government, it became incomparably the most profitable colony to his crown that he had. Many writers, and those mercantile ones of great credit, who were upon that island after its conquest by the *English*, have confidently affirmed, that *Guadalupe* before that period produced more sugar than all the *British* sugar-islands put together; and some have raised the quantity exported from that and its dependencies to the incredible number of 150,000 hogheads yearly. More moderate calculations have fixed them at 100,000; not to mention its coffee, cinnamon, and other commodities. It was, therefore, no wonder that the *French*, during the negotiations that preceded the definitive treaty of 1763, insisted upon the restitution of *Guadalupe* as an indispensable preliminary; for, besides the valuable commodities already specified, it is of itself a most desirable island, and well furnished with all the conveniencies of living. A narrow isthmus would join the two parts of the island, which the stream, we have already mentioned, divides, and which narrow as it is, laid the people of *Grand Terre* under such difficulties of being relieved from *Basse Terre*, that the inhabitants of *Grande Terre* in 1696, were obliged to abandon that division, on account of the frequent invasions and depredations of the *English*. The stream itself is said in some places not to be above ninety feet over, but its depth as well as breadth are so unequal, that in some parts it can carry a ship of 500 tons, and in others cannot admit of one of 50. Its course is finely shaded with mangroves on both sides.

SINCE the *French*, by the treaty of 1763, re-entered into possession of *Guadalupe*, they seem to be, more than ever, sensible of the importance of this island, and have brought it nearly to the constitution of a *Spanish* colony, as appears by the following ordinance of M. *Bourlemaque* governor-general, and M. *de Peinier*, its president and intendant; viz. First, That no foreign vessel shall navigate nearer those coasts than the distance of one league, or send any boat ashore without a written permission from the intendant, in which shall be specified the nature and quality of the effects they have on board. Secondly, That all such foreign vessels shall anchor in *Basse Terre* road and at *Point-Peter* only. Thirdly, That they shall take in all their loading at the port they first anchor in. Fourthly, That permissions will be delivered by the intendant to such *French* merchants as he shall think proper to send over to foreign ports and colonies; and no foreign vessel shall take on board any thing but melasses and rum. Fifthly, Enjoins masters of foreign vessels to make their report, and shew their permission upon their arrival; and obliges them to receive a waiter on board. Sixthly, Forbids the trespassing against this ordinance, under the penalties of confiscation of vessel and cargo, 3000 livres, and a year's imprisonment. Seventhly, Orders all gardes de cotes, from the first of *November* instant, to seize all foreign vessels that shall be found within a league of those coasts, without such permission as aforesaid. Eighthly, Only concerns the registry and publication of the ordinance."

The copau-
tree.

The milk shrub.

Moubane and
corbary-tree.

Volcano.

Hot springs.

THE air of *Guadalupe* is preferable to that of *Martinico*, being more salubrious and less sultry. Such was the policy of the *French* government, that they did not encourage the population of *Guadalupe* equally with that of *Martinico*, for this obvious reason, that they always were sure of settlers for the former, and that an over increase of planters might break the balance that was necessary to be kept up between it and their other islands. In short, it has been asserted, that *Guadalupe*, if as well peopled and cultivated as *Barbados*, might produce as much sugar as would furnish all *Europe*. Among its remarkable productions of the vegetable kind, *Labat* mentions the valuable copau-tree, from whence is extracted a most excellent balsam, and which he could not find in any other of the *French* islands. It grows about twenty feet in height, and makes a fine appearance. Its leaf resembles that of the orange-tree, and is of an aromatic smell, as well as its bark when rubbed or squeezed. The wood is white and soft, and according to *Labat*, when its balm is carefully extracted, it is a most sovereign internal as well as external remedy. The milk-shrub, so called from its yielding a substance like milk when prest, is likewise found here. Its leaf resembles the laurel, as its blossoms do that of the jessamine. *Labat* says, that the juice of the shrub falls little or nothing short of the copau-balsam in its sanative virtues. The moubane-tree, which grows here, bears a yellow plum, with which the natives fatten their hogs; and the gum of the corbary-tree, when hardened in the sun, becomes so translucent, that the *Caribbeans* use to form it into ornaments and wear them as beads and bracelets. Many of the mountains with which *Guadalupe* abounds, are loaded with wood; and nothing can be more verdant, or more beautifully variegated, than the large fruitful plains that lie at their bottom; but the most extraordinary object that is found in *Guadalupe*, or in any of the *French* islands, is a volcano (for so it appears to be by its continual smoaking) which communicates a sulphureous taste to the neighbouring streams. Near the little island of *Goyaves* are found springs that are boiling hot, and are said to contain many medi-

a medicinal properties, particularly in the cure of dropfies. The culs de sacs, or gulphs, that lie on the coasts of *Guadalupe*, contain turtle, sharks, land-crabs, and various other fishes. As to the fortifications of this island, the reader will be able to form a proper idea of them from reading the history of its conquest, which is comprised in that of *Barbados*. But it may be proper to give some account of other particulars.

b In the *Grand Terre* are several indentings made by the sea and the land, which are capacious enough to shelter vessels from the hurricanes, and are shaded by palmetto-trees, to which they may be fastened. The *Great Cul de Sac* affords excellent ridings for ships of all burdens; but the parish of the *Little Cul de Sac* is the most populous and best cultivated of any in the island. The town and fort of *Basse Terre* stands two leagues north of the original fort, which was twice carried away by inundations; and, indeed, all the buildings upon the island have undergone various alterations since its first settlement, from inundations, hurricanes, and enemies. Among the other parishes of *Guadalupe*, that of *The Inhabitants* is remarkable. It is so called, because it was peopled in the time of the first company by those who had fulfilled their contract of the three years service to the proprietors; and thither they retired, that they might be distinguished from those who were servants still.

c THE most remarkable bird found by *Labat* on *Guadalupe*, was the devil bird, which is peculiar to this island and *Dominica*. According to him, it is a bird of passage, of the size of a young pullet, and all its plumage coal-black. Its wings are long, its legs short, and its feet, which are like those of a duck, have strong claws; its beak is crooked, sharp, and hard, and in length about an inch and a half; its eyes are large, and serves it to distinguish fishes, which it catches at night out of the sea; but they are unable to bear the light in the day-time when flying, so that they often rush upon interposing objects and fall down. After their fish-hunting in the night, they repair to the *Devil's-Mountain*, so called from its lying near *Bailiff River*, where they lodge by pairs in holes like rabbits. Their continuance here is during the months of *October* and *November*, though they are seen singly in other months; but all of them disappear in *May*, without being seen again till *September*. The negroes of the island have a peculiar way of hunting those birds with dogs and hawks, but too long to be described here; and *Labat*, who attended four of them during this dangerous diversion, says, that by noon they had taken an hundred and ninety-eight. Their flesh, when carefully cleaned, and cured of its fishy taste, is good and nourishing food; and the negroes and poor of the island subsist upon it during the season. Devil-bird.

e THE bees of *Guadalupe* are very different in every respect from those of *Europe*, being black, smaller, and without stings, or, at least, none that can be felt. They never hive but in the hollows of trees, and their wax, which is of a dark purple, approaching to black, besides its being too soft for candles, never can be blanched; so that it is made use of only for securing the corks of bottles. Those bees, instead of making combs, lay their honey in bladders of wax, about the form and size of a pigeon's egg; but by all accounts it never hardens, nor is of any other consistence than that of olive-oil. This island is pestered by an insect called a raver, shaped like a may bug, or cockchaffer, of a stinking smell, and preying upon paper, books, and furniture, and whatever they do not gnaw, is discoloured by their ordure. These nasty insects, which are very numerous, and appear chiefly by night, would be intolerable, were it not for a large spider, some of them the length of a man's fist, which entangles them in its web, and otherwise surprises them, for which reason the inhabitants of the island are very careful not to do the least hurt to those animals. Having thus given the civil and natural history of *Guadalupe*, as far as it imports an *English*, or a curious reader to know, we shall now enter upon an account of the manners, dispositions, and religion of a people whom we have often mentioned, but never have had an opportunity of describing, though their history is of the utmost importance to this part of our work, we mean the *Caribbeans*; and in this we shall be directed by antient as well as modern authorities, to which last the *French* writers have too much attached themselves. Bees: The raver.

f LERY, a *Frenchman*, who went to *Brasil* in 1556, and remained there for some time, mentions the *Caribbees*,^b who undoubtedly are the same with those we have called *Caribbeans*, as being the priests of the *Brasilians*, and very expert by their jugglings in imposing upon those barbarians, and making them believe whatever they pleased. Lery could scarcely be mistaken in the name; and his relation of them is very credible; for though he endeavours to exaggerate those powers of imposture, as if they were effected by some supernatural cause, yet common experience teaches us, that enthusiasm and venality every day produce the like, and, indeed, much more wonderful effects than any he mentions. He Account of the Caribbeans.

^b His works, which is very scarce, is written in Latin, and was printed by *de Bry*, in 1592.

observes,

observes, that those *Caribbees* had a much stronger aversion to *Europeans* than the rest of a their nation had; and this may very well account for those *Europeans* giving the name of *Caribbees*, or *Caribbeans*, to the inhabitants of those islands, who are, of all other savages, the most irreconcilable to our manners and government. Other writers pretend, that the *Caribbeans* were a people of *Guiana*, who being expelled from their own country, took refuge in those islands; and Mr. *Brigstock*, an *Englishman*, says, that they are a nation of the *Apalachians*, and are still to be found at the back of *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

FROM all that we can learn with certainty, the manners of the *Caribbeans* have been greatly altered from the time of their first discovery; and about 1625, those of *Guadalupe* carried on a bartering-trade with the *Spaniards*, for the arrival of whose ships they impatiently waited. But this change appears to have been for the worse; for we hear no more of their cotton manufactures and looms, which the *Spaniards* destroyed at their first arrival b on the island. Mention is indeed made by *Gage* of their being in possession, at that time, of sugar-canes, which is a farther argument of their having come from *Brazil*, where that plant was then cultivated, and no where else in the *West-Indies*; and *Lery* observes, that the *Brazilians* had looms, which their women managed with great dexterity, and that they made cups and vessels of earthen ware neater than those that are manufactured in *Europe*. Among the *Brazilians*, the *Caribbees* or priests seem to have been the only people who did not go naked; but they were covered only with robes made of feathers, very nicely joined together, the manufactures of the looms being kept for bed cloaths, and other household-furniture. The *Antilles Caribbeans* have an olive complexion, little black piercing eyes, c and their mothers are at great pains to flatten their foreheads and noses, so that the appearance of a *Caribbean* cannot be very pleasing. They suffer no beard to grow on their faces and chins, and they are of a strong, well-proportioned make. They kept their hair nicely combed and clean. The men sometimes wear feather-hats, but both sexes otherwise commonly go stark naked. Like other *American* savages, they bore their noses, ears, and lips, and hang by them pieces of amber, chrysal, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, or whatever trifling ornament they are most fond of, or can procure. On certain solemn days the men are dressed like the *Brazilian Caribbees*, in feather-robes; but the noblest ornament their chief can have about him is a copper gorget, which is an infallible proof of his valour, as that metal can be found no where but in the country of their enemies. After rising, which d they do before the sun, they wash themselves in a running water, and when the man is dry, the woman dresses his hair, and with feathers, instead of pencils, (but *Lery* says, the *Brazilian* women have pencils, and that they handle them very dexterously in painting themselves and their husbands) she besmears his body all over with a red composition. The women themselves are painted in like manner. When the operation is over, the whole family fall, without any ceremony, but in great silence, to eating. This silence continues after the meal is over for a considerable time, which some spend in sleeping, others in playing upon their rude musical instruments, and some in making their bows and other weapons. Their whole mode of life is unrestrained, but modest: when they break silence, the speaker is heard without interruption, and with applause, as is the succeeding speaker, even though e he contradicts the sentiments of the former. Their original language is now degenerated, by their admitting into it a mixture of *European* words, to enable them to trade and converse with Christians. When they are by themselves, they return to their ancient language, which is said to be smooth and flowing; and so fond are the *Caribbeans* of it, that even such of them as are converts to christianity, make great difficulty of instructing *Europeans* in it.

Formerly man-eaters,

THE *Caribbeans*, without all doubt, devoured the bodies of all whom they took or killed in war; and that too, if we are to believe credible eye-witnesses, with the most shocking circumstances of indelicacy and barbarity. The *French* pretend that they have reformed f them from this indelicate custom; but by their carrying off the dead bodies, there is too much reason for believing that they still follow it, though they pretend that all they mean is, that they should be evidences at home of their victory. In other respects, *Labat*, who was well acquainted with those savages, gives them much the same character, as to their manners, customs, virtues, and vices, as *Lery* gives of the *Brazilians*. This is a strong inducement for believing that the frightful colours in which the *Caribbeans* are drawn by former adventurers from *France* and *Spain*, was owing to the resistance they met with from the generous love which those barbarians had for liberty and their country.

Their humanity to captive women and children.

ACCORDING to the same author, the *Caribbeans* treat their female captives with the greatest decorum and tenderness, and have sometimes been known to marry them. As to their captive children, they either sell them to *Europeans*, or breed them up as their own. g Their natural disposition leads them to be docile and compassionate, and they have a hearty contempt for that species of *European* avarice, which prefers gold to chrysal or glass. Though naturally extremely curious, they are so rivetted to their own country, that they seldom

a seldom or never can be prevailed on to leave it; and they often very pathetically reproach the *Europeans* for their injustice in seizing their islands. Though they are tenacious of their own property, and love to make good bargains, yet theft is so little known among them, that they often leave their houses open to every one; but those excellent qualities are not without an intermixture of vices. After receiving what they conceive to be an injury, they are to the last degree vindictive and implacable; and upon their losing the smallest trifle, they grieve immoderately, sometimes for a whole week.

THEY often make public entertainments, from which none are excluded; but their neighbours only are invited to be guests. On those occasions it is that they consult of peace, war, and matters of commerce; but they generally get intoxicated, and give a vent to their revenge, be their resentments of ever so old standing. They commonly execute their revenge in an unmanly manner, by stabbing the party, or knocking him down from behind. When such murders are committed, the assassin escapes generally unquestioned, unless the deceased has relations in the assembly, and then they cut him in pieces. Such assassins, however, before they strike the blow, if they see any relations present, defer it till another opportunity. Those barbarians, by all accounts, have not the smallest ideas of reconciliation or forgiveness; for if a friend, though no relation of the murdered party, is by, he never quits his resolution of revenge, but treasures it up till he can repay the murder in kind, which almost always happens, unless the assassin leaves the country. It is to this spirit of revenge that travellers attribute the want of population among the *Caribbeans*, whose numbers of men are very thin, though the women are plentiful, and the men indulge themselves in polygamy.

THE fare of the *Caribbeans* at their entertainments is far from being contemptible. They boil their venison and fish, and they have such plenty of swine and poultry, that they carry them to the *English* and *French*, and exchange them for tools and necessaries. Wood-pigeons, parrots, and thrushes, which they kill with their arrows, always make a part of the feast, to which are added ignamas, potatoes, bananas, figs, and cassava. The manner in which they proceed, if they deliberate upon war, strongly characterizes their fury and inconstancy. On such occasions, an old woman becomes the trumpet of the assembly. She stands up in the middle; she recapitulates all the provocations, insults, and injuries, done to them by their enemy; and finding them sufficiently heated, she scatters among them the broiled limbs of those enemies which have been reserved for that purpose, which all the company hack and hew with the utmost fury. They then fix the day for opening their campaign with the loudest acclamations of approbation; but they take care never to stir from the entertainment while one drop of liquor remains; and when they grow sober, they very often think no more of the resolution they had taken.

THE *Caribbeans* have no compulsive power among themselves, nor any institution of government for punishing the most atrocious crimes; so that private resentments direct all their justice. But this is to be understood as happening between man and man; for every husband has so full and uncontrouled a power over his wife, that he can kill her on the slightest offence, or even on suspicion. The submission of the females to the tyranny of their husbands is admirable. After the husband has killed venison or fishes, the wife brings the lading from the boat, dresses it, and performs the most servile duties without repining; while the husband enjoys himself in all manner of indulgence. If the *Caribbeans* shew the smallest respect to each other, it is on account of old age; but their old women are said to be the most spiteful wretches in the world, especially against young wives, whom they sometimes accuse of witchcraft, upon which the poor wretches are condemned and put to death unheard. They train their children up from their birth to archery, so that the *Caribbeans* are generally excellent marksmen.

THEY are fond of all *Europeans* who carry military, naval, or civil commissions; and they look upon the richest merchants as being no better than their slaves. They commonly assume to themselves some officer's name, and this kind of self-adoption is celebrated with great jollity. In their expeditions, they way-lay their enemies so artfully, that by covering themselves up with boughs and leaves of trees, they are not to be discerned. Their attacks are cowardly, and always from behind; and they have a particular dexterity in discharging arrows that are pointed with flaming matches of cotton, that never fail to consume the houses on which they light, if they are covered, as they commonly are, with canes and palmettoes. When the wretched inhabitants fly out of the houses flaming about them, the *Caribbeans* wait for them in ambush, and shoot them dead, concealing themselves so artfully, that the survivors can find no object of revenge. It is surprising with what quickness and dexterity they discharge their arrows; and such of them as have fire-arms, handle them equally well. On account of those qualities, the *French* care for the *Caribbeans*, whom they cannot otherwise fear; for they never stand a fair engagement, but they may be mischievous to the last degree in the manner related. The water seems to be as much the element

Names, and
other modes of
living.

ment of a *Caribbean*, as the land is; for when one of their boats oversets, men, women, and children, swim about it, the women sometimes supporting one or more infants, till it is put to rights; and such is their dexterity, that they never lose the smallest parcel of their lading^c. The *Caribbeans*, barbarous as they are, are not without some rude ideas of two principles, the one benevolent, for which reason they think it quite superfluous to pray to it: the other, which they call *Manitou*, (a term which is common with the other savages of the *American* continent) that is, hurtful, and to which they pray with great fervour, but without having the smallest notion of what it is, or how it operates. They never marry in the first degree of consanguinity, but the female cousin-germans of a man claim a right to him; so that sometimes he has four or five sisters for his wives; and when any of them are too young for marriage, they are bred up to all the domestic duties, till they are old enough to become wives to their cousin-german. The master of a house, when dead, is buried in the middle of it, and his family then abandons that habitation.

Whimsical
custom of the
Caribbeans.

FATHER *la Tertre* mentions a very whimsical custom of the *Caribbeans*, which is, that when a woman lays in of her first child, if it is a son, the father betakes himself to his bed, and without stirring for thirty or forty days, most ceremoniously acts the part of his lying-in wife. We shall not consume our reader's time in giving any further particulars of those savages. What we have given are extracted from *French* authors, who are not always consistent among themselves. It is certain, that since the time of their writing, which is about sixty years ago, the *Caribbeans* have been greatly humanized, and this has been owing to the *English*; both the interests and principles of the *French* and *Spaniards* leading them to wish that they might continue in their native barbarity. They are now no longer fond of human banquets, and feed the same as all *Europeans* do, upon swine's-flesh, and the other meats which they formerly abhorred. The tyranny of the husband over the wife is almost entirely abolished; and, about the time of the duke of *Montague's* attempt to settle *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*, they seem to have erected themselves into a species of government; and, by the best accounts, their connections with the *French* were formed only that they might be the better enabled to avoid all dependency upon the *English*. We have already seen, that the negroes who had been wrecked upon *St. Vincent*, associated themselves with the *Caribbeans*; and the *French* inform us, that they served them with the same submission and respect, as if they had been *Europeans*. The *French*, in relating those matters, have assured us, with an air of triumph, that they were informed by the *Caribbeans*, the flesh of one of their countrymen eat much better than that of a *Spaniard*, and with a more delicate flavour. Some pretend, that the *Caribbeans* to this day indulge themselves in eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their enemies the *Arovages*: but to this we give little credit.

Islands of
Xaintes.

THE islands of *Xaintes*, or *All-Saints*, lie within the government of *Guadalupe*. They are three in number, and their soil is pretty much the same with that of *Guadalupe*. The westernmost island, which is the best, is about three leagues in circumference; but none of those islands seem ever to have been properly inhabited, because destitute of fresh-water, though producing all other necessaries of life. According to the *French* writers, the *Xaintes* were possessed by the *French* in 1648, but for want of water they were obliged to abandon them. In 1652 they returned, and dispossessing the *Caribbeans*, they built a fort on one of the islands, which was taken by the *English*; but the victors were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the *French*, who carried them to *Guadalupe*. They add, that the expedition, in which lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados*, perished, was undertaken to recover this island, and that he was wrecked in the strait between that and *Guadalupe*, as he was proceeding against the *French* of *St. Christopher's*. The coasts of those islands abound in turtle and excellent shell-fish.

Desada.

THE island of *Desada* lies in longitude 61. 20. and in lat. 16. 20. It is about twenty miles from *Guadalupe*, and is about sixteen miles in length, and two in breadth. This island was discovered by the great *Columbus*, who gave it the name of *Desiderata*, or *Desireable*. Some part of it deserves that epithet, the soil being proper for the cultivation of sugar and cotton; of which last, it produces the best of all the *French* islands. This island, as well as those of *Xaintes*, became of importance during the late war, on account of the very convenient shelter their ports afforded to privateers and free-booters; and by the definitive treaty of 1763, their inhabitants were admitted to the same capitulation that had been granted to *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

Marigalante.

ABOUT twelve miles south-east from *Grand Terre*, and seventeen north from *Martinico*, lies the island of *Marigalante*, so called from the name of the ship of *Columbus*, who first discovered it in 1493. This island is of a circular form, and about fifty *English* miles in circumference. When the *French* first attempted to settle it, which was about the year 1647, its *Caribbean* inhabitants, as usual, manfully resisted them. Even after those savages were

^c Lery relates the same thing of the *Brazilians*.

quelled,

- a quelled, or forced to submit, the possession of the invaders was unquiet and precarious. Sometimes the natives attempted to throw off their yoke and massacre their masters, and sometimes it was plundered by the *Dutch*. In the year 1652, the *Caribbeans* of *Marigalante* were obliged to retire to *Dominica*; and, after that, the *French* remained sole possessors of the island. In 1691, general *Codrington* landed some men out of the fleet, commanded by commodore *Wright*, and without opposition took the town and fort, making the governor and his lieutenant prisoners, and then, after ravaging the country, and ruining its plantations, he re embarked for *Guadalupe*. Since that time, *Marigalante* could scarcely be called an object of military operations; and the *English* became twice masters of it, exclusive of its last submission, without resistance; and it received the benefit in the late definitive treaty of the capitulation of *Guadalupe*. This island abounds with tobacco, and contains a great many grottos where large crabs are found, as also several rivers and ponds of fresh water. Along the eastern shore run high rocks, so perpendicular, that they seem to be planned by art, and which give shelter to vast numbers of tropic birds, they being as full of holes as a pigeon-house. The western shore is flat; and cinnamon trees are found upon the island, which, besides the commodities that are produced in the other *French Caribbees*, manufactured at the time of its last reduction by the *British* arms, one thousand hogheads of sugar yearly.
- b

- THE island of *St. Bartholomew*, another of the *French Caribbees*, lies in the longitude of *St. Bartholomew*. 62 and a half, latitude 18; about eighteen miles north of *St. Christopher's*, some say twenty-five. It is about twenty-five miles in compass; and *Poincy*, the *French* governor of *St. Christopher's*, peopled it at his own expence in 1648. As its soil is but indifferent, though both that and the air are salubrious, the *French* were suffered to enjoy it without molestation, till the year 1689, when Sir *Timothy Thornhill* landed upon it. The inhabitants had made use of their long tranquillity in fortifying their island with batteries, breast, and other works, to the extent of two acres of ground, doubly pallisadoed round with stakes six feet high; all which were taken by Sir *Timothy*, who, after ravaging the island, carried off about 700 of its inhabitants, with their cattle and effects. The men were sent to *Nevis*, and the women to *St. Christopher's*. The *English* government thought this a severe proceeding, and suffered the inhabitants to repossess their island, but as *English* subjects. At the peace of *Ryswick*, it was restored to the crown of *France*. During the first war with *France* which broke out under *George II.* this island was so convenient to the *French* for privateering, that above fifty *English* ships were carried into its harbour; and therefore, two privateers from *Antigua* attacked and reduced it, making prisoners 400 of its white inhabitants, of whom 140 were fit to bear arms, and 300 negroes. The *French* afterwards returned to the possession of it, which they have retained ever since. Though little of the soil of this island is fit for cultivation, yet it produces tobacco and cassava, with some excellent woods and lime-stone, with which the inhabitants furnish their neighbours. All the fresh water they have is saved in cisterns; and the island itself is encompassed by most formidable rocks, which render it dangerous for large ships to come near it. Its chief products for exportation are drugs and *lignum vitæ*, with which it abounds.
- c
- d

- BESIDES the *English* and *French*, the *Dutch* and the *Danes* have islands among the *Caribbees*. The principal belonging to the former is *St. Eustatia*, which lies three leagues north-west of *St. Christopher's*, and is about fifteen miles in compass. Though *St. Eustatia* may be more properly termed a huge pyramidal rock, rising out of the waves, than an island, yet for its bigness, it is incomparably the most valuable of all the *Caribbees*. Its situation is so strong, that it has but one landing-place; and that, though difficult of access, is fortified with all the art that can render it impregnable, and nothing has been wanting on the part of its masters to make every inch of the island equally so. Tobacco is its chief product, and it is cultivated on its sides to the very top of the pyramid, which terminates in a plain surrounded with woods; but having a hollow in the middle, which serves as a large den for wild beasts. No fewer than 5000 white people, and 15,000 negroes, subsist upon this spot, and rear hogs, kids, rabbits, and all kinds of poultry, in such abundance, that they can supply their neighbours after having served themselves. The policy of the *Dutch* in the government of this island, exceeds that of all the other *European* nations who hold any of the *Caribbees*. They are jealous of admitting any stranger whatsoever into their harbour; and few besides themselves know any thing of the internal government or riches of the island, any more than that it serves as a storehouse for all kinds of *European* commodities, which when returns fail from *Europe*, the neighbouring islanders must purchase upon whatever terms the *Dutch* are pleased to impose.
- f

- g SAINT EUSTATIA became a *Dutch* island by their taking possession of it; and it was granted in property by the states-general to certain merchants of *Flushing*. Perhaps the *Dutch* were the only people in the world who could have rendered so unpromising a spot a flourishing settlement. The first colony sent to it consisted of about 1600; but during the wars

wars between the *English* and *Dutch* in 1665, the latter were dispossessed of *St. Eustatia* by a the former from *Jamaica*. Soon after, the *Dutch* and the *French* becoming confederates, the *English* were dispossessed in their turn by their combined arms. The *French*, however, held a garrison in the island till it was restored to the *Dutch* by the treaty of *Breda*. Soon after the Revolution, the *French* dispossessed the *Dutch* of *St. Eustatia*, from whence they were in their turn driven by the *English*, under Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with the loss of no more than eight men killed and wounded, tho' the fort which he took mounted 16 guns, and was in every other respect very strong; a proof that the *French*, who defended it, must have been very raw in the exercise of arms. Sir *Timothy* found it necessary, for the protection of the *Dutch*, to leave a small *English* garrison in the fort: but he granted the *French* no terms of capitulation, but for their lives and their baggage. The peace of *Ryswick* restored the *Dutch* to the entire property of this island, of which they have remained the undisturbed possessors ever since; an uncommon instance of tranquillity! but improved by them in rendering their island, (as we have already mentioned) at once powerful and wealthy; for, besides tobacco, the inhabitants have of late years raised and exported incredible quantities of sugar. We shall but just mention the little island of *Saba*, which lies thirteen miles north-west of *St. Eustatia*, and thirty south-west of *St. Bartholomew*, and belonged formerly to the *Danes*, as it now does to the *Dutch*. This small island, which is but about four leagues in circumference, contains a delightful valley, which produces necessaries for the inhabitants, and materials for several manufactures, which they carry on there; but being destitute of any port, it is very inconsiderable. The access to it is by a road cut out of the rock, by which one man only can mount a-breast at a time; and this road is plentifully strewed with magazines of stones, by which the inhabitants, by tumbling them down, can bid defiance to the greatest number of assailants. Those stones were the arms by which they beat off the desperate *French* buccaneers, who attacked them in 1688. The inhabitants raise some indigo and cotton, but their chief manufacture is shoes; and such is their œconomy and industry, that they live comfortably among themselves, are attended by slaves, and some of them even become rich.

Saba.

Santa Cruz.

THE island of *Santa Cruz*, the property of which is vested in the crown of *Denmark*, lies in longitude 65, and in latitude 18: it is about thirty leagues west from *St. Christopher's*, about ten or twelve leagues in length, and at the broadest, somewhat above three; though in one part it is so indented by a bay, that it is not above one. *Columbus*, though the most humane of all the *Spanish* adventurers, exterminated the natives, who manfully opposed him; but abandoned the island, which was afterwards visited by the *English* in 1587. They probably possessed it till 1635, when the *Dutch* putting in their claim, the island was divided by compromise between the two people, each of whom had a governor; but the whole being a private, rather than a national transaction, their names have not come to our hands. It is, however, certain, that about the year 1645, the *Dutch* governor surprized the *English* one in his house, and murdered him; and this produced a war upon the island, in which the *Dutch* were defeated, and their governor killed. The consequence was, that a short pacification ensued; but fresh broils happening, the new *Dutch* governor was killed by the *English*, and the *Dutch* themselves, among whom were 120 *French*, who, at their own request, were sent to *Guadalupe*, were driven off the island. The reader, from the complexion of this little history, may easily perceive, that those settlers were no better than lawless free-booters, acting without any legal authority; and soon after, viz. in 1649, or 1650, the *Spaniards* from *Porto Rico* attacked the *English*, and treated them as such, by putting to death all who fell into their hands. The *Dutch* of *St. Eustatia* hearing that their enemies the *English* had been exterminated, returned to take possession of *Santa Cruz*, and being ignorant that it was still in the hands of the *Spaniards*, they were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war. Before the *Spaniards* could carry them to *Porto Rico*, the *French* general *du Poincy*, arriving with a superior force, obliged the *Spaniards* to relinquish their prisoners, and return to *Porto Rico*; But he carried the *Dutch*, who, in fact, had no right to the island, back to *Eustatia*. He there entered into treaty with those *Dutch* merchants who had advanced money towards the settlement of *St. Croix*; and after reimbursing them, he purchased the same, together with some other islands, in property for the order of *Malta*; which purchase was afterwards confirmed by the *French* king, who reserved the sovereignty of it, and a certain reddendo to his own crown by way of acknowledgment. When *Colbert*, the *French* minister, struck into a new system of commerce, he made no scruple of reducing this bargain, which indeed was of itself absurd and impracticable, by repaying the money which the order had advanced for the purchase in the year 1664, and the *French* then re-entered into possession of it. About the year 1695 or 1696, the court of *Denmark* thought of colonizing this island, and the *French* had their reasons, both pecuniary and political, for transmitting the property of it to the *Danes*, who were long considered as being its proprietors rather than settlers; for its chief

- a chief profits went to the *English*. In later years their *Danish* majesties thought fit to be at considerable expences in improving this island to their own immediate emolument. As it is equally the interest of the *English* as of the *French*, that the *Danes* should be possessed of it preferably to any other *European* power, their right to it has hitherto been unquestioned. Some say, that the island of *Santa Cruz* is far more valuable than it is generally imagined to be. The soil, which is rich, and easily improveable, produces many excellent dying and other woods proper for house and ship-building. The progress of the inhabitants in cultivating the sugar cane, under the protection and encouragement of the *Danish* court, has been of late years very considerable. Oranges, citrons, and the mandioca-root, with granates, lemons, and the papa-tree, the fruit of which makes a most excellent sweetmeat, grow here in abundance. The air is excellent, and the water, when filtrated or settled in earthen jars, becomes wholesome. Its chief port lies on the north side, where there is a large bay, on the west side of which stands the governor's house.

- b THE islands of *Anegada* and *Sombrero* are at present without any settled *European* inhabitants, and are only remarkable for the colibri or humming bird, the smallest, but at the same time, one of the most beautiful of all the feathered creation, and for painted crabs of a delicate taste and a peculiar nature. The *Virgin Islands* are about twelve in number, but are so inhospitable and unimproveable, that they properly belong to no *European* power. They lie to the east of *Porto Rico*, and to the west of *Anegada*. The chief of them is that of *St. Thomas*, which is divided between the *Danes* and the *Brandenburghers*, many of whose merchants and planters by opening their harbour, which is safe, strong, and commodious, to traders of all nations, become very rich. It naturally produces most of the *West-India* commodities, but is infested with musketoes. The *French* buccaneers destroyed the *Danish* factory in this island, but since that time, a large battery has been erected between the fort and the harbour; so that it is now made proof against all irregular attacks.

Anegada.
Sombrero.

The Virgin
Islands.

St. Thomas.

The other ENGLISH CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

- d *ANGUILLA*, so called from its snake-like form, is about ten leagues in length, and three in breadth, and is the most northerly of all the *English Caribbees*, lying twenty-six leagues north-east from *Santa Cruz*, and about fifteen north from *St. Christopher's*. It is, properly speaking, one of the *Virgin Islands* likewise. When the *English* discovered this island in 1650, it was filled with alligators, and other noxious animals; but they imported into it live cattle, which they have since multiplied exceedingly. They found the soil fruitful, proper for raising tobacco and corn; and in general the whole island agreeable. But not being settled here under any public encouragement, each planter laboured for himself; and the island became a prey to every rapacious invader, which disheartened the inhabitants so much, that all industry was lost among them; but their chief suffering was from a party of wild *Irish*, who landed here after the Revolution, and treated them more barbarously than any of the *French* pirates, who had attacked them before. The people of *Barbados*, and the other *English Caribbees*, knew the value of the soil, and several of them removed to *Anguilla*, where they remained for many years, and even carried on a profitable trade, but without any government, either civil or ecclesiastical. Though their militia in the year 1745, did not exceed 100 men, yet they defended a breast-work they had thrown up, against 1000 *French*, who came to attack them, and obliged them to retire with the loss of 150 men, besides carrying off some of their arms and colours, as trophies of their victory. Since that time, the inhabitants have subsisted mostly by farming, though they still plant some sugar, and the island is in general said to be capable of vast improvements.

Anguilla.

- f THE island of *St. Martin* lies about fifteen miles distant from *Anguilla* on the north-west, and the like distance from *St. Bartholomew* on the south-east, and is about seven leagues in length, and four in breadth. This, for its bigness, is a most valuable island, and chiefly so by its salt-pits and salt-water lakes, which the *Spaniards* thought so considerable, that they built a fort upon the island to protect them, and to prevent other nations from settling on the island. In the year 1650, when the affairs of *Old Spain* were in a most miserable situation, the garrison of this fort being no longer able to maintain themselves, blew it up, and destroyed at the same time all their houses and cisterns. The *French*, upon their retiring, set up a claim of pre-occupancy, and endeavoured to get possession of the island, but were thwarted by the *Dutch*; and an accommodation being proposed, the island was divided between them; the *French* entering into possession of the most pleasant part of it, which looks towards *Anguilla*, but the *Dutch* into the most profitable, because it contained the salt-pits and ponds abovementioned. The *Dutch* quarter was soon filled with fine buildings and capacious storehouses, while that of the *French* was poor and unprovided; and in

St. Martin.

the year 1689, was plundered by Sir *Timothy Thornhill*. The *French* still continued in possession, and the *Dutch* upon this island might have been a thriving colony, had they been provided with a tolerable port, and did not the island lie too far to the leeward for convenience of commerce with the *Windward Islands*. In 1744, a handful of *English*, headed by the deputy-governor of *Anguilla*, with two *St. Christopher's* privateers, drove the *French* from the possession of their part of the island, and it has been ever since considered as belonging half to the *Dutch*, and half to the *English*.

Berbuda.

THE island of *Berbuda*, belonging to the *English*, is thirty-five miles north from *Antigua*, fifty-three north from *St. Christopher's*, and about ninety south-west from *Anguilla*; being in length twenty miles, and in breadth twelve. This island was planted soon after the *English* had settled upon *St. Christopher's*; for one Mr. *Littleton*, a planter of *St. Christopher's*, obtained a grant of it from the earl of *Carlisle*, within whose charter it lay. The beautiful appearance of the island made the first settlers give it the appellation of *Dalcina*; and they removed to it in 1623. They soon had occasion to abate of their sanguine expectations. The island had no harbour; it was exposed to the descents of the merciless *Caribbeans*; and it was not yet discovered that it was capable of producing any staple commodity. All that invited the new settlers to persevere was its salubrious pleasant situation, and its readily affording all the necessaries of life. The *Caribbeans* from *Dominica*, in their nocturnal descents, proved so troublesome, that the *English* were several times obliged to forego their design of planting *Berbuda*; but after the resumption of lord *Carlisle's* patent, and after those barbarians had been a little chastised by other *English* colonists, colonel *Codrington* became sole proprietor of the same, and he well deserved to be so, by the many important services he did to the crown of *England* in the *West-Indies*. This island remains the property of the *Codrington* family to this day. Their possession of it, however, was attempted to be interrupted by *Park*, governor and captain general of the *Leeward Islands*, an insolent ministerial governor, without the smallest qualification for his trust, but his having had the good fortune to carry to *England* the first news of the battle of *Blenheim*. *Codrington's* title was so well known, his family having been in unquestioned possession of *Berbuda* for thirty years before, and he despised *Park's* enmity so much, that he refused to produce his right, and his own friends advised the governor to drop his claim, which was only founded upon *Berbuda* being a *Caribbee Island*; and therefore, (as he pretended) within his government. In progress of time, as the numbers and savageness of the *Caribbeans* decreased, the inhabitants of *Berbuda* acquired comfortable livelihoods; and in 1708, no fewer than 1200 *English* were supposed to be upon the island. In its infant state it was harrassed by the *French*, merely out of spite to their capital enemy in the *West Indies*, general *Codrington*, who had driven them from *St. Christopher's*. The appointment of a governor is in the *Codrington* family, and part of the estate arising from this island, amounting, as it is said, to 2000*l.* a year, with two plantations in *Barbados*, was bequeathed by *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; to the society for propagating the gospel, towards the instruction of the negroes in the *Caribbee Islands* in the Christian religion, and the erecting a college at *Barbados* for teaching the liberal arts.

THE land of this island lies low, but it is fertile, and the inhabitants are chiefly employed in breeding up black cattle, sheep, kids, fowls, and all kind of domestic stock, which they dispose of to the neighbouring islands; so that their way of life differs little from that of an *English* farmer. The island, upon trial, has been found proper for the cultivation of many of the commodities with which the other *West-India* islands abound, such as citrons, pomegranates, oranges, raisins, *Indian* figs, maiz, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, pine-apples, and the sensitive-plant, with various kinds of wood and drugs, such as brasil, ebony, pepper, indigo, and the like. Some serpents, which are large upon this island, are so far from being poisonous, that they are salutiferous, for they destroy toads, rats, and frogs; but the stings or bites of others are mortal, unless an antidote is applied to them in two hours. On the west-side of this island is a good well-sheltered road, clear from rocks and sands; but two shoals of sands run above two leagues into the sea, from the north-west and south-west points.

St. Christopher's.

THE island of *St. Christopher's* affords more matter for history, and has undergone greater revolutions, than any other island in the *West Indies*. When it was discovered by *Christopher Columbus* in his first voyage to *America*, the name given to it by the inhabitants was *Liamuiga*, which he changed to its present name, upon a fanciful resemblance of a large rock bearing a little one upon its top, to the *Romish* legend of *St. Christopher* bearing upon his back the infant *Jesus*. It lies between latitude 17. 10. and 17. 40. and the middle of the island in longitude 62. 40. west from *London*, and is about ten miles north of *Nevis*, and 14 leagues from *Antigua*. Its length is twenty-five miles and a half, and its greatest breadth seven; yet at a particular spot at its south-east end, towards the salt-ponds, it is not above half a mile. The compass of the whole island is between seventy and seventy-five

- a five miles. Who were the original settlers upon this island, the *French* or the *English*, is a point of very little consequence in itself, had it not been magnified into importance by both nations. It is certain that soon after the discovery of *America*, societies were formed in *England* for establishments there; and after many successful essays had been made, some of the greatest and best subjects of the kingdom formed themselves into companies, every member bearing a proportionable share of the expence, and were to have the like in the profits, but still reserving those claimed by the crown. The settlement of *Guiana* by the *English* upon the river *Surinam*, seems to have given them the first notion of settling what are called their *West Indian Islands*, whether under the denomination of the *Antilles* or *Caribbees*. It appears that before this scheme was ready for execution, several straggling *English* had found their way to those islands; and being so few in number as to give no umbrage to the *Caribbeans*, they lived on good terms with those savages. One Mr. *Thomas Warner*, who had attended captain *Roger North*, brother to lord *North*, to *Guiana*, had some conversation with one captain *Painton*, who mentioned to him the preference of their settlement upon *St. Christopher's*, or any other of the *Caribbean Islands*, which the *Spaniards* did not think worth possessing, to one upon the continent, where the *English* were always sure of being harrassed and disturbed by those jealous troublesome neighbours.

- Soon after this conversation *Painton* died; but it made such an impression upon *Warner*, that in 1620 he sailed for *England*; where he took fourteen other gentlemen into the scheme, and having received a grant of the island from king *James I.* they sailed from *England* to *Virginia*, and from thence to *St. Christopher's*, where they arrived *January* 1623; where they actually began their settlement, and by *September* following, they must have had a tolerable good crop of tobacco, had it not been destroyed by a hurricane. The *French* writers have informed us of other particulars concerning the origin of this settlement. They tell us, that *Monf. Desnambuc*, whom we have already mentioned, having the same view with Mr. *Warner*, took possession of *St. Christopher's* on the very same day the latter did; that the *English* found three *Frenchmen*, who had been shipwrecked, settled upon it, who endeavoured to excite the *Caribbeans* against them, but in vain. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Warner* and *Desnambuc* understanding the intentions of each to be the same, instead of entering into any critical disputes about pre-occupancy, resolved to divide the island between them, but, upon all occasions, to unite against the *Spaniards*, who had long known the island, but had never settled it, and were in so good correspondence with the natives, as to leave, from voyage to voyage, their sick in their hands.

Settlement of
*St. Christo-
pher's* by the
English,

- This good agreement seems to have introduced a most unwarrantable act of cruelty that was perpetrated by the settlers of both nations. *Warner* and *Desnambuc* intending to return to their respective courts in *Europe*, suspecting the practices of the *Spaniards* with the natives, whom, by this time, they had forced into a submission, resolved to get rid of them. For this purpose, pretending (for the whole seems to have been a pretence, and a very shameful one too) that they had received intelligence of the *Caribbean* magicians having instigated the natives to massacre the *French* and the *English*, they attacked those poor savages by night, and drove from the island all whom they did not murder. Though this massacre was committed under pretence of the natives being factious, yet no proofs have been brought in support of such a charge, and it is plain that the massacre of the savages was committed only on account of the dislike they might have expressed at the new settlers invading their land, and abridging them of their liberties. The two *European* chiefs of the island returned to their respective countries, where their inhumanity was highly approved of. *Warner* was made a knight, and governor of the *English* part of the island, as *Desnambuc* was of the *French*. The latter pretended, that the settlers of both nations had pitched upon him for their governor, and he talked to *Richelieu* so plausibly, that a *French American* company was erected in the year 1626. It is not unlikely, that captain *Warner* talked to his court in pretty much the same strain, for an *English American* company was established the same year.

who massacre
the natives.

- In the mean while, the expulsion of the *Caribbeans* had alarmed those of the neighbouring islands, and of the continent; and they made a descent upon *St. Christopher's* to the number of about 3 or 4000 in their canoes. The *English* and *French* were no strangers to their intention, and made a proper disposition to receive them. Part were suffered to land, but volleys of musketry from the settlers, who were planted in ambuscade, laid most of them dead, and forced the others to retire to their canoes, but not before the savages had killed 200 of the *Europeans*, besides many who afterwards died of wounds from poisoned arrows. This account, however, we are apt to believe, was invented to palliate the severities practised against them. Before we proceed in this history, it is highly proper to observe, that the *English* appear to have been far better acquainted than the *French* were with the state of the *West Indies* at this time; and to prove this, we need but to lay before our readers duplicates of the commission granted by both courts. That to *Desnambuc* ran in the

The savages
invade the
island.

the following terms. “*Armand John du Plessis de Richlieu*, cardinal, counsellor of the king a in his councils; chief grand-matter, and sur-intendant of the commerce of *France*, To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: maketh known, that the *seur Desnambuc* and *du Rossey*, captains, belonging to the western department of the marine, having given us to understand, that they have, within these fifteen years past, by licence from the king, and the said admiral of *France*, been at great expences in the equipping and arming ships and vessels for the searching out of fertile lands in a good climate, capable of being possessed by the *French*, and therein had used such diligence, as that some time since they had discovered the islands of *St. Christopher’s* and *Barbados*, the one of thirty-five, the other of forty-five leagues in circumference, and other neighbouring islands, all situated at the entry of *Peru*, from the eleventh to the eighteenth degree north from the equinoctial line, b making part of the *West Indies*, which are not possessed by any king or Christian prince.” This commission is dated, *October 31*, 1626. That granted to the earl of *Carlisle* was as follows. “Whereas our well-beloved and faithful cousin and counsellor, *James* lord *Hay*, baron of *Sawley*, viscount *Doncaster*, and earl of *Carlisle*, having a laudable and zealous care to increase the Christian religion, and to enlarge the territories of our empire in certain lands situated to the northward region of the world, which region, or islands, are hereafter described, which before were unknown, and by certain barbarous men, having no knowledge of the divine power, in some part possessed, commonly called *Caribbee Islands*, containing in them these islands following, viz. *St. Christopher*, *Granada*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, *Barbados*, *Mittalanea*, (that is what the *French* call *Martinique*) *Dominica*, *Marigalante*, *De- c Barbados*, *Mittalanea*, (that is what the *French* call *Martinique*) *Dominica*, *Marigalante*, *Desada*, *Todosantes*, *Guadalupe*, *Antego*, *Montserrat*, *Redendo*, *Barbudo*, *Mevis*, (properly *Nevis*, by the *French* *Nieves*) *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Martin*, *Anguilla*, *Sombrera*, and *Enegada*, and other islands before found out, to his great cost and charges, and brought to that pass, to be a large and copious colony of *English*.”

The English better acquainted with it than the French,

THOSE two charters when compared give a shrewd intimation, that the *French* were but very little acquainted with the islands thereby conveyed; whereas the *English* charter contains the proper names of all the *English Caribbees*. Each court was pleased with its own chief, and in the year 1626, both sailed back to *St. Christopher’s*, where they landed, but the *English* first, in seeming good correspondence. Soon after the partition of the island was made by both parties, each consisting of about 300 in number, with greater precision and exactness than heretofore. In this new partition, which was signed by the two governors on the 13th of *May*, the boundaries of their several divisions were fixed, but with a special proviso, that fishing, hunting, the salt ponds, the most precious woods for dyers and joiners works, the havens, and the mines, should all of them be common to both nations. At the same time, a league against their common enemies, who, we are to suppose, were the *Spaniards* and the *Caribbeans*, was entered into by both nations. By this treaty, the *English* were settled on the south and north sides of the island, and the *French* on the east and west.

who are driven off by the Spaniards,

THE vast superiority for colonizing, which the *English* have always possessed over the *French* in the requisites of good understanding, spirit, and industry, were fully displayed on this occasion. The *English* company at *London* supplied their planters upon *St. Christopher’s*, at once, so punctually and so plentifully, that *Sir Thomas Warner* was at the head of a flourishing colony before the *French* had set about clearing their grounds; nay, so greatly did the *English* plantation flourish, that they had men to spare for settling *Nevis* on the like plan of partition. The flourishing state of *St. Christopher’s*, which the *Spaniards* had always considered as the most valuable of the *Caribbee Islands*, awakened the jealousy of the court of *Madrid* so greatly, that *don Frederic de Toledo* took upon him the command of a formidable fleet, consisting, as we are told, of twenty-four great ships, and fifteen frigates, to drive the two nations from *St. Christopher’s*, so as to prevent their disturbing the *Spanish* colonies either in the *West Indies*, or upon the continent. *Don Frederic* having procured some *English* ships, which he seized at *Nevis*, anchored in the road of *Basse Terre*, below the canon of that fort, which was in the *French* quarter, and commanded by *M. du Rossey*. Neither the *French* nor the *English* had conceived the smallest idea of being able to resist so powerful an armament; all their provisions being just sufficient to hold out against a small squadron. *Du Rossey* having made the best defence he could, abandoned *Basse Terre*, and retreated to *Capesterre*, in the opposite part of the island, where the *French* had another fort, which was commanded by *Desnambuc* in person. He knew that the main object of this great armament was not the little island of *St. Christopher’s*, which it was to attack only by the bye, but to carry home the flota. He represented this to his men, and likewise, how practicable it was for them to secure themselves in the fastnesses and morasses of the island, till *don Frederick* should reimbarc, which he absolutely must be obliged to do in a very few days. Nothing he said made any impression upon his colonists, who had been seized with a panic, on the report of the strength, numbers, and cruelty of the *Spaniards*. They in- fisted

a lifted upon immediately leaving the island, (and indeed, every thing considered, they were, perhaps, in the right) which they accordingly did.

It does not appear how the *English* were employed during this catastrophe. It is most probable to suppose, that the *French* had been taken entirely unprovided by the *Spaniards*; and consequently, that they had not been able to advertise their *English* allies of their danger; otherwise from what afterwards fell out, had they been joined, they might have made such a stand against all the troops the *Spaniards* could land, as, if not successful, might, at least, have obtained for them an honourable capitulation. But the *English* hearing that *Desnambuc* and their allies had evacuated the island, fell into despondency likewise, and offered to treat with the *Spanish* admiral. All they could obtain was liberty to evacuate the island, on pain of being put to the sword. The *English* were obliged to accept of this order, instead of a capitulation, and he was prevailed on to allow them the ships he had taken at *Nevis* for their transportation; and at last, to give liberty for those who could not be transported, to remain with their wives and families on the island till they could. Before his departure, he forced into his service, and carried along with him, 600 of the stoutest *English*.

b As to the other part of this agreement, he left it to be executed by itself, and the terror of the *Spanish* name; for we do not find that many of the *English* had actually left the island when he departed; so that their settlement went on as usual, after repairing the damages that had been done to their plantations by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, in like manner, who had gone no farther than *Antigua* and *Montserrat*, understanding that the *Spaniards* had departed, returned, and resumed the works of their plantation. But the situations of the two sets of planters were very different. The *English* applied themselves to population, had regular marriages, and lived in a comfortable manner within good houses. The habitations of the *French* were little better than the huts of the *Caribbeans* had been; and few or none of them having families to mind, they took no care for the future. *Desnambuc*, the *French* father of this colony, died about the year 1637. By this time, the active Sir *Thomas Warner* had rendered the *English* part of *St. Christopher's* a nursery of his countrymen for settling *Barbuda*, *Montserrat*, and *Antigua*; all which islands he planted and peopled; but he did not long survive his colleague *Desnambuc*. At the time of his death, *St. Christopher's* was said to contain 12 or 13,000 *English*, all of them in good condition; a most amazing encrease to arise from the good conduct of a private gentleman. It is true he was assisted by the government at home; and the people of *St. Christopher's* were so sensible of the obligations they lay under to the crown of *England*, that after the murder of *Charles* the first, they refused to submit to the powers of usurpation.

c One Mr. *Rich* succeeded Sir *Thomas Warner* in the government of *St. Christopher's*; and proceeding upon the same prudent wise plan, the island still encreased in population and riches. Mean while, the *French* part of the island underwent a variety of alterations; but the military establishment was all that the inhabitants seemed to concern themselves about. Their property in the island passed from the *West India* company to the knights of *Malta*; from them to a second *West India* company, and was at last taken into the king's own hand. *Colbert* endeavoured to bring them to be good colonists. They were furnished, at the expence of the government, with frames of houses, tools, utensils, and household-furniture; and at last they began to live far less like the *Caribbeans* than they had done before, though in every respect greatly inferior to the *English*. But indeed, by this time, both parties had lost sight of their original compact, and instead of guarding against the *Spaniards*, they guarded against one another.

d One Mr. *Everard* succeeded Mr. *Rich* in the government of the *English* part of *St. Christopher's*, which, with other islands in the *West Indies*, refused to acknowledge the authority of the *English* republic, and continued in their allegiance to *Charles* the 11d. The latter, as we have seen in the case of *Barbados*, was ridiculously persuaded that he might reap great advantages from this resistance; and about the time he sent over the lord *Willoughby* to *Barbados*, he sent over general *Pointz* to be his governor of *St. Christopher's*. Sir *George Ayscue*, after reducing *Barbados* to the power of the parliament, proceeded to *St. Christopher's*, which he found in possession of general *Pointz*. That gentleman being in no condition to resist the parliament's admiral, was obliged with his friends to retire to *Virginia*, very probably upon a compromise with *Ayscue*, who does not seem to have insisted any punishment upon the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's*, or even to have forced them to acknowledge the authority of the parliament, or to have given them a governor. When *Cromwell* took upon him the reins of government, and sent *Penn* against *Hispaniola*, he gave it to that admiral in charge to reduce the *English* of *St. Christopher's* to his obedience. He likewise obtained an order from the *French* court for his being assisted by their subjects on the island. By virtue of this order, when *Penn* appeared before *St. Christopher's*, he landed on the *French* part of it, and he was permitted to march through their lands against his

countrymen, whom he thereby reduced. During the first *Dutch* war under *Charles* the 1st, the *Dutch* and the *French* being on one side, both of them joined against the *English* of *St. Christopher's*; but the latter entered into repossession by the treaty of *Breda*, in 1667. We are here to observe, that in the partition of the island, the *English* lying in the middle, had the advantage of a communication with their settlements, by means of a road they had cut out of a mountain; but the *French* lying at opposite angles of the island, could have no communication from the one extremity to the other but through the *English* settlements; and this disposition of their quarters rendered every war that happened between them upon the island very bloody.

Stapleton, governor.

In fact, a great many scuffles arose between some of the inhabitants of the two nations, but none of them of consequence enough to engage the whole in a general quarrel. The lord *Willoughby* acted as governor of *St. Christopher's*, which is one of the *Leeward Islands*, after the Restoration; and he seems to have been succeeded by Sir *William Stapleton*, who held it to the time of his death. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was appointed by king *James II.* governor of the *Leeward Islands*; but when the Revolution took place, he chose to retire to *Carolina*, and king *William* gave his government to colonel *Codrington*, who was by far the fittest *English* subject in the *West Indies* to fill it. Mean while, the *French*, who pretended to be the guardians of the house of *Stuart*, during its exile, attacked, without any previous declaration of war, the *English* part of *St. Christopher's*, and drove them a second time from their possessions; a proceeding so cruel and so treacherous, that it was enumerated by king *William* and queen *Mary* among the causes of their declaring war against the *French* king. The reader, however, from the foregoing part of this history may perceive, that this cause was not confined to the *English West Indies* alone, but that it extended to many of their settlements on the continent of *America*. The violent dispossession of the *English* by the *French*, was owing, in a great measure, to the *Irish* papists settled among them, who looked upon the cause of king *James* as their own. Their proceedings against the *English* with fire and sword, were carried on with more fury than those of the *French* ever had been; so that the *English* had no places of refuge left but in their forts, from whence they sent to the government of *Barbados* for succours. Before those could arrive, they were so hard pressed, that they were obliged to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of July, 1689; but they could obtain no better terms than their being transported to *Nevis*.

The English dispossessed of St. Christopher's.

THIS dispossession of the *English* from so valuable an island, occasioned infinite confusion among the *West-India* merchants in *England* as well as in *America*, and gave rise to the commission of a thousand commercial frauds. The state of affairs in *Barbados* and our other *Leeward Islands*, did not admit of their giving the sufferers that speedy relief which their circumstances required; so that the *French* remained for eight months the sole possessors of *St. Christopher's*. During this time, a most dreadful earthquake, which was felt in other *Leeward Islands*, happened at *St. Christopher's*; and the openings of the earth, which attended it, to the extent, in many places, of nine feet, swallowed up sugar-mills, lumber, with other heavy materials, and threw down some of the strongest buildings on the island, and among them the jesuits college. The *French* being thus in possession of all *St. Christopher's*, fitted out fifteen vessels, with 4 or 500 men on board; who, as we have already seen, drove the *Dutch* out of *St. Eustatia*; and being supported from *Old France*, it was generally thought they would have attempted *Barbados* itself, and all the other *English Caribbean Islands*, had not advice come from *England*, of an armament sailing from thence, under commodore *Wright*, to their relief. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* was then at *Antigua*, and from thence he repaired to *Nevis*, where the general rendezvous of the *English* armament, both by sea and land, was held.

St. Christopher's reconquered by col. Codrington.

COLONEL *Codrington* took upon him the command of the whole, and on the 19th of June, 1690, he sailed from *Nevis* for *St. Christopher's*, where the fleet that same evening anchored in *Frigate-Bay*. To favour the descent by amusing the enemy, eight of the *English* frigates fell down three leagues to the leeward, but returned in the morning, where they found the *English* ship, which was nearest land, firing upon the *French* in their trenches, and warmly engaged with a battery of five guns. A general council of war being held by the sea as well as the land-officers, the result was, that Sir *Timothy* (called major-general *Thornhill*) should, at the head of 400 of his own regiment, and a detachment of 150, drawn from others, land at the foot of a hill near the little salt-pits, which the *French* had left unguarded, as deeming it to be inaccessible. The *English* were too well acquainted with the island not to attempt to mount this hill, which, after infinite difficulties, they did by day-break, and forced some of the *French* scouts, who had been planted there, and who fired upon them, to retire. *Thornhill*, leaving a sufficient guard upon the pass, led his main body down the hill; but, in his march, he was briskly fired upon by the *French*, who wounded him and several of his men. His command, consisting chiefly of creoles, most undauntedly ran down the remainder of the hill, and flanked the *French* in their trenches, while the duke

a duke of Bolton's regiment, and the marines landed from *Frigate Bay*, but with the loss of colonel *Kegwin*, who was mortally wounded. This seemed to animate the *English* the more, and colonel *Holt*, who commanded the duke of Bolton's regiment, after a very brisk charge, drove the enemy in disorder from their post.

By this time, all the troops were landed, but were under an inexpressible loss from the wound of the brave Sir *Timothy Thornhill*; who, with several other disabled officers, were sent on board. At last, after some consultation, the general disposition for the conquest of the island was settled as follows; colonel *Holt* with his regiment was to march nearest to the shore; colonel *Thomas*, with the *Barbados* regiment, was to advance up the country, but to be supported by the *Antigua* regiment, under colonel *Williams*; while the other
b four regiments, of which the expedition consisted, were to remain in their encampment, and to act occasionally. This disposition does not appear to have been extremely judicious. Colonel *Holt*, indeed, about an hour after beginning his march, drove before him a party of the enemy. But the *French* made their strong attack upon the *Barbados* regiment, which seems to have advanced too incautiously, and must, after a very sharp dispute, have been entirely cut off, had they not been relieved by the reserve under colonel *Williams*, by which the *Barbadians*, taking fresh courage, obliged the enemy to a precipitate retreat; some of them flying to the mountains, and others to a fort formerly belonging to the *English*. The latter pretend, that on this occasion, the *French* not only had the advantage of the ground, but were three to one in number; which may very possibly have been when we consider
c the vast number of the *Irish* who had joined them. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that general *Codrington* altered the plan of his operations; and the four regiments at *Frigate Bay* moving forwards, the whole army was drawn up in one line, and put under proper regulations against straggling for drink or other refreshments.

WHILE such were the dispositions by land, the *English* ships of war falling down to *Basse Terre*, began to cannonade it; upon which the *French*, after firing a round or two, abandoned and set on fire the town, which was saved from destruction by the *English* sailors, who came on shore from their frigates. When this news was brought to the general, he instantly set out for *Basse Terre*, as thinking it a proper place for refreshing his men, and intending that they should be quartered there that very night. Upon his arrival, he found
d that the enemy, either through design or hurry, had left great quantities of wine, and other strong liquors in the fort and the town. He knew the consequences of intoxication to fatigued troops; with the dreadful disorders it always introduces. He concealed the liquors, or removed them to the mals-house, where he ordered his own company of guards to take post under colonel *Byam*. He then gave out the word for the army to rest all night under arms at the jesuits convent, which was about a mile from *Basse Terre* fort. All this was effected chiefly by the prudence and spirit of the officers, who bore all the inconveniences of their quarters, especially those of a very wet night, equally with the meanest soldier. Plenty returned in the morning to the troops, by the good conduct of the general, who found abundance of cattle, and stores of every kind in their camp, and in the
e convent; only the commissary-general had it in charge to secure the strong liquors, which were distributed so as to refresh but not to intoxicate them. As to the town, the common soldiers had free liberty to plunder it; but the general found it mounted with sixteen guns, which, though they had been spiked, he found means again to render serviceable.

THE troops continued for two days at *Basse Terre*, during which time, major *Guntborp*, with a detachment of 150 men, drove the *French* from an important post in the neighbourhood. Next day presented a most dreadful scene; for the *English* negroes, who had lurked in the mountains ever since their masters had been carried off the island, came down, and set all the sugar and other works of the enemy on fire; so that *St. Christopher's* seemed to be but one continued blaze; notwithstanding the almost incessant rains which fell, and laid
f the *English* under unspeakable discouragements and disadvantages. The general, however, continued to advance against the fort of *Basse Terre*, the strongest which the *French* had in the island; but, through the continual rains, he was obliged to encamp within three miles of it. At last, he marched within a mile of it, while the men of war sent on shore all their wheel-barrows, shovels, pick-axes, and other utensils for a siege, and fell down to *Basse Terre* old road. The reader will, perhaps, be surprized, that unless the *English* have mistaken their journals, all this variety of operations did not take up above four and twenty-hours; for we find the *English* general and his army, on the 20th of June, encamped before the fort, under the covert of a high hill, the summit of which was secured by a detachment.

g It being resolved to batter the fort from this hill, great guns were accordingly landed next day; and, in two days after, captain *Kirby*, in the *Success* man of war, at the head of the marine regiment, cleared a path for the artillery, which was accordingly mounted on a platform, and well secured against the enemy's fire from the fort. On the 20th of June

Operations of
the siege of
fort Basse
Terre,

the cannonading began from this eminence with some effect, while the fort was battered a at the same time by the frigates from the old road, and the army took place in a deep ravine, or ditch, within musket-shot of its walls. Next day, they began their entrenchments with great success; and colonel Pym surprized and made prisoners 50 *French*, who were in a fort three miles distant. Though the *English* had conceived great hopes from their hill-cannonading, and though they had mounted more guns, yet it proved but ineffectual, and they were obliged to have recourse to their entrenchments, and the regular finishing of their batteries, which were now advanced within pistol-shot of the fort. Whatever the *English* may pretend, the defence made by the *French* on this occasion, seems to have been very spirited and well-judged. But the truth is, their enemies were masters of the sea, and they had no prospect of relief, so that they must submit at last. They had all this while a free communication between the fort and the country, where they roved about in parties, the most considerable of which was headed by one M. Pinello. The *English* sent out others against them, and Sir *Timothy Thornbill*, with 200 men, though he could not come up with the enemy, on the 7th of July brought into the *English* camp some prisoners, negroes, and cattle.

which is
taken.

CODRINGTON seems to have been sensible at last of the small progress of the siege, and pursued a measure which answered his purpose better than arms. He sent proclamations and drums over all the island, offering to take into his protection such of the *French* subjects as were willing to surrender themselves and to live quietly; and this had so great an effect, that Pinello himself, though he said he could not surrender without the govern- c r's orders, sent in a flag of truce, offering to remain inoffensive, and to give the *English* no opposition wherever he should meet them. The garrison, at last, thinking they had done enough for their own honour, and that of their country, and seeing the *English* works very far advanced, beat a parley, and four of their number appeared with a flag of truce, and were conducted to general Codrington's tent. The treaty was soon concluded, and the terms were the same which the *English* had when they delivered up the fort; and thus, on the 12th of July, the island of *St. Christopher's* may be said to have again reverted to the *English* government. During the siege, and the other operations before the island was reduced, the *English* lost about an hundred men. Upon their taking possession of the fort, they were soon sensible that it could not have held out much longer. The only well it had was dried d up by the firing of the cannon; and though the walls and other works of the fort were in tolerable condition, and the garrison well stored with provision and powder, yet they wanted bullets. The male white inhabitants upon the island were in number about 1800; and with their women, and children, and some of their negroes, others being restored as plunder, they were sent partly to *Hispaniola*, and partly by way of favour, to *Martinico*. After the *English* had sufficiently refreshed themselves at *St. Christopher's*, Sir *Timothy Thornbill*, with the marines and his own regiment, sailed to *St. Eustatia*, which was then in possession of the *French*, and which he reduced with the loss of no more than eight men.

BEFORE this, the *French* inhabitants of *St. Bartholomew*, who had been sent prisoners to *Nevis*, were carried to *St. Christopher's*; where, meeting with their wives and children, they e desired to return to their own island, and live there as subjects of *Great Britain*. The general granted their request, and he sent them back to their own island, under captain *le Grand*, one of its old inhabitants, who held it faithfully, during some years, for the crown of *England*. But notwithstanding the surrender of *St. Christopher's*, yet it was found necessary to keep a very strict eye over the *French*, who, with their slaves, still continued in the mountains, and often surprized the *English*, of whom they killed at one time no fewer than fifteen out of a single foot company. We have already mentioned the unsuccessful expedition against *Guadalupe*, which general Codrington next undertook, the miscarriage of which was very justly attributed to commodore *Wright*. Soon after, general Codrington died with great reputation, and was succeeded in his government and large estates by his f son the colonel, who was one of the finest gentlemen, and best scholars, notwithstanding his profession of arms, and colonizing, which those times, though fertile in great men, produced.

St. Christo-
pher's restored
to the French
by the treaty
of Ryswick.

THE island of *St. Christopher's* continued in the hands of the *English* till the peace of *Ryswick*, without any material occurrence happening. In 1697, colonel *Collingwood* being sent over to the *Leeward Islands* with his regiment, settled at *St. Christopher's* with his wife and family, to whom the climate proved mortal. The peace of *Ryswick* restored *de Geunes*, who had been governor of *St. Christopher's* at the time it was last taken by the *English*, to the same government. This gentleman had a daughter-in-law, who had been bred up under her mother, a protestant; and he employed a young jesuit to pervert her in her religion. The lady's charms proved too strong for the jesuit's faith. He won her to compliance, carried her to an *English* island, turned protestant, and married her. In 1702, when war was declared between *England* and *France*, colonel Codrington attacked the *French* part

a part of *St. Christopher's*, and reduced its chief fort, after firing a single round. In 1704, brigadier-general Sir *William Mathews* was appointed to succeed colonel *Codrington* in his government of the *Leeward-Islands*. About this time the court of *England* had undoubted intelligence of the *French* having adopted a very extensive plan of conquering all the *English* islands in the *West-Indies*. To prevent any surprize, six men of war, with twelve transports for land-forces, were fitted out under commodore *Walker*. On board this squadron *Mathews* embarked; but he, and 200 land-forces died in the passage. After this, colonel *Park*, whom we have already mentioned, was made governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, which, at this time, were in a sorry situation, owing to the peace of *Ryswick*.

Mathews,

and Park;
governors.

THE truth is, neither king *William*, nor his government, had true notions of the *English* *West India* trade, nor did he think he could sacrifice enough to the *Spaniards*, who were much better pleased to see the *French* than the *English* powerful in *America*. Too little care, therefore, had been taken of *St. Christopher's* at the peace of *Ryswick*. In the year 1705, when the *French* began to carry their grand scheme into agitation under *Iberville*, whom we have so often mentioned in the *American* history, they landed on *St. Christopher's*, their armament consisting of five men of war, and twenty sloops. Being repulsed before the *English* fort, they wreaked their vengeance upon the defenceless inhabitants, whose plantations and houses they burned and plundered. It is hard to say, how far so enterprising an officer as *Iberville* was, might have carried matters against the whole island, had not the governor of *Barbados* sent intelligence to governor *Park* of a powerful squadron of men of war that were to be sent to his assistance. This taking air, *Iberville*, the primary object of whose instructions was *Nevis*, re-embarked his men, but carried off with him about 6 or 700 *English* negroes, whom he sold to the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*.

IN 1710, *Park*, under whose government a great many abuses had crept in, endeavoured to redress them, by holding a general assembly of all the *Leeward-Islands* at *St. Christopher's*. This expedient might have proved very healing, the island having, for some time, known no other government, than that of the governor, and a council of militia-officers. But when the assembly met at *Old Road*, the governor and they differed in every particular. The first point was, his refusing them the privilege of nominating their own clerk, and his sending messages to them by the deputy-marshal, who is not of so high a rank there, as a tipstaff is in *England*. The assembly wanted to appoint one of their own members for their clerk; but the governor ridiculously gave a negative to this likewise, because the clerks of the house of commons in *England*, which, according to him, resembled in its constitution the assembly of *St. Christopher's*, never were appointed out of their own body; and so stiffly did he adhere to all his whims, that he even rejected an offer made by the council, to carry his messages to the assembly. Soon after this contest *Park* was murdered, and general *Hamilton* succeeded him. Nothing of any importance happened after this, till the cession of this island to the crown of *Great Britain*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*; by which it was provided in the twelfth article, that the island of *St. Christopher's* is to be possessed alone by the *British* subjects. This article was brought as a charge against the ministers who concluded that treaty, as if the *French* had thereby got rid of an island, which was to them of very little significancy, and strengthened their greater and far more important settlement at *Domingo*. But this objection is false and frivolous; the *French* having been settled at *Domingo* ten years before the conclusion of this treaty; and, indeed, nothing can be more absurd than to imagine, if the *French* government had thought it their interest that *St. Christopher's* should have been evacuated, they could not have easily brought about such a measure. In short, the entire cession of this island was a great and a solid acquisition to *Great Britain*, especially as the soil of the *French* part of it was by far the richest; but indeed the number of *French* settled upon it at the time of its cession, was but inconsiderable, being no more than 2000 whites, and 12,000 slaves, of whom many of the richest families remained still upon the island, and became *British* subjects.

Treaty of U-
trecht vindicated.

GENERAL *Hamilton* proceeded in the measures of his government upon his predecessor's principles; and, to say the truth, the administration at home seems to have been very remiss in the affairs of this island, and to have left the inhabitants too much under the power of their governors. They had represented this often, by petitions and memorials sent to *England*, especially after the death of colonel *Park*; but they were discouraged in all such applications by their new governor *Hamilton*. After the *French* had been driven off the island, the governors exercised a power of letting the *French* untenanted lands at arbitrary rates. This was considered by the *English* inhabitants as an oppressive privilege, especially as they had suffered greatly by the *French* depredations during the war; (though their losses were afterwards made good by debentures granted by parliament) and thought it at least reasonable that they should enjoy somewhat of that property, which their enemies still claimed to be theirs. All those representations were disregarded, and Mr. *Hamilton* is said to have stretched the abuse of his power so far, as to turn out of their estates, so granted by lease,

Hamilton,
governor.

many chief inhabitants of the island, after they had laid out vast sums in improving them, and even to have displaced judges, who had offered to oppose his oppressions. In the year 1711, an act of parliament passed for raising two millions by a lottery, in which was the following clause: "And whereas the proprietors and inhabitants of the islands of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's* in *America*, did sustain very great losses by a late invasion of the *French*, and it became necessary to give some encouragement to the sufferers, for resettling their plantations, the sum therefore of 103,003*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* shall be distributed among such proprietors only, as have re-settled, or shall re-settle in those two islands, in proportion to their losses, by debentures to be issued by the commissioners for trade, at six per cent. interest." By an act of the fifth of *George I.* for relief of such sufferers in those two islands, as had re-settled in either of them, "the distribution of the abovenamed sum is farther regulated; and by one of the eighth of that king, their principal sum unpaid, and the large arrears of interest thereon, joined together, has an interest of three per cent. settled thereon."

The people of
St. Christo-
pher's raise
their coin.

IN 1715, the government of *St. Christopher's* committed a most flagrant breach of the royal proclamation, by raising the *French* crown, which was the current coin of that island, from six to seven shillings, and two minutes for that purpose were accordingly entered in the council-books, as well as an order to the same effect, affixed in the lieutenant-general's name, to the general towns of the island. This measure opened the mouths of all the enemies of the lieutenant general and his council, who were publicly accused of having hoarded up *French* crowns at the rate of six shillings each, and obliging the inhabitants to receive them for a shilling more. This iniquitous proceeding was so glaring, that next year it startled the lieutenant-general himself, and he consulted his council, whether it was regular. Their answer was, "that *French* crowns having been current several years, in the other islands, for seven shillings, it could not be said that he altered the coin, but only followed the practice of the other islands." The secretary of state at last took up the matter, and wrote to the lieutenant-general, in the following terms; "that your excellency will be pleased to issue your proclamation, requiring obedience to be paid to her late majesty's proclamation, relating to the coin, enforced by an act of parliament, that myself, as well as others of his majesty's subjects, may be no longer defrauded of the sixth part of their due, nor the royal proclamation, nor the act of parliament, suffer any longer that indignity they have hitherto been treated with in these parts." As the thing itself was indefensible, the lieutenant-general thought proper to make no answer to this letter, but repaired to *England* in person. Governor *Mathews*, Mr. *Hart*, and lord *Londonderry*, were severally lieutenant-governors of *St. Christopher's* and the *Leeward Islands*. Under the first, the council and the assembly settled upon him 800*l.* a year currency in money, which was to be raised by a capitation on slaves, at that time reckoned about 17,000 in the *Leeward Islands*. A duty of three shillings a hoghead was laid as an additional salary to the succeeding governors. This tax was vigorously opposed by the planters, who urged, that the governor of the island, in imitation of those of the *French* islands, ought to be paid by the crown alone.

Governor's salary settled.

Order against
his receiving
bribes.

To speak the truth, very great inconveniencies had arisen from the smallness, or rather the unsettled state, of the governor's appointments, which had often rendered them liable to great temptations from presents, as we perceive from the following royal instruction. "Whereas several inconveniencies have arisen to our governors in the plantations by gifts and presents made our governors by the assemblies, It is our will and pleasure, that neither you, nor any governor or commander in chief of our *Leeward Islands* for the time being, respectively, do give your or their consent to the passing any law or act, for any gift or present to be made to you or any of them by the assembly or assemblies of all or any of our said islands, and that neither you nor they do receive any gift or present from any of the said assemblies, on any account or in any manner whatsoever, on pain of being recalled from that our government." The other parts of the civil and political history of *St. Christopher's*, to prevent repetition, will fall under the other *Leeward Islands*. We shall therefore proceed, as usual, to its natural history.

THE first planters of *St. Christopher's*, both *English* and *French*, applied themselves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; but the large quantities they raised defeated the intention of their labour, by reducing the price of the commodity. They found their account much better in planting sugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton; for all which the soil is peculiarly adapted. The prospect from the mountains over this island, however dreadful the mountains themselves are, is extremely beautiful. The island is stored with sulphureous springs towards its south-west part; and though its air in general is very salubrious, yet it is subject to violent hurricanes. The ridge of mountains that run along the island, and

- a which, in many places, is interspersed by forests and thickets, is almost impassable, and must always continue so, till the industry of the inhabitants shall have cleared them. The parishes upon the island are five, and each has a handsome church, three on the south side, and two on the north side, being finished within with a variety of curious and beautiful woods. The *French*, while they held part of the island, resided mostly at *St. Pierre*, where they built a handsome town, town-house, church, and hospital, of black, free stone, and carpenter's work. But all this, together with the fine house of their governor, was done at the expence of the *French* king. The *English*, on the other hand, lived on detached spots, as the conveniency of their planting and commerce directed; and though they fell far short of the *French* in the magnificence of their public buildings, yet their
- b houses, which were all raised at their own expence, were far more elegant, comfortable, and convenient; and to this day *St. Christopher's* boasts of better private houses, than are to be met with on any island in the *West Indies*.

- On a mountain that lies about three miles north of *Fort Charles*, tradition informs us, there is a silver mine; but though many of the inhabitants are convinced of its reality, yet they wisely desist from working it, on account of its certain expence and precarious returns. All the improveable land lies at the feet of the mountains and the skirts of the island. Since *St. Christopher's* came into the sole possession of the *English*, they have added to it several forts. The chief is that upon *Erinsfane Hill*, which mounts 40 pieces of *Fort* cannon, and has a magazine, containing 18,000 pounds of powder, 800 mulatts, 600
- c bayonets, and other military stores in proportion. *Charles Fort* mounts 40 cannon, and has likewise a well-provided magazine. Besides those two forts, the town of *St. Pierre* is secured by *Londonderry-Fort*, towards the east, and by six batteries, raised at different landing-places, and mounting 43 cannon. It is supposed that all the cultivable land of *St. Christopher's* does not exceed 24,000 acres, and those of a light sandy soil. About the year 1731, when an enquiry was set on foot by the *British* parliament concerning the state of sugar islands, the sugar trade upon *St. Christopher's* was estimated at 3000 hogheads yearly; but when the dispute about the preference between the *French* islands and *Canada* came to be agitated before the conclusion of the late peace, the produce of the island of *St. Christopher's* in sugar, was, by those who reduced it the lowest, admitted to be about
- d 14,000 hogheads yearly. Some parts of *St. Christopher's* are ill-served with water. The island produces large quantities of maiz, pine apples, tamarinds, prickly-pears, peas, apples, and the quality of its sugar is reckoned superior to that of *Barbados* itself. Two different kinds of pepper, and two of cotton, grow here, and the wild sugar canes shoot up to four or five feet. Their gourds, water-melons, lettuce, parsley, and purslane, are said to be excellent, as is their papau-tree, with many others of the vegetable kind, too numerous to be inserted here, but unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*.

- THE island of *Dominica*, which is now unalienably ceded to the crown of *Great Britain*, lies about half way between *Guadalupe* on the north-west, and *Martinico* on the south-east, being about eight leagues distant from each; and therefore we may consider it as being in the bosom of the *French* islands. It stretches in the form of a bow, from south-east to north-west, and is in length twenty-eight *English* miles, and in breadth about thirteen, its whole circumference being about thirty leagues. The soil of *Dominica* not being intersected by the sea, as many other *West Indian* islands are, it contains a great deal of improveable ground; some say double the quantity of *Barbados*; and the *French* suppose it to be half as large as *Martinico*. *Dominica* was discovered by the great *Columbus* on a Sunday, November
- e the 3d, 1593, from whence it takes its name, which was all that the *Spaniards* bestowed upon it, excepting a few wild hogs. From a manuscript history before us of the house of *Clifford*, we perceive that on Monday the 22d of May, 1598^d, the famous navigator the earl of *Cumberland*, who was the head of that house, in pursuance of a commission granted him by queen *Elizabeth* against the *Spaniards*, came to anchor at the harbour of *Dominica*; upon which, the 4th of June following, being *Whitsunday*, he mustered his men upon the island, and left it, so far as we can perceive, without meeting with the least opposition from the inhabitants. After this, Mr. George Percy, who was brother to the earl of *Northumberland*, touched at *Dominica*, with some recruits, which he was conducting to *Virginia*. Those facts seem to establish the preoccupation of this island entirely in favour of the *English*, at least preferably to the *French*; and if the earl of *Cumberland* did not actually make a settlement here, it was owing to an oversight in his commission, into which no clause for that purpose was inserted. *Charles I.* however, as the reader has seen, made no scruple to insert *Dominica* in the earl of *Carlisle's* original patent; and it has ever since
- f stood as one of the islands included in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*.

^d Our printed accounts say 1596; but the earl's commission is dated in 1597; nor did he sail till next year.

and inhabi-
tants.

It has been generally allowed that the island of *Dominica* was the rendezvous or fortrels of the *Caribbeans*, when expelled from their other islands; and that the natives of this excelled all the other *Caribbeans*, not only in strength, courage, and activity, but in a form of government which they retained, introduced (as the *French* pretend) by one *Baron*, a *Frenchman*, who lived upon the island, and conformed himself to the manners and customs of the natives. It is certain that the *French* were so sensible of the value of *Dominica*, that they endeavoured to mingle their accounts of the inhabitants with many strains of the marvellous, particularly, of its containing a most immense pit, which was stored with all kinds of poisonous animals, and was the residence of a most monstrous dragon. Those foolish reports, perhaps, had their effect, and the rather, as the *English*, who had been upon the island, appear to have neglected it, because they could find no harbour on its coast. It must not, however, be denied, that many of the *English* free-booters, and even some planters, of no inconsiderable rank, used to decoy those natives, and carry them into captivity; and that this gave them an invincible hatred to all the *English*, which was, on every occasion, improved by the *French*. The latter are said to have concluded a peace with those islanders in 1640; about which time, *Baron* made several expeditions at the head of the *Dominican Caribbeans* against the *English* upon the other islands. When lord *Willoughby* was appointed governor of *Barbados* by *Charles II.* he paid no regard to the *French* proceedings, and sent a number of men to settle *Dominica*, under the authority of a lieutenant-governor, of his own nomination. The *French* upon the island pretended that this settlement ought not to take effect, because it was in prejudice to their allies the *Caribbeans*; and they produced a sham treaty with them in 1640. The *English* produced other treaties, perhaps of the same kind, in support of their settlement; and matters remained pretty quiet for some years between the two nations, till in 1668, lord *Willoughby* was obliged to support his settlement by an armed force from *Barbados* against the injuries done it by the *French*. This vigorous measure had so good an effect, that the natives, by a solemn instrument, made a surrender of their island to the *English*, and according to a well-informed author, the instrument was lodged in the hands of Mr. *Littleton*, his lordship's secretary. In 1672, the *French*, under the title of the above sham treaty, disputed with the *English* the possession of this island; but the council of trade and plantations at *London*, on the 11th of *December* that same year, informed the governor of *Barbados*, that no such treaty ever existed. Colonel *Thomas Warner*, the son of Sir *Thomas Warner*, by a *Caribbean* lady, whom *Labat* saw alive in 1700, aged above 100 years, was then the *English* lieutenant-governor of *Dominica*, and died in 1674.

Submit to the
English.

AFTER this, little or no mention is made of *Dominica*, till the time of the shameful treaty of neutrality we have already mentioned between *James II.* and the *French* king. Colonel *Stede*, (afterwards Sir *Edward*) was then lieutenant governor of *Barbados*; but he was so far from considering *Dominica* even as a neutral island, that he ordered the said treaty to be proclaimed in it, as comprehended within his commission. Next year, he set fire to some *French* huts that had been run up upon the coast, and seized one of their ships for having presumed to wood and water upon the island, without permission from himself. Another commission, for settling all debateable matters in the *West Indies*, was afterwards signed by *James II.* and in consequence of the same, colonel *Stede* had orders from *London* to transmit to the ministry all the documents and proofs in favour of the *English* right to the island. This order was complied with, but so late as the 23d of *September*, 1688, when the Revolution was on the point of taking place. In this report, however, colonel *Stede* is said to have made out, beyond all dispute, the right of the *English* not only to *Dominica*, but to all the islands in his commission as governor of *Barbados*. During the war between the *French* and *English* which succeeded, this island could not properly have been said to be settled by either nation; but when the *English* resumed their claim after the peace of *Ryswick*, they burnt the *French* huts, and obliged them to leave the island.

Reflexions on
its neutral
state.

THUS, by an unaccountable concurrence of causes, this island, through its great value, remained of no consequence to any *European* power. In times of war, between the *French* and *English*, both were driven from it in their turns, and upon the conclusion of a peace, each people knew the importance of it too well to suffer the other to become masters of it; and both agreed in thinking, that it was of too little consequence to be made the object of a new war. In this state of neutrality it continued, by a kind of a tacit consent on both sides, till by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748, it was formally declared to be neutral. The *French*, however, observed a most insidious neutrality; for when towards the close of the late war, it was reduced by lord *Rolio* for the crown of *Great Britain*, he found almost the whole *Windward Coast* settled by the *French*. The definitive treaty of 1763, fixed the property of *Dominica* unalterably in his majesty and his successors, and next to the cession

a of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, it is by many considered as one of the most valuable acquisitions we have obtained by that peace.

b WHEN all circumstances are considered, especially the industry of the *French* in settling *Dominica*, the cession of it may be deemed as an actual conquest from them. The essays which they made here sufficiently prove, that there is no commodity, or vegetable produced by the richest of our other islands, that may not be raised here in great abundance; and the planters of this island, notwithstanding its situation, never can be destitute of a *British* force to support them. The *Indians*, either by years of mortality, epidemical distempers, or quarrels with their neighbours, or among themselves, (fomented no doubt by the *French*) are dwindled down to 3 or 400; and, if properly employed, and a separate quarter allotted to them, may be of vast use to the *English* settlers. As to this island being destitute of a port, it is a rumour propagated by the *French* to discredit it in the eyes of the *English*. No regular port has indeed been yet discovered, but at the north-west end of the island, *Prince Rupert's Bay* is deep, sandy, and spacious, and well secured from the winds by the mountains on all sides. Here the armament under lord *Cathcart*, destined against *Cartagena*, lay securely for some time, as did *Moore's* Squadron, during great part of the siege of *Guadalupe*; and during the whole war, the anchoring ground not only there, but all along the leeward coast of the island, was of the utmost conveniency to our men of war, merchantmen, and privateers.

c THE salubrity of the island may be guessed at from the vast age to which the above Mrs. *Warner* lived upon it, and from its being far better peopled, when first discovered, than any other of the *Caribbees* were. In the mean while, it is allowed, that this island towards the sea, presents no inviting prospect, being rough and mountainous. Towards the land, the declivities of the hills may be cultivated to the very top, so gentle are their rise; and they often terminate in beautiful well-watered fruitful vallies. The soil is of a black mould, and remarkably rich. It contains about thirty rivers; one of them navigable up the country for some miles, and all of them well-fitted for the purpose of colonizing and improvement. In *Dominica*, as well as others of the *Caribbees*, there is a sulphur-mountain, and hot springs, equal in salubrity to those of *Bath* in *England*; and the more exalted kinds of fruits here, particularly the pine-apples, are superior to any that grow upon the *French* islands, and the *French* have often owned, that no better timber of every kind is to be found than what grows in *Dominica*. Natural history of the islands

FROM the island of *Nevis*, in a clear day, may be discerned the islands of *St. Eustatid*, *Saba*, *St. Bartholomew*, *Antigua*, *Guadalupe*, and *Montserrat*; and it is but three or four miles due south-east from *St. Christopher's*; so that both islands, probably, were discovered at the same time. *Nevis* lies in 17 deg. 19 min. north lat. and its whole circumference is not above six leagues. Sir *Thomas Warner*, whom we have mentioned as being the founder of the colony of *St. Christopher's*, founded that of *Nevis* likewise in 1628. Next year, as we have already seen, the *Spaniards* drove the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's* from that island, and that they put the *English* there on board the ships they had seized at *Nevis*, which are said to have been fifteen in number. The progress which the colony of *Nevis* made in population and improvements of all kinds, is incredible; for though it was but a subordinate colony, and we cannot suppose it originally consisted of above an hundred whites, yet in twenty years it contained near 4000, who subsisted genteely upon making sugar. One Mr. *Lake* succeeded Sir *Thomas Warner*, and he is still held in remembrance for his piety and regularity of government; so that under him those excesses which in other colonies were but too common, were either unknown at *Nevis*, or, if committed, severely punished. The inhabitants had three decent churches for divine service, and encreasing in riches and number they built *Charles-Town*, which consisted of good houses and capacious warehouses, well furnished and well stored. Here they likewise built a fort, which mounted f nineteen guns; and, during the infancy of their colony, they submitted to many regulations, which when it grew more extended, were laid aside as being inconvenient. *Nevis* was among the other *Caribbee-Islands*, which, after the death of *Charles I.* refused to acknowledge the parliament's authority; but, after the reduction of *Barbados*, it submitted to Sir *George Ayscue*. Nevis settled by Sir Thomas Warner

NEITHER the parliament nor *Cromwell* seem to have given much attention or encouragement to those islands, whom, in general, they looked upon to be disaffected to their cause; and the navigation-act itself, which was passed in the times of the usurpation, and was productive of so much good to *England*, was meant as a kind of a punishment to those planters, as it put an end to their gainful trade with the *Dutch*. We do not even g find, that they regularly appointed governors for several of the *Caribbees*, the administration being left to their assemblies, whose choice was generally approved of, as few of the parliamentary party from *England* were fond of trusting their persons in those islands. At the same time, their affairs seem to have been well-administered; for at the time of the

Restoration, *Nevis* was in a most flourishing condition; but according to some accounts, during the infancy of the colony, it had been pestered with several ruinous visits from the wild *Caribbeans*. In 1667, one *Langford*, the captain of a merchant-ship, trading in those parts, had learned from a *Caribbean* the certain prognostics of a hurricane, a calamity to which the island of *Nevis* is greatly subject, and informed captain *Barry*, of the *Coronation* man of war, and the other masters of the merchant-ships, that a hurricane or tornado would certainly happen in a few hours. As they had great dependence on his intelligence, they immediately put to sea, and had the good fortune to ride the hurricane out, while *Langford* himself, who had a considerable estate upon the island, secured his effects in such a manner, that he lost but one hoghead of sugar, while many of the other planters were almost ruined. This incident is mentioned to shew, that it is not impossible to guard, by proper natural observations, even against that most impetuous of all natural calamities, a hurricane.

Stapleton, governor.

NEVIS, then called *Mevis*, as the reader may have seen, was one of the islands comprehended in the earl of *Carlisle's* patent granted by *Charles I.* and though that, with the *Leeward-Islands*, was, upon the death of lord *Willoughby*, put under a separate general government, yet each particular island has its lieutenant governor, council, and assembly; so that, upon the whole, their government is very regular. Sir *William Stapleton* was the first governor of the *Leeward Islands*, who, after the death of lord *Willoughby*, chose *Nevis* as the place of his residence and government; and under him *Nevis* seems to have been at the highest pitch of its prosperity. Upon the discovery of the *Rye-house* plot, under *Charles II.* this island sent over, by colonel *Netherway* and colonel *Jefferson*, a very loyal address; and upon the accession of his brother to the throne, he was proclaimed here by Sir *William Stapleton* with all the solemnity and pomp which the island could furnish out. When *Stapleton* left his government, he nominated Sir *James Russel* to be lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*; but this nomination was superseded by the arrival of Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who resided upon *Nevis* likewise, and was nominated to the general government of the *Leeward-Islands*, of which *Nevis* was, at that time, computed to be by far the most flourishing. It is said to have been then able to bring into the field 2000 fighting white men, and that this little spot did not contain a smaller number, negroes included, than 35000 souls. The mortality which broke out in 1689, and which so greatly affected the other *Caribbee-Islands*, swept off half the inhabitants of *Nevis*, and left the remainder, who were but sickly, in a most dreadful situation, on account of the neighbourhood of the *French*, who were at that time masters of *St. Christopher's*. During their danger, they implored the assistance of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antigua* with the *Barbados* regiment. Sir *Timothy's* strongest objection to his moving to their relief was, the danger of the infection; but understanding that it was in a great measure abated, he went in *November* with his regiment to *Nevis*, where he encamped upon a healthful spot, and his remaining there intimidated the *French* from making any attempts upon the island. Being joined about the beginning of *December* by general *Codrington*, a council of war was held, at which assisted the colonels *Pym* and *Earl*, who commanded two regiments that had been raised by the *St. Nevis* men; and it was resolved, that Sir *Timothy*, with a detachment of 300 *Barbadians* and 200 *Nevisians*, should attack *St. Martin's* and *St. Bartholomew's*. This detachment was, on the 15th of *December*, put on board a brigantine and sloops, and they bore away for *St. Bartholomew's*, which island they determined first to attack.

Johnson governor.

Nevis is protected by Sir *Timothy Thornhill*.

who attacks and conquers *St. Bartholomew*,

MAJOR *Stanley*, an *Englishman*, on the 20th, landed eighty men, beat the enemy from their breast-works, and took a battery of two guns. Soon after, major-general *Thornhill* landed at the head of the rest of the detachment, which being formed, advanced into the island; where, after marching about a mile, they drove the enemy from a strong stockaded quadrangular fortification, well provided, and capable of having made a good defence. He likewise took another small battery of two guns without resistance. Having left some of his men in this fortification, he advanced farther up the island, colonel *Pym*, with the *Nevisians*, leading the van; but soon returning to the fortification he had taken, a flag of truce arrived to him from the governor with proposals for a capitulation, which were rejected by Sir *Timothy*, and he would grant them no terms but those of surrendering with their arms in two days time; which if not complied with, they were to expect no quarter. This answer was communicated to the *French* governor by two *English* officers who spoke *French*; and he required four days to deliberate on it, as, he said, his people being dispersed through the woods, he could not sooner get them together. Mean while, the *English* continued ravaging the island, but on the 4th day, the flag of truce appeared, and the governor with a friar, some of his officers, and between 6 and 700 of the inhabitants, was received by Sir *Timothy* in the *French* fortification. All that the *Frenchman* could obtain from Sir *Timothy* was, a permission to keep his own horse, arms, and apparel, with some of his negroes: but as to the other inhabitants, the men were sent prisoners to *Nevis* with their negroes, live stock, and effects, and their women and children

a dren transported to *St. Christopher's*. Sir *Timothy* had but about ten men killed and wounded in this expedition.

BEFORE Sir *Timothy* left *St. Bartholomew*; he sent captain *Hamilton* with the brigantine and some sloops, to give a false alarm to the windward part of *St. Martin's* on the 19th of January, while he himself having received a reinforcement of other sloops that same day, landed without opposition on the leeward-side; the enemy's attention being employed to the windward. The enemy on this island was much better provided than Sir *Timothy* had foreseen: they burnt all the houses that could serve the *English* for shelter; and they did all they could to spoil or poison the springs of the island, by mixing in them large quantities of salt and tobacco. They lost no opportunity of laying ambushes for the *English*, and firing upon them; so that Sir *Timothy* found the reduction of this island a sharp service, though no enemy appeared; but the *French* at last abandoned all their works, and the *English* made some prisoners with a considerable booty in cattle. On the 23d of January, Sir *Timothy* having destroyed the chief fortification of the island, which mounted six great guns, understood that the governor and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. This obstinacy of the inhabitants was owing to the intelligence they had received that *Monf. Du Casse*, the *French* admiral, had embarked at *St. Christopher's* with 700 men, in three great ships, a brigantine, and a sloop, for the relief of the island of *St. Martin*. This armament accordingly appeared off that island, and *Thornbill*, from some prisoners, immediately understood that it was *French*.

c THIS alarming intelligence was far from discouraging the *English* general. He immediately made such a disposition of his forces, as to oppose the enemies landing wherever they should attempt it; and sent off a sloop to inform general *Codrington*, who was still at *Antigua*, of what had happened. Notwithstanding all those precautions, it was, perhaps, very lucky for him and his detachment that *Du Casse*, instead of immediately attempting to land, gave chase to the *English* shipping upon the island, who all of them escaped, excepting one sloop, which was so hard pressed, that the seamen abandoned it, and left it in the hands of the enemy. This was on the 25th of January; and on the morrow *Du Casse*, who had fired several guns during the night-time, to give the inhabitants of *St. Martin* intelligence of his arrival, about noon, next day, anchored, and hung out what are called bloody colours, before the windward part of the island; upon which the inhabitants returned from the mountains, and retook possession of the works from which they had been driven by the *English*, and refitted their artillery, which still remained upon them, while *Du Casse* landed all his soldiers in the night, of whom he had received a fresh reinforcement from *St. Christopher's*.

d SIR *Timothy Thornbill* was now obliged to contract his quarters; and, after placing strong guards at the chief passes of the island, he encamped on a plain with his artillery on his flanks. In this situation he lay the 27th, 28th, and 29th of January, and on the 30th, three ships from *Antigua* appeared in view. These had been sent under colonel *Hewetson*, to assist, or bring off, Sir *Timothy* and his detachment; and after engaging and beating the *French* squadron, took on board all the plunder made by the *English*, with their field-pieces; and then Sir *Timothy* ordered his tents to be struck, and his men to march down to the place of their embarkment. The enemy took this opportunity of attacking them upon their march; but after a sharp dispute, in which they were very severely handled, they were beat back to their mountains and woods in great confusion, and Sir *Timothy*, with the loss of no more than ten men in the engagement, making a noble retreat, reembarked his men, and arrived safe at *Nevis* on the 2d of February. Those two expeditions were conducted with so much courage and address, and founded upon such disinterested principles, that they did vast honour to the *West Indians* in general, but in particular to general *Codrington* and Sir *Timothy Thornbill*.

f THE people of *Nevis* were, at this time, more than ever apprehensive of a descent from the *French* at *St. Christopher's*, where five more of their men of war had arrived from *Europe*, and where they were assembling all the troops they could muster, with a declared intention to attack *Nevis*, which, indeed, was the only object they could then have in those parts. The public spirit of general *Codrington* and his officers alone saved that island; for they declared themselves willing to continue upon it, and to serve for its defence against the *French*. The people of *Nevis*, as a mark of their gratitude, in the month of April, 1690, allowed them six months pay extraordinary, which they were to receive till the arrival of the *English* fleet, and one month's pay after its arrival. The vigilance of *Codrington* was such, that he was at the head of 1200 men, excellently well armed, and well appointed; and all the forts, breast-works, and mines of the island were in fine order; so that the *English* there seemed rather to desire than to dread a descent from the *French*, against whom they swore an incessant animosity. It was not long before the *English* were in a condition to act offensively; for their fleet arrived in June following. On the 16th of that month, the general

general being now appointed by a commission from king *William* and queen *Mary*, to the government and captain-generalship of all the *Leeward-Islands*, ordered a muster to be held in *Nevis* of all the troops intended for the expedition against *St. Christopher's*; and we shall insert the numbers, as it may give our readers some idea of the state of our *Leeward-Islands* at this time, viz.

Strength of Codrington's expedition.				Men.
		In the duke of <i>Bolton's</i> regiment, commanded by lieutenant-general <i>Holt</i> ,	— —	700
		In major-general <i>Thornhill's</i> , commanded by Sir <i>Timothy Thornhill</i> himself,	— —	500
		In the <i>Antigua</i> regiment, commanded by colonel <i>Williams</i> , governor of that island,	— —	400
		In the <i>Montserrat</i> regiment, commanded by colonel <i>Blackstone</i> , governor of that island,	— —	300
		In the two <i>Nevis</i> regiments, commanded by colonel <i>Pym</i> and colonel <i>Earl</i> ,	— —	600
		In the marine regiment, being a detachment out of the men of war, under the command of colonel <i>Kegwin</i> , captain of the <i>Assistance</i> ,	— — — —	400
		In the captain-general's life-guard, under the command of colonel <i>Byam</i> ,	— —	100
				3000

Hurricane in
Nevis.

ABOUT the same time, the inhabitants of *Nevis* were alarmed with a most dreadful noise, which seemed to proceed from the mountain which forms the middle of their island; and soon after, it was followed by a violent shock of an earthquake, which threw down all the brick and stone houses in *Charles-Town* in an instant, but those of timber stood the shock better. Large apertures broke out in several parts of the streets, and emitted hot stinking water. The sea retreated for above a quarter of a mile, and left fishes gasping on its shore, but soon returned; and the tremblings of the earth recommenced, though not in so violent a degree as before. Large plots of earth, with trees upon them, were turned topsy-turvy, and the trees seen no more; and the shocks of the earthquake even emptied the cisterns, that in this island every private house keeps as reservoirs for sweet water. This earthquake was felt by ships in all the neighbouring seas, attended with the most dreadful appearances; so that the consequences, for some time, retarded the expedition against *St. Christopher's*, which sailed on the 19th of *June*, under the convoy of commodore *Wright*, who commanded the *English* squadron. Having already given an account of this expedition in the history of *St. Christopher's*, we shall not repeat it here, but return to that of *Nevis*.

Admiral *Bembow* arrives
there.

IN 1689, the famous rear-admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Nevis* on the 12th of *January*, with a squadron of ships under his command; and here he left part of colonel *Collingwood's* regiment of foot, which was thought proper to remain here, on account of the late sickly state of the island. Upon the death of king *William*, colonel *Codrington*, who succeeded his father, now dead, in the same government, proclaimed queen *Anne* under discharges of artillery and musketry, which resounded from island to island, and from ship to ship, for several leagues, in a manner never before known in *America*. Upon the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England* soon after, the people of *Nevis* distinguished themselves by fitting out privateers, who cruized to excellent purpose upon the enemy. This spirit procured them the honour of being the first object of the *French* fury under *Iberville* in 1705, during that famous expedition planned for the destruction of all the *English West-Indian* islands. The squadron to be employed for this momentous purpose, consisted of twelve or fourteen men of war, with 3000 land-troops on board.

Nevis reduced
by the *French*.

IBERVILLE, as we have already seen, landed at *St. Christopher's*, from whence he proceeded to *Nevis* on the 21st of *March*, where he landed his troops in the night-time. It is more than suspected that the *French* from *St. Christopher's* (nothing being more easy) had tampered with some of the *English* negroes upon *Nevis*, and made them believe that their servitude under the *French* would be far more delightful than under the *English*. This notion was propagated, and prevailed among the whole body; so that the inhabitants soon perceived that they could not trust arms in the hands of their slaves. The enemy's landing being effected, the inhabitants, not able to cope with so formidable an armed power of regulars, retired to the mountains, while the slaves submitted to the invaders. On the 24th of the month the inhabitants sent out a flag of truce, and a capitulation was concluded; but they were to remain prisoners of war upon the island, till they could be exchanged for an equal number of *French* prisoners, either in *America* or *Europe*. In the mean time, it was stipulated that they should be well treated, and that their houses, sugar-works, and effects, should remain unviolated. The *French* most infamously broke this part of the capitulation, by the barbarous usage they inflicted upon the inhabitants, and burning both their houses and sugar-works. They afterwards obliged them to sign an agreement on the 6th of *April*, 1706, by which they promised to furnish *Martinico* either with a certain number of negroes, or with money to purchase them. As to the negroes, to whom they had promised such mighty matters, they no sooner got 3 or 4000 of them into their vessels, than

a than they clapped them under their hatches, and bore away with them to the *Spanish West-Indies*, where they sold them to work in the mines, the most painful of all services. We are told that one of them, who escaped from his chains, returned afterwards to *Nevis*, where he apprized his countrymen of the *French* treachery; upon which they took arms, and cut the throats of all the *French* who remained upon the island.

In 1707, another hurricane attacked *Nevis*, and brought it to the verge of ruin. Co-
lonel *Park*, whom we cannot look upon in a much better light than that of a commission-
ed madman, was then governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, and entered upon his administra-
tion by no means to the satisfaction of the *Nevisians*, who seem to have had then a good
interest at home on account of their sufferings, and where the representation of their losses
b had been very favourably received. The lieutenant-governor of *Nevis* at that time was
Walter Hamilton, Esq; *William Burt*, Esq; was president of the council, and *Samuel Brown*,
Esq; speaker of the assembly. Though the agreement between *Park* and the people of
Nevis had been but very indifferent, yet no sooner was he killed (as he was in a popular
assembly at *Antigua*) than the *Nevisians*, recollecting the great claim they had depending be-
fore the government of *England* by their addresses to the queen, exculpated themselves
from having any hand in his death, and expressed their abhorrence and detestation, in ge-
neral terms, of all violent proceedings, murders, and rebellions.

COLONEL *Hamilton*, who had married Sir *William Stapleton's* widow, and who, no doubt, *Hamilton*,
expected the government of the *Leeward Island* for himself, was pressed hard to sign this ad-
dress. He had his reasons for declining this, and he even reproved the framers of it for
c their officiousness. The history of Mr. *Hamilton's* administration of the *Leeward Islands*
will be found in that of *Antigua*, which island has of late years been the residence of the go-
vernor of the *Leeward-Islands*. When governor *Matthews* touched at *Nevis* upon his be-
ing appointed to that government, the assembly, at his recommendation, took the affair of
his salary into their consideration; and, after various debates, it was at last settled at 300*l.* *Salary of the*
a year, to be paid in money, or at the country produce at currency. This salary was to be *governor.*
raised on slaves, of whom they reckoned 7,000 upon the island, and the surplus was to go to
other public purposes, particularly in defraying the expence of a house for the governor
during one year, at 10*l.* The government of *Nevis*, which some pretend is the most an-
cient of the *English Caribbees*, is vested in the governor, council, and assembly. They are *Government of*
d directed by the common statute law of *England*; but in cases of exigency, they can make a *Nevis.*
law, which continues in force for twelve months, but no longer, unless confirmed by the
privy-council of *Great Britain*. The residence of the governor of the *Leeward Islands* is gene-
rally upon *Nevis*, *Antigua*, *Montserrat*, or *St. Christopher's*; but each of the three islands where
he does not reside, has, as we have already mentioned, a deputy-governor of its own, who
is appointed by the crown likewise, and who presides both over the assembly and the council.
In case of his death, or absence through sickness, or any other cause, his place is supplied by
the eldest member of the council, with the title of president: but the functions of this par-
ticular governor are superseded by the presence of the governor-general. Within the term of
e about twenty years, there commonly is a general assembly from the councils and assemblies,
or their deputies, of all the four islands, for the common good of the whole. The council of
each island is nominated by the governor-general; but the assembly consists of the repre-
sentatives of the parishes, each sending two, chosen by its freeholders.

THE soil of *Nevis*, towards the vallies, is said to exceed in fertility that of *St. Christopher's*. *Soil.*
The whole of the island that is cultivable, can be considered only as the skirts of a vast
mountain, which the higher it is ascended becomes the more barren. Sugar, as in the other
Caribbees, is the staple commodity of the island; and it is said that *Nevis* sends to *Europe*,
freighted with it, fifty or sixty ships yearly; so that though the island is capable of produc-
ing tobacco, cotton, and ginger, yet little of them is now cultivated there. This island na-
f turally produces purslain and other plants, with which it is said to have been formerly over-
run; and also oranges, limes, and lemons. Though *Nevis* has several fresh water as well as *Water.*
mineral springs, the last of which are of great use in scorbutic distempers, yet the fresh wa-
ter, it is said, does not keep, and is unfit for sea. The island is subject to violent torna-
does and rains. This island abounds with lizards, som of them of a monstrous largeness, *Animals.*
being about five feet long from the head to the tail, which is five feet likewise, and their *Lizards.*
bodies about a foot round. Their appearance is so varied, that they have been taken for
a species of theameleon. Some of them are very beautiful, though we hear of none that
are venomous, and they are very easily shot. It is said that the female lays her eggs in
the sand, and that they are hatched by the sun. There is on the island another sort of li-
g zard, smaller, and of the *European* kind, and but seldom seen till it is dark.

THE land-pike, which is found here, is so called from its resemblance to the fish of that *Land-pike.*
name, and has been mistaken for a salamander by some virtuosi, who have reared them in
their closets. Their length is about sixteen inches; their skin is of a silver-grey, and beauti-
fully

- fully spangled, but in the night-time they make a most hideous noise in the rocks. The *a*
Soldier-snail. history of the snail called the soldier, from its taking up its quarters in any empty shell it
 can find, and there making them good against all accidents, is very curious, but too mi-
Flies. nute to have a place here; and, indeed, too whimsical to be believed. We may say pretty
 much the same of the flying-tyger, the horn-fly, and the fly-catcher, which are all of them
 creatures of wonderful contextures and extraordinary properties; but it is said that those
 species of insects are now far from being common on the island; and therefore it is proba-
 ble, that great part of the marvellous, which is related concerning them, is owing to the
 invention of *French* writers. Perhaps we are indebted to the same gentlemen for other
 wonderful particulars of the like kind. Mr. *Smith*, an *English* divine, who resided on the
 island, and wrote the natural history of the *Caribbees*, tells us of a wood, called dog-wood, *b*
 that is to be found here, the juice of which, when properly prepared by the negroes, in-
 toxicates the fish, and makes them swim on the surface of the water, where they are caught
 by those slaves, who are very expert in swimming, to the great diversion of their masters
 and their guests.
- Foods.* THE *Nevis* wilk, which is said not to be found in the other *Caribbees*, is a rich and deli-
 cious food, as is the cavally, which is of the mackarel-kind, and weighs about four or five
 pounds; but the mud-fish is reported to be most in request. We are told that the lobsters
 at the east-end of the island are rank poison, while those at the west-end are fine eating.
 The land crabs burrow in the mountain, but are caught in the night in coming down to
 the sea to shed their shells. Other crabs are likewise found here. Of turtle it is said that *c*
Nevis produces seven or eight kinds, but that the green alone is eatable; and that of two
 kinds of sprats which the island produces, one species is poisonous, probably from the
 same cause that the lobsters are so, their subsisting upon veins of copperas at the bottom of
 the water.
- Garden stuff.* *NEVIS* produces asparagus, but of a small kind; as also jessamine and sage, with other
 trees and shrubs not common in *Europe*. The liquorice-bush grows here like the vine.
 The butter of *Nevis* is very indifferent, and the inhabitants are obliged to supply themselves,
 at dear rates, from the *Bermudas*, *England*, and *Ireland*, with that commodity, as well as
 with cheese. They rear sheep, rams, and pigs, which are fine eating, with turkeys and
 other fowls; as also rabbits, veal, and other fresh food; and we are told, that of late they *d*
 have begun to cultivate cucumbers, lettuce, and all kinds of sallading: so that they can
 furnish, out of their own product, a genteel table in the *English* way. They have horses
 for draught, burden, diversion, and grandeur. When Sir *Hans Sloane* was on the island,
 they were imported from *Bermuda*; but the inhabitants have now very good ones from *Old*
England, *Rhode-Island*, and *New England*. As they make no hay upon the island, the chief
 subsistence of their cavalry is upon the grafs, which is weeded out from among the sugar-
 canes, the tops of those sugar-canes themselves, and the skimmings of the coppers; but
 the more valuable cattle are indulged with the green blades of *Indian-corn*, *Guinea-corn*,
 and *New England* oats. The dogs upon this island, especially the bull and the cur-kind,
 are very fierce, and apt to fly upon the negroes, who make no scruple of eating their *e*
 flesh.
- Population of Nevis.* THE inhabitants of this island are subject to fevers, especially in *October*, when the wind
 changes from east to north; but, indeed, its greatest calamities arise from hurricanes,
 which are here but too frequent. By the latest accounts, about 5000 white persons live up-
 on the island, with about 16,000 negroes, besides a few regular troops, who are main-
 tained at his majesty's expence; nor do we know of any insults offered to our chief *Carib-*
bee Islands during our two last wars with *France* and *Spain*. The governor's commission is
 worth about 3,500 *l.* a year, and the number of militia which the island raises, is casual,
 according to that of whites upon it, and the necessity of the occasion. The island is at a
 great loss in its not having a good harbour belonging to it; and the best riding for shipping *f*
 is between rocks and shoals, where they are pretty safe; but in case of a hurricane, they
 are happy if they can get to sea. *Nevis* has likewise been subject to earthquakes, one of
 which threw down great part of the mountain that composes the island. The perpendicu-
 lar height of this mountain, from the bay of *Charles-Town*, is said to be a mile and a half;
 but we apprehend this calculation to be greatly exaggerated, though it is pretended to be
 taken by a quadrant. In the east part of the island there is a river, which, they say, affords
 very fine mullets, and other excellent fish.
- Height of its mountain.*
- Negroes.* THE care and choice of their negroes are main articles with the *Nevisians*. They are ge-
 nerally brought from *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; but those from the *Gold Coast*, next to
 the negroes born upon the island, are most esteemed for their strength and hardiness. Great *g*
 art is employed by the slave-merchants in setting them out for sale. A boy or girl of six-
 teen years of age, if healthy, commonly brings 20 *l.* and women and men from 30 to 50 *l.*
 and above, according to their strength and hardiness. Their food is salt-herrings, maize,
 and

- a and *Spanish* potatoes. They love to work in large companies, and the industry of some of them is incredible, especially when the product of it is to go into their own pockets. According to the authorities before us, some barbarous laws, with regard to negroes, prevail in *Nevis* and our other *Caribbee Islands*, which we wish, for the honour of the *British* government, were altered. It is said, that if a white man should kill a black there, he cannot be tried for his life for the murder, and all that he suffers, is the forfeiture of 30 *l.* currency to the master for the loss of his slave. This is a barbarity which we think no human institution has a right to authorize, though undoubtedly great management and precaution are to be observed in a colony, where the numbers between the whites and the blacks, that is, between the masters and their slaves, are so disproportioned. It is therefore, perhaps, not
- b unreasonable to punish a negro with the loss of his hand, if he strikes a white man, and, as is the case here, with death itself, if he should draw blood from him. A negro cannot be evidence against a white man; but we apprehend that the disability is too general; because it is well known, that many negroes have discovered a true sense of religion, and have, in all other respects, acted as good Christians, as well as with a strict discernment of what is right and wrong in judicial proceedings (U). The *Nevisians* are said to have three public annual fasts in the three first weeks of *July*, *August*, and *September*, to implore the Divine protection against hurricanes; and if none happen during those months, they have a public thanksgiving in *October*. We have already mentioned the relief given by the parliament of *Great Britain* to the *Nevisians*, on account of their losses by the *French* and the hurricanes.
- c This relief, however, was not granted till the return of a clerk or agent, who was sent over by the board of trade and plantations to enquire into the losses both of this island and that of *St. Christopher's*, which he reported to amount to about 300,000 *l.* and the parliament granted 103,203 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* for their indemnification. The only town in the island is *Charles Town*, which is defended by a fort of the same name, and has a regular weekly market every *Sunday* morning, which day, we suppose, is fixed upon for the benefit and conveniency of the negroes. One of the greatest disadvantages *Nevis* labours under, is, that the inhabitants are obliged to purchase from the neighbouring islands their iron-wood and lignum vitæ, for the construction of their sugar-houses, mills, and other works.

Treatment of
the negroes.

- d *ANTIGUA* was early planted by the *English*, though at this distance of time, the history of those private adventurers is dark and uncertain. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we should be of opinion, that the antient natives of the *Caribbees* were far from being an inhospitable people to the *Europeans*, when they had nothing with regard to their own liberties, or the possession of their own country to apprehend from them; and this conjecture may be strengthened by many instances. It is not, therefore, at all improbable, that those savages received the straggling *English* into their protection, and while they were but few in number, even suffered them to settle and plant upon their islands, and that too, long before any violent effort, in large bodies of *Europeans* or *English*, were made to dispossess them. *Antigua* itself lies about twenty leagues east from *St. Christopher's*, and ten north-east of *Montserrat*; and being above fifty miles in circumference, it is reckoned the largest of all our *Leeward Islands*. It is certain, that while *Sir Thomas Warner* was governor of *St. Christopher's*, *Englishmen* were settled on *Antigua*; but the property of the island was so far from being ascertained, that the *French* who had been driven from *St. Christopher's*, had thoughts of making a settlement upon *Antigua*. The reasons why they did not, probably, were the vast difficulty of access to the island, and the general bad character it was under of having no fresh water. Notwithstanding this, several *English* families removed thither in *Sir Thomas Warner's* time; and lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados*, was so sensible of the value of *Antigua*, and so clear as to the *English* right to the same, that he had its name inserted in his commission as governor of the *English Leeward-Islands*; and about the year 1663, he sent thither his brother, or rather his kinsman, Mr. *Henry Willoughby*, with proper people and accommodations for effecting a regular settlement upon it. According to
- e *la Tertre*, and other *French* writers, so far back as the year 1640, the *English* were so numerous here as to become obnoxious to the savage natives, who killed fifty of them, and carried off the governor's lady; by which we suppose he means the wife of the chief *Englishman* upon the island. This barbarity appears to have been committed by the savages alone; for, long after this, both *French* and *English* lived in *Antigua* with great cordiality. Lord *Willoughby*, however, being resolved to make *Antigua* an *English* settlement, gave orders to Mr. *Willoughby* to oblige the *French* either to remove from the island, or to swear allegiance to the *English* government; and, upon their not immediately complying, he
- f

Antigua peo-
pled by the
English.

(U) Though we cannot, as historians, enter into any moral disquisition here, yet we must be of opinion, that if negroes are disqualified from giving evidence for want of knowledge, capacity, or information, that ought to be

one of the strongest motives for mitigating, instead of aggravating their punishment; as, for the same reason, they cannot be supposed to be sensible of the crime they commit.

treated

treated them with a severity that was, perhaps, both unjust and impolitic, for he obliged a most of the *French* to retire to *Guadalupe* or *Martinico*.

Invasion by
the French.

THOSE exiles (as might naturally have been supposed) disclosed to their countrymen the weakness of the *English* settlement upon *Antigua*, and with what ease it might be dislodged. An expedition was accordingly fitted out by the *French*; the *English* were attacked in form, their forts were taken, their governor made prisoner, and they themselves obliged to accept of a capitulation for surrendering the island. Before this capitulation could be carried into execution, a reinforcement came which prevented its taking place. The *French* governors of their *Caribbees* understanding this, mustered a large force from all their islands, and landing upon *Antigua* in 1667, the *English* governor, *Fish*, found himself obliged to ratify the former capitulation. Notwithstanding this, it no where appears that the *English* made a full cession of the island to their antagonists; and it seems as if *de la Barre*, the *French* lieutenant-general of their islands, had suffered many of them to retain the possession of their estates, though, possibly, under the *French* protection and allegiance. We are informed, that about this time a son of Sir *Thomas Warner's* wife, the *Caribbean* lady we have already mentioned, having learned *English* from his mother, and imagining that upon her account he was neglected by his *English* relations, made an elopement from *Antigua* to *St. Lucia*, where he erected himself into a kind of a chief of his countrymen the *Caribbeans*, and headed several expeditions against the *English*. This tradition is strongly countenanced by *Dampier*, the famous *English* voyager, who was in those parts in 1674; and gives us the following particulars. "About this time the *Caribbees* had done some spoil on our *English* plantations of *Antego*, and therefore governor *Warner's* son, by his wife, took a party of men, and went to suppress these *Indians*, and came to a place where his brother the *Indian Warner* lived. Great seeming joy there was at this meeting, but how far it was real, the event shewed; for the *English Warner* providing plenty of liquor, and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his entertainment, ordered his men, upon a signal given, to murder him and all his *Indians*, which was accordingly performed. The reason of this inhuman action is diversely reported: some say, that this *Indian Warner* committed all the spoil that was done to the *English*, and for that reason his brother killed him and his men. Others, that he was a great friend to the *English*, and would not suffer his men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him, because he was ashamed to be related to an *Indian*. But be it how it will, he was called in question for the murder, and forced to come home and take his trial in *England*. Such perfidious doings as these, continues *Dampier*, besides the baseness of them, are great hindrances of our gaining interest among the *Indians*."

Dampier's
account.

Observations
on it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this plausible story from *Dampier*, who was a very candid and sensible voyager, we are somewhat suspicious that he has been misinformed with regard to the affinity between the two *Warners*; because, though the *English Warner* was indeed sent home to take his trial, yet we find no charge of murder lying against him; and all he was accused of, was a crime but too common in those times and places, both among the *French* and *English*, which was that of kidnapping the *Caribbeans* under the shew of friendship, and making them slaves, thereby rendering the whole nation irreconcilable enemies to all *Europeans*. The *French*, properly speaking, after this, were masters of *Antigua* till the year 1668, when it was restored to the *English* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Breda*. The colony then began to flourish exceedingly, though their happiness was too often interrupted by the dreadful hurricanes which visited the island. Its chief prosperity was owing to the genius and cares of that great *English West-Indian* patriot and hero, colonel *Christopher Codrington*, who having been appointed captain-general and general-governor of all the *Leeward Islands*, removed from *Barbados* to *Antigua*, which he made the seat of his government; and where, by his great experience and knowledge of *West-Indian* plantations, he introduced a new and a better system of colonizing and improving. The effect was, that the sugars of *Antigua*, which were before but little esteemed, bore as good a price as those of any of our other *West-Indian* islands, and in a few years were made in double and treble quantities. It was not, however, in his power to prevent the effects of those dreadful hurricanes, which more than once rendered *Antigua* in his time a scene of desolation, particularly in the year 1681; and nine years after it was almost ruined by an earthquake.

Earthquake.

French inva-
sions.

THE *Indians*, instigated by the *French*, never failed to avail themselves of those natural calamities, by making descents upon the island in their peruvagas; but after plundering some of the planters nearest the sea, they were generally driven off with loss. Another gentleman, one major *Byam*, whose descendants are said still to live upon *Antigua*, deserves likewise to have his name transmitted here. He was one of those deputies whom lord *Wilmington* appointed to treat with Sir *George Ayscue* about the pacification of *Barbados*; and,

- a in lord Willoughby's time, he became an eminent planter in *Antigua*. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was governor-general of the *Leeward-Islands*, at the time of the Revolution; but not conforming to that government, he was succeeded by colonel Codrington, who appointed colonel Rowland Williams to be deputy-governor of *Antigua*. When the war broke out between *England* and *France*, the people of *Antigua*, though they were but just recovering from the dreadful calamity of the earthquake we have already mentioned, shewed a becoming spirit against the *French*. They joined with the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands* in their applications for protection from the government of *Barbados*; and accordingly, Sir Timothy Thornhill, after raising his *Barbados* regiment, landed on the 5th of *August* with it at *Antigua*, where he received the disagreeable news of the *French* having become masters
- b of *St. Christopher's*. Being too weak immediately to attempt the reduction of the island, he quartered his regiment, or rather part of it, in the town of *Falmouth* upon *Antigua*, till the fleet for the relief of the *English Leeward-Islands* in general, which was every day expected, should arrive.

IN the mean while, the active colonel, whom we are now to call general Codrington, gave the command of these sloop, manned with 80 men of Sir Timothy's regiment, to captain Thorn, who sailed from *Falmouth* to the island of *Anguilla*; from whence he brought off the *English* remains of that small colony, which had suffered extremely from the barbarity of the *French* and *Irish*. The general, at the same time, fitted out several sloops, by way of guarda costas, against the *French* and their *Caribbean* allies, who continued

c to pester the island in their perugas, and to murder the defenceless inhabitants lying near the sea. But this precaution proving ineffectual through the great skill of the savages in managing their little vessels, proper towers and watch-houses were erected all along the coast to give notice of such descents. Sometimes, however, the *French* made those descents with a greater force, and carried off negroes and other prey. One of their privateers particularly, about the middle of *September* this year, after plundering the coast, took an *English* ship, and gave chase to another, but was taken by two sloops, manned with a party of Thornhill's regiment, under the command of colonel Hamilton. On board this privateer were discovered no fewer than six *Irish* sailors, of whom four were hanged by order of a court-martial. This act of justice was judged to be the more necessary, as the *French* could not

d have manned their privateers without the *Irish* Roman Catholics, whom the *English* found the most barbarous enemies they had to deal with. The people of *Antigua*, to make themselves in some measure amends for the depredations they suffered from the *French*, raised 300 men under the command of one colonel Hewetson, who made a descent upon the *French* island of *Marigalante*, where they took and burnt the chief town, demolished the fort, spiked up its guns, drove the inhabitants into their woods, and returned to *Antigua* with the plunder of the island.

Marigalante
conquered by
the people of
Antigua.

UPON Sir Timothy Thornhill's returning to *Nevis*, general Codrington remained at *Antigua*; where he received an express from Thornhill, who was then on his expedition against *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Martin*, acquainting him with the arrival of *du Casse* upon the latter

e island, with 700 men. The general immediately ordered colonel Hewetson to embark, with about 200 men in three sloops, and under the convoy of one sloop of war of 40, and two of 20 guns, to bear away to *St. Martin's*. This little armament was opposed by the *French* ships lying off the same island; but they were obliged to bear away, after a dispute of four hours, and Hewetson landed his men, to the great relief of Thornhill. Upon the arrival of admiral Wright, whom we have several times before-mentioned, with a strong squadron of men of war for the relief of the *English Leeward Islands*, and the recovery of *St. Christopher's*, the people of *Antigua* raised a regiment of 400 men, commanded by colonel Rowland Williams, who, under Codrington, was deputy-governor of the island. Besides this force, many of the inhabitants served both as sailors and volunteers in the expedi-

f tions under Codrington; an account of which we have already given in the former parts of this work, and in the histories of the islands to which they were made. It is likewise mentioned for the honour of *Antigua*, that no part of the *English* dominions exceeded the zeal of its inhabitants; or, proportionable to its strength, contributed more to this and the succeeding war against *France*.

Thornhill
relieved.

NOTWITHSTANDING the gross mismanagements of the *English* marine in the *West-Indies*, the trade of *Antigua* still flourished; and that island in 1696, sent, at one time, eleven ships laden to *England*, under convoy of the *Hastings* frigate. Upon the death of general Codrington, in 1696, his son, colonel Christopher Codrington, succeeded him as captain-general and commander in chief of the *Leeward-Islands*. He chose *Antigua* for the place of his residence, as being the most commodious spot for his government, and equally convenient for himself, he having the greatest property of any man upon the island. This colonel Codrington, before he received his commission, had distinguished himself equally in arms and the polite arts. He had his education at *All-Souls-College* in *Oxford*, and was chosen by the University to return his public thanks to king *William* for the honour of paying it

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Antigua flourishes.

a visit. He was the friend and patron of several *English* ingenious poets, and having served with great distinction at the siege of *Namur*, he was made colonel of his majesty's foot-guards, in which rank he served till he was raised to his government.

Codrington's
descent upon
Guadalupe,

HE had early formed the design of attacking the *French West-India Islands*, and most of *Collingwood's* regiment, who arrived at *Antigua* with admiral *Bembow*, being dead, he was indefatigable in procuring others in their room from *England*. He, at the same time, encouraged the merchants and planters of *Antigua* to fit out privateers, to which he himself contributed largely likewise; and he raised a fresh regiment of soldiers in *Antigua*, the command of which was given to colonel *Byam*. We have already taken notice of colonel *Codrington's* descent upon *Guadalupe*, where the *Antigua* men, with colonel *Byam* at their head, were the first who secured a post called *Les petits Habitans*, from whence they dislodged the enemy. About 800 more *English* landing under colonel *Wetham*, they boldly marched up to a town called the *Bayliffe*, where the *French* had manned a breast work, which they vigorously defended, and killed three *English* captains at the head of their grenadiers; but the *English* soldiers, though so furiously plied from the breast-work, kept up their fire till they laid the muzzles of their pieces across its top, and gave the enemy so smart a fire, that they soon became masters of it. This was followed by the conquest of all the enemy's other breast-works of the town of *Bayliffe* itself, of the *Jacobine* church and plantation, both which the *French* had strongly fortified, and at last of the main town of *Basse Terre*, the *French* retiring to the fort, and leaving all the open part of their island to be plundered and destroyed by the *English*. Nothing now remained to reduce the island, but the conquest of *Basse Terre* fort and castle, to which the inhabitants had retired with their chief effects. The *English* had already advanced their works within pistol-shot of the fort, and musket-shot of the castle, against both which a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon was ready to be opened. In short, nothing could have prevented the entire reduction of the island, but a disagreement which arose between the sea and land-officers, the particulars of which were so little to the credit of either, that the public has never yet been acquainted with a true state of them. To save appearances, it was given out, that the reduction of the island was a matter of far greater difficulty than had been foreseen; and that, considering the vigorous defence made by the *French*, the *English* army, which was now both weak and sickly, was unable to do duty longer, for which reason the men were re-imbarked, and the conquest of *Guadalupe* abandoned.

which proves
unsuccessful.

History of col.
Park's go-
vernment of
Antigua.

COLONEL *Codrington* was succeeded, as governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, by Sir *William Matthews*, in the year 1704, and he likewise made *Antigua* the place of his residence. This gentleman, during the short time he lived in the *West-Indies*, gave universal satisfaction by his mild, moderate behaviour; and upon his death he was, as we have already mentioned, succeeded by colonel *Park*, who received the government from the hands of *John Yeomans*, Esq; the president of the island and the council. All this time, notwithstanding the repeated attacks of the *French* upon the other *English West-India Islands* *Antigua* remained unmolested, and the inhabitants grew rich by their privateering; in which they became so expert, that a vessel with no more than nine men and six boys on board, being attacked by a *French* sloop with 50 men, killed 40 of them, and brought the sloop itself a prize into *Antigua*. Colonel *Park*, upon his arrival on the island, began his administration in a manner the most unpopular and disagreeable that can be well imagined. He appointed a common foot-soldier to act as provost-marshal of the island, and that too without obliging him to give any security, though it is a post that in the *West-Indies*, in some particulars, resembles that of an *English* sheriff of a county, by his having the power of impanelling juries. When he was talked to on that head, he refused to give any other answer, than that a foot-soldier was a gentleman.

BUT the most exceptionable part of *Park's* conduct was, his wantonly provoking his predecessor colonel *Codrington*, and a merchant, one Mr. *Chester*, to oppose him. *Park* made so unmerciful an use of his power, as governor, that he obliged colonel *Codrington*, whom he took all occasions personally to affront, to retire to *Barbados*. Mr. *Chester* happened to have a quarrel with one *Sawyer*, a *Virginian*, *Park's* countryman; and some blows having passed, *Sawyer*, in a short time, died, and *Chester* soon after, chiefly by the instigation of *Park*, must have undergone a severe prosecution for murder, had not the coroner's inquest returned their verdict, that the deceased died a natural death. Some motives which have been assigned for *Park's* keenness in this affair were most infamous, particularly his having a criminal correspondence with *Chester's* wife; a charge, which his lewd, scandalous way of living upon the island too much countenanced. He was, however, supported at home by the heads of the whig-administration, who affected to despise all the charges brought against him by the people of his government.

NOTHING but the most intemperate behaviour could have provoked them into this opposition. The people of the island had, upon his arrival among them, voted him an appointment-

- a pointment of 1000*l.* a year; but he soon gave himself liberties, which sufficiently declared, that he was to be under no controul of law or justice; for he boasted, on all occasions, the great and unshaken interest he had with the government of *England*, and that, let him do what he would, he was sure of being protected by the lord-treasurer *Godolphin*, and the dutchess of *Marlborough*. *Park* acted in a manner as if he was resolved to push his interest with those great personages as far as it could go. The *Codrington* family had, for above thirty years before, been possessed in property of the whole island of *Berbuda*, which it had dearly earned by being at the expences of peopling, planting, and improving the island, for which they had obtained a proprietary patent, the validity of it, till the time of *Park*'s government, never having been questioned. The foundation of this groundless attack was
- b a clause in his commission as governor, comprehending all the *British Leeward-Islands*, of which he pretended *Berbuda* was one; and he ordered Sir *William Codrington*, the colonel's representative, to produce his right to that island, before his council, as governor and captain-general. *Codrington* very properly refused to satisfy either the general or his council, as to his right to the island, and his council advised him to drop his claim; but all was to no purpose, for he prosecuted it with more vigour than ever, and with great personal scurrilities against the *Codrington* family, which was deservedly one of the most popular, as well as wealthy, of any in the *English West-Indies*.

- PARK*'s behaviour continued to be so intemperate, that at last, the whole island of *Antigua*, in a manner, became a party against him; and above eighty of the principal inhabitants transmitted to *England* an impeachment of his conduct, consisting of thirty articles; some of which were of a felonious nature. In those articles he was charged with altering the method of electing the members of the assembly, and with sending armed men to enter the houses of private gentlemen, on pretence of their holding meetings and cabals against his government, and afterwards committing them to jail, and all this in the most outrageous ruffian-like manner. He was farther charged with neglects in his government, and for suffering no assembly to be called for eleven months time, though the island was threatened with a *French* invasion; and that he often gave out in discourse, that he expected large pecuniary presents from the people of his government, against whom he took all kinds of advantages, by even turning a private spy for himself, and strolling about the streets incognito. The governor would willingly have evaded taking any notice at all of those charges; but when they were carried home, he was obliged to defend himself under the extent of his commission, and his discretionary powers under the royal authority, which, as he pretended, justified him in all he had done, supposing the whole of the impeachment against him to be true.

- THIS defence had greater weight than could have been well expected in a country governed by laws; and this provoked some of the islanders to send him private challenges as a gentleman, but he evaded them all, by pretending, that it was incompatible with his dignity to accept of them. At last, he was wounded by a negro from a musket; and this, with several other pretended attempts against his life, was, by him, charged upon some of the chief planters of the island. His antagonists, on the other hand, grew every day more and more sensible of the necessity they were under of carrying on their impeachment; and, for that purpose, they subscribed a large sum of money, which was lodged in the hands of their agent and solicitor at *London*, for carrying on the prosecution. The principal parties in the prosecution were, colonel *Christopher Codrington*, late general; *Barry Tankard*, Esq; *William Thomas*, Esq; *Edward Perry*, Esq; the reverend Mr. *James Field*; *Samuel Watkins*, Esq; chief-justice; *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; speaker of the assembly; and Dr. *Daniel Mackennen*. Besides those gentlemen, all the assembly, excepting one member, were his enemies; nor had he for a friend a single planter or merchant of any note upon the island. All those untowardly circumstances made no impression upon *Park*, who
- f still screened himself under the royal authority, and treated all his opponents as rebels and mutineers. This behaviour, in an *English* governor, was thought the more extraordinary, as about this time, the *French* inhabitants of *Martinico* had seized upon their governor and intendant, and sent them prisoners to *Old France*, where, though the insurgents were declared rebels, yet they met with no other punishment.

A party formed
ed against
him.

- NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent unanimity of the island against *Park*, so great was the reverence paid to a royal commission, that he had still creatures and friends upon the island; and the inhabitants, in general, confined all their resentment to the legal regular method of complaining at the court of *England*. Their agents there had no great reason to encourage their constituents; for they found but very poor encouragement at the council-table, where prerogative doctrines, about this time, began to be in great vogue. *Park* and his friends had interest enough, for a long time, to ward off an examination into his conduct, on pretence that all the opposition against him was merely the effect of a seditious tumultuous spirit. But the facts brought by his opponents were so flagrant, and urged
- g with

He is ordered
home.

with so much precision, that at last, Mr. *Nevin*, who was solicitor at *London* for the com-
plainants, brought to *Antigua* her majesty's letter, directing the witnesses against governor
Park to be examined upon the spot; and that the governor should come to *England* by the
first man of war bound from *Antigua*.

PERHAPS the people of that island did not bear with a proper moderation their success
against their governor; so that, for some time, he did not appear in public. Notwith-
standing this, he still continued, as heretofore, the exercise of his government, and charg-
ed the inhabitants with rebellion, and conspiracies against his life. They still proceeded
with great coolness, and though the governor did not chuse to be present, the depositions
of the witnesses, in support of the charge against him, were taken before *Edward Byam*,
Esq; one of the council, and *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; speaker of the assembly, and trans-
mitted to *England*, under the seal of the island. The governor, on his part, refused to
send any thing in his own vindication, pretending that the examination of his witnesses were
delayed by the justices, and suffered a ship, which was to have carried him to *England*, to
sail without him; still justifying himself, by the necessity he was under of going through his
evidence for his own vindication. But this had no influence upon the commissioners, to
whom the queen's letter was delivered; for they sent to *England*, by their agent, all the
affidavits and papers that were under their cognizance, without paying any regard to the
governor's defence.

He over-awes
the assembly.

THE people of *Antigua* now looked upon themselves as being, in some measure, in a
state of anarchy; and they were but too ready to adopt a notion, that their governor, by
not returning, as he was ordered, to *England*, by the first ship that sailed from *Antigua*,
was become an usurper; and that no regard was to be paid to his person or authority. The
assembly itself was of this opinion; for it continued sitting, under pretence of taking mea-
sures against the *French* invasion, notwithstanding he had dissolved them. The governor,
and such of the council as still stuck by him, were then assembled at the court-house in *St.*
John's; and *Park*, thinking himself sure of the military force that was on the island, con-
tinued to carry matters with a very high hand. Thus the principle of government became
a disputed point; it being doubtful, whether it resided in the governor, or with the council
and assembly. The latter thought themselves unsafe in suffering the governor to act longer
as such; and its members, attended by a good number of planters, and other inhabitants,
resorted to the town-house, where they roundly questioned the governor as to the legality of
his proceeding. His best defence was, to send one *Worthington*, an officer of the troops,
then lying on the island, to the guard-house, from whence he immediately brought a party,
the very appearance of which instantly dissipated the assembly, who adjourned themselves,
and publickly gave out among all their constituents, that they were laid under terror and
restraint by the army.

SOME of the leading men upon the island, particularly colonel *Byam*, thought it now high
time that matters should come to a crisis; and written notices were sent to the inhabi-
tants of the island, to come armed to *St. John's*, on the seventh of *September*, 1710, to
protect their representatives in the assembly, who declared, that they had no design against
the person or life of the governor, but to take him prisoner, and send him off the island.
Park was, all this while, preparing for his defence against the islanders, who appeared early
in the morning in arms, to the number of near 400 men. He had garrisoned his house
with all the regulars he found upon the island, and was attended by four or five of his
worthless creatures, whom he had raised to places of power and trust. After this, the pro-
ceedings on both sides were pretty regular. *Park*, acting still in the character of governor,
sent his provost-marshal with a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to disperse: but
they treated it with the utmost contempt, their numbers being now 500; and they declar-
ed, that the governor's troops should not protect him from being seized and sent prisoner
off the island. The cooler part of the assembly were still for compromising matters; and
Mr. *Crump* its speaker, with one Mr. *Gamble*, a counsellor, carried their demands to the
governor, requiring him to dismiss his guard, and to quit the government. *Park* now,
for the first time, seemed to act as a rational creature; he pleaded, he was still their gover-
nor, and that he only waited for an opportunity of complying with the queen's letter, in
returning to *England*; that if the assembly chose to sit at *Parham*, seven miles distant from
St. John's, he was ready to pass any acts they should make for the good of the island, and
that he was even ready to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants
would remain with him as hostages for his safety.

The islanders
rise upon him,
and put him
death.

THOSE proposals carried with them such an appearance of moderation, that they startled
many of the islanders, who had declared against the governor; and the two deputies them-
selves, upon their return, thought them so reasonable, that they offered to become two of
the hostages. The insurgents thought that they had gone too far to stop where they
were, and began to be apprehensive, that if they did not strike some bold stroke, in which
the

- a the whole of their party should be involved, they might be deserted by numbers, and a few of them left to answer for all that had been done. They therefore divided themselves into two parties, in which all the members of the assembly served, commanded by two captains, one *Piggot*, and one *Painter*, and marched to attack an out-work upon an eminence that commanded the governor's house, where a party of the troops had taken post. According to our best information, neither colonel *Jones*, who was the commandant upon the island, nor captain *Rokesby*, whose companies were in duty, were clear as to the propriety of their obeying either party; and both of them refused to command in person, leaving the whole to the conduct of their subalterns. The out-post was not defended, and the party retired to the governor's house, which was attacked by the insurgents with great
- b fury. For some time their fire was returned with equal briskness; but the house, being, in a manner, defenceless, the assailants at last broke into it, but were received with great bravery by the governor, who, as is said, killed captain *Piggot* with his own hand, but he himself received a shot in the thigh, which disabling him from farther resistance, the enraged populace put him to death, in a manner too shocking to be related; especially, as he fell into the hands of several of the islanders, who thought that the injuries he had done to their beds, warranted them in the most unmanly expressions of their resentment. On the governor's side, one ensign *Lyndon*, and about thirteen or fourteen soldiers, were killed; and captain *Newel*, lieutenant *Worthington*, and twenty-six soldiers, were wounded; besides many of his private friends, who were beaten and bruised. On the side of the assembly, besides captain *Piggot*, and two other gentlemen, about thirty were killed or wounded. By colonel *Park's* death, the government of *Antigua* devolved upon *Walter Hamilton*, Esq; who was then lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*, and lieutenant-general of the *Leeward Islands*. The people of *England* heard with astonishment of *Park's* untimely fate; but the public were divided in their sentiments, some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it only as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better, even before the sentiments of the *English* government were known. Mr. *Hamilton* was cautious either of approving or disproving what had been done. Mr. *Yeomans*, who was lieutenant-governor of *Antigua*, sent a deputation to invite Mr. *Hamilton* to repair to that island, and take
- d upon him the government, which he accordingly did; and immediately upon his arrival he summoned a general council, consisting of deputies from all the islands within his government, to examine into the murder of colonel *Park*. Those deputies were in their private opinions enemies to the deceased and his conduct, and drew up a kind of vindication of his death, while the opponents signed an address, detesting the murder, and informing the queen, that they were in danger of their lives. Mr. *Hamilton*, the new governor, sided with neither party; but as his commission had not been confirmed in *England*, he was superseded by *Walter Douglas*, Esq; in 1712. This exasperated *Hamilton*, who then threw himself upon the faction that had put *Park* to death, and bade defiance to *Douglas*; upon which, the latter superseded him from all his offices in the *Leeward Islands*.
- e *HAMILTON* then embarked for *England* to seek his remedy; and though *Douglas* had himself brought over a proclamation for a general pardon, yet he issued his warrant against *Watkins*, the chief-justice, and one doctor *Mackennen*, who had been active men against *Park*, upon pretext of their being guilty of rebellious practices since his death. *Watkins* and *Mackennen* escaped to *England*, where they were apprehended, but discharged upon their pleading the proclamation, as no grounds appeared to justify their fresh commitment. One *Smith*, a militia-officer, was tried at the *Old Bailey*, but acquitted upon the same plea. Those proceedings soon rendered *Douglas* so unpopular, that he lost all authority in his government; and many complaints were sent over against him: nay, he was insulted upon the island itself in a most outrageous manner, but generously protected by the very gentlemen whom he had prosecuted for *Park's* death. *Hamilton*, the late governor, succeeded so well in *England*, that he was restored to the government of the *Leeward Islands*; and in 1715, he had interest enough to procure the dismissal of all whom he suspected to be his enemies, from their places and honours in the island; and introduced *Mackennen* and *Crump*, who had distinguished themselves against *Park*, to seats at the council-board. In return, the council voted him 1000 *l.* a year for his house-rent, in order to elude the royal instruction, by which he was tied up from receiving any gratuity or present. But, at this time, many abuses had crept into the government of *Antigua* and the *Leeward Islands*. The money-jobbers continued, in a manner, to monopolize the coin, upon which they put what value they pleased, in direct violation of the royal authority and instructions from *Great Britain*. The laws were likewise found to be greatly deficient with regard to the power of compelling debtors to do justice to their creditors, which introduced a kind of a bankruptcy amongst the merchants of the island, through their inability to recover their debts; and at last, about twenty-six of them were forced to have recourse to present the following
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Hamilton,
governor.

Douglas, gov-
ernor.

Hamilton
replaced.

petition, the words of which will give the reader a better idea, than any others can, of a the hardships under which they lay.

Petition for
recovering
debts.

“YOUR petitioners being disabled by the ill-compliance of debtors to answer their correspondents expectations at home, in making their returns according to their respective promises and compacts, are, without any fault of their own, not only suspected of injustice, but wounded in their reputations, upon supposition, that they are paid here by the persons who deal with them; and that your petitioners detain their effects, or that at least, they are highly to be blamed for not prosecuting their debtors at law, and by that means, enable themselves to make better and more punctual remittances, and are deprived of making or improving their own private fortunes, the proceedings at law being so very dilatory.” This petition ended in a prayer for an act for the more speedy recovering of debts upon the island; b but though several acts for that purpose passed, yet the evil is to this day far from being remedied.

Hart, gover-
nor.

Lord London-
derry, go-
vernor.

Matthews,
governor.

MR. *Hamilton's* government seems to have been so wise and moderate, that he extin- guished the violence of parties, and in the year 1721, he was succeeded in the government of the *Leeward Islands* by *John Hart*, Esq; late governor of *Maryland*, whose person and administration were so agreeable to the inhabitants of the *Leeward Islands*, and of *Antigua* in particular, that they made a very plentiful provision for his support. Mr. *Hart* distinguished his government by the humane reception he gave to captain *Vring*, and the settlers, whom the duke of *Montague* had sent to people the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; in which he was greatly assisted by colonel *Matthews*, the lieutenant-governor. He was suc- cceeded in his administration by lord *Londonderry*, who died in that government, which was next conferred upon *William Matthews*, Esq. This gentleman arrived at *Antigua* in *October*, 1733, and took the first opportunity to present to the council and assembly of the island, the following additional royal instruction: “Whereas it has been represented to us, that the salary of 1200*l.* sterling *per annum*, which we have hitherto thought fit to allow out of the duty of four and a half *per cent.* arising in our *Leeward Islands*, for our governor in chief of those islands, is not at present sufficient for his support, and the dignity of that our government, we have taken the same into our consideration, and are graciously pleased to permit and allow, that the respective assemblies of our said islands, may, by any act or acts, settle upon you such sum or sums, in addition to your salary of 1200*l.* *per annum*, as they d shall think proper; and you are hereby allowed to give your assent to any act or acts of assembly to that purpose. Provided sum or sums be settled on you and your successors in that government, at least on you during the whole time of your government there, and that the same be done by the first respective assemblies of our said islands after your arrival there.” This instruction was not without its effect; for it procured to the governor from the council and the assembly a settlement of 1000*l.* a year *Antigua* currency.

Plot of the
negroes,

WE have forbore to mention the prodigious losses which this island sustained by earthquakes and hurricanes; which were too frequent to be particularized here. But notwithstanding those dreadful calamities, the island still flourished in riches and commerce, and continues, to this day, to be the residence of the governor-general and his courts. In c *October* 1736, all the commerce and business of the island was suddenly suspended by the discovery of a plot formed by the negroes, to murder all the white inhabitants of the island, and to make themselves masters of it. The 11th of *October*, which was the anniversary of the coronation of *George II.* was pitched upon for the execution of this detestable design. The death of the governor's son happening at that time, postponed the ball and the other rejoicings, which were usually made upon that occasion, and this accident obliged the conspirators to defer the execution of their plot to the 30th, on which day the ball was to be held, and all the principal people of the island were to assemble. The intention of the conspirators was of the same kind with the gunpowder-plot in *England*, in the reign of *James I.* which was to convey powder under the ball-room and by one explosion to blow up f the whole company. The contrivers of this infernal plot were *Court*, *Tomboy*, and *Hercules*, three negroes belonging to different planters. *Court* was to be king of the island, and the other two his generals; and during the confusion which was expected to attend the explosion, *Court* and his two generals were to have headed three parties of 400 negroes each, from the east end of *St. John's* town, and two other places of rendezvous, called *Otter's* and *Morgan's* pastures; who were to be armed with cutlasses, and to cut in pieces, without distinction, all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far, they were, upon the explosion of the house, to light up beacons all over the island, as so many signals for the negroes to assemble, and to finish the destruction of the rest of the white inhabitants: but this conspiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long a secret; and the behaviour of g the three principals giving great room for suspicion, they were secured and convicted on the 19th of the same month. After condemnation, they confessed the whole of the conspiracy,

discovered,
and the ring
leaders punish-
ed.

a spiracy, as we have related it. The king and his two generals were broke upon the wheel, and four of the ringleaders were burnt alive at the same time, as were seven others the next day. Six were hung alive in chains and gibbets, and starved to death, and fifty eight others were at several times burnt alive.

GEORGE Thomas, Esq; succeeded Mr. Matthews in the government of the *Leeward-Islands*. His lieutenant governor of *Antigua* and *Montserrat* was lord Hawley, as Gilbert Fleming, Esq; was of *St. Christopher's*, and likewise lieutenant governor of all the *Leeward-Islands*; the governor of *Nevis* being major Storey. As to the topographical history of this island, it differs in some respect from that of the other *Leeward Islands*. It was long thought to be uninhabitable, because no fresh springs were found upon the island; but this loss was supplied by the industry of the inhabitants, who discovered some springs, and provided proper reservoirs for saving the rain-water. *Antigua* is the best provided with harbours, of all the *English Leeward-Islands*; but the approach to it is very dangerous to any but very skilful pilots, on account of the vast number of rocks that surround it. One of those harbours is called *Five-Isle-Harbour*, and, though difficult of access, it is of great service to ships in distress. *St. John's Harbour*, which lies due north, would be the best in the island, were it not for an incommodious sandy-bar that runs across it. At the mouth of *St. John's-River* is a fort, which is mounted with 14 cannon; and several batteries, mounting in the whole 26 guns, are raised for the defence of as many landing-places. *Nonfuch-Harbour* lies on the west-end of the island, and in a spacious bay. *Willoughby Bay* is almost a league over at the mouth, but is above two-thirds blocked up with a shoal, stretching from the north to the south point; from whence lies *Sandy Point* with an island in it; but between the north and south point there is an open channel, where ships may enter, and when entered have good riding. But the most convenient harbour in *Antigua*, or perhaps, in the *West-Indies*, is *English-Harbour*, which is proper for careening ships of war, and may be improved in such a manner, as to admit those of the largest burden. At the bottom of *Falmouth-Harbour* lies *Falmouth Town*, which is defended by *Fort-Charles* and *Monkshill-Fort*. The latter contains a magazine of 410 muskets and 800 bayonets, and is mounted with 30 pieces of cannon.

THE climate of *Antigua* is hotter than that of *Barbados*, and is so subject to hurricanes, that were it not for the vast conveniency of its situation and harbours, it must have lain a mere desert. Sugar and tobacco are its chief commodities; but the inhabitants formerly likewise cultivated indigo and ginger. *Antigua* formerly lay under great disadvantages through the want of skill in the planters to prepare their sugar; but at present they have the art of claying it, and the island produces as good muscovado sugar as any in the *West-Indies*. It is generally computed that the exports from the island amount to about 16,000 hogsheads of sugar annually; but that the planters do not make rum in proportion, though it is universally allowed that both commodities, with proper encouragement, might be greatly increased and improved. Wild cinnamon grows in the low lands of *Antigua*; and this island is generally said to have greater plenty of venison upon it, than any other of the *Caribbees*; besides its affording abundance of fowl and black cattle.

THE number of white inhabitants on *Antigua* is uncertain, but thought to be about ten thousand; fifteen hundred of whom are able to bear arms; and the island in general has been unmolested during all the late wars with *France*. It is divided into five parishes, that of *St. John's-Town*, which is reckoned the capital of the north-west part, and consists of above 200 houses; and those of *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge-Town* on the south-side; and *St. Peter's*, which is no town, but lies almost in the center of the island.

f M O N T S E R R A T.

MONTSERRAT was discovered by Columbus in 1493. It lies 25 miles almost S. S. E. from *Nevis*, and 20 W. S. W. from *Antigua*, 40 N. W. from *Guadalupe*, and 240 from *Barbados*. It is of an oval figure, and about three leagues in length, and the same in breadth, and about 18 miles in compass. This island receives its name from the superstition of the Spaniards, who imagined that there was a resemblance between its appearance and that of a mountain of the same name in *Catalonia*, near *Barcelona* in *Old Spain*, where there is a famous chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. We know of no settlement made upon this island till the year 1632, when Sir Thomas Warner, who was then governor of *St. Christopher's*, sent a small colony of *English* to inhabit it. When lord Willoughby became governor of the *Leeward Islands*, *Montserrat* was a particular object of his attention, and he sent people to settle it in a regular manner, which had so good an effect,

effect, that for several years this island prospered more than that of *Antigua*; and sixteen years after its first settlement, its militia consisted of 360 white men. Though no regular history of the island has been preserved, yet it is certain, that it flourished in proportion as the other *English West India* islands did; and exported sugar, ginger, cotton, and indigo. In a short time, the inhabitants were wealthy enough to build a very handsome church, and after that another, so that the island is divided into two parishes, and the number of militia which at this time it can raise, exclusive of negroes, is said to amount to above 500 men. In 1668, after the *French* had made themselves masters of *Antigua*, one M. de la Barre fell upon *Montserrat*; and, as is said, by the treachery of the savages became master of the island, and sixteen pieces of cannon, and a great number of negroes and cattle. This conquest is said to have cost the *French* so dear, by the loss of their best officers and men, that they set fire to all the principal buildings on the island, excepting those belonging to the *Irish* Roman Catholics, who readily submitted to their power, and took the oaths to their government. It is thought that on this occasion forty sugar-houses, besides several rich warehouses, were destroyed, and so many of the *Irish* multiplied upon the island, that it was looked upon to be an *Irish* colony; but it afterwards reverted to the crown of *England*. This island (by means which are improper here to be enquired into) was a favourite settlement in the reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* and was chiefly planted by *Irish* Roman Catholics, several of whom got large estates. Under colonel *Codrington* when he was governor of the *Leeward Islands*, colonel *Blackstone* was governor of *Montserrat*, which was almost destroyed by the earthquake that happened in 1692. When general *Codrington* undertook his expedition against *St. Christopher's*, this island furnished him with 300 men, who were commanded by colonel *Blackstone*. Colonel *Hill* succeeded *Blackstone* as deputy-governor of *Montserrat*; but his health obliging him to remove to *England*, he died at *Pembroke* on the 21st of *August*, 1697.

It is almost
destroyed by an
earthquake.

Conquered by
the French,

It is thought that about this time the island of *Montserrat* contained between 4 and 5000 white inhabitants, and 8000 negroes, which discouraged the *French* from attempting to reduce it at the time they fell upon *Nevis*. During *Park's* government of the *Leeward Islands*, *Anthony Hodges*, Esq; was lieutenant-governor of *Montserrat*, and, like the other lieutenant-governors, he was assisted by a council and an assembly regularly appointed and chosen, as well as by other officers civil and military. After *Park's* arrival in the *West Indies*, intelligence being received that the *French* had a design upon *Montserrat*, a sloop was immediately sent to Mr. *Hodges* the lieutenant-governor, to put him upon his guard, and to inform him that upon the first appearance of the *French*, he should be assisted by the men of war, and the regiment that was then lying at *Antigua*. This sloop was intercepted by the *French*, who, upon reading the dispatches, did not think proper to proceed in their attempt against *Montserrat* at that time. Two years after, it was attacked by *Monf. Coffart* at the head of 3500 men, whom he landed in *Car's-Bay*. This was a force more than sufficient for such a conquest, and the inhabitants retired with their best effects to *Dodon's Fort*, which was very strongly situated, leaving the *French* for ten days in the possession of the rest of the island. They took and burnt all the shipping in the road, excepting one vessel, which made its escape, and then they returned to *Guadalupe*. This violence happening at a time when the negotiations for peace were in dependence, the *British* plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht* insisted upon the sufferers receiving an indemnification; and some stipulations of that kind were insisted on in the eleventh article of that treaty: but the sufferers never received any satisfaction, but what they afterwards obtained from the *British* parliament.

favourable to
colonel Park,

THE people of *Montserrat* seem by no means to have been so much exasperated, as those of *Antigua* were, against colonel *Park's* government; for they even drew up addresses in vindication of it; and *Park's* friends have industriously represented all the opposition he met with, to his discouraging the pernicious practice of smuggling in the islands under his government. Nothing remarkable happened relating to *Montserrat*, till general *Matthews* was governor of the *Leeward-Islands*; when, on the 30th of *June*, 1733, *Montserrat* was almost desolated by one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in the *West-Indies*. The effects of this storm, as transmitted to *England*, are next to incredible; and the loss which the island sustained, exclusive of lives and the shipping, was, by a moderate computation, reckoned to be about 50,000 *l.* Soon after this, the people of *Montserrat*, and some others of the *British Leeward-Islands*, began to look with an evil eye upon the illicit trade carried on between some of their neighbours, the people of *Barbados* especially, and the *French* and *Spaniards*. As this trade was pernicious to all government, both the *British* and *French* courts, as well as that of *Spain*, had issued very severe orders for suppressing it; and Mr *Matthews*, when in *Montserrat*, passed an act for the more effectual preventing all trade in these parts between his majesty's subjects and the *French*. The people of *Montserrat* exerted

and to fair
trading.

- a erted themselves with a laudable zeal, and to the great benefit of their mother country, in carrying this act into execution ; for they seized several *French* smuggling vessels, which were condemned in their courts of admiralty.

THE island of *Montserrat*, as to its climate, soil, animals, commerce, and other particulars of that kind, is pretty much the same with the other *English* *Caribbee-Islands*. The mountains upon it produce cedars, cypress-tree, the iron-tree, with other woods, and some odoriferous shrubs. It is well watered and fruitful, and the planters here formerly raised a great deal of indigo. The seas surrounding this island produce some hideous monsters, particularly two, which, from their remarkable ugliness, as well as the poisonous quality of their flesh, are called sea-devils. The lamantine, by some called the sea cow, is found in this island, and generally at the entrance of fresh-water rivers. According to the accounts we have of it, it is an amphibious creature, and lives mostly upon herbage. Its flesh is reckoned very wholesome food when salted, and they are so large, that two or three of them loads a canoe. Some of the *West-Indians* are very fond of certain small stones, which are sometimes found in the head of this animal, and which they pretend, when powdered, dissolve stones in the kidneys.

T A B A G O.

- c **T**ABAGO lies near forty leagues south by west from *Barbados*, about thirty-five leagues south-east from *St. Vincent*, forty leagues east from *Granada*, twelve leagues north-east from *Trinidad*, and between thirty and forty leagues north-east from the *Spanish Main*. It is thirty-two miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and about nine broad from east to west ; the whole being above seventy miles in circumference ; so that it is rather larger than *Barbados*, or indeed any of our *Leeward-Islands* ; and near the north-east extremity there lies a small island, called *Little Tabago*, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. *Tabago* was first discovered by *Columbus*, in 1498, but we know of no settlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the island. When an adventurous spirit for discoveries of every kind prevailed in *England* under queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, the lawful son of the famous earl of *Leicester*, in an expedition he made against *Trinidad*, gave the *English* government the first hint of peopling *Tabago*, which was then uninhabited by any *European* nation : but this proposal met with but small encouragement. *William* earl of *Pembroke*, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this island, with that of *Berbuda* and *St. Bernard*. Being a great patron of new settlements, and considerably engaged in the discoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in *America*, there is little reason to doubt that he intended to people *Tabago* ; but his death happening in less than two years after, the design came to nothing. About the year 1632, some *Zealanders* having fitted out a small squadron for trading to those islands, took so great a liking to this island, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to settle it, and gave it the name of *New Walcheren*, one of the most considerable islands in *Zealand* ; and from the information of this company, that excellent *Dutch* geographer *de Laet*, has been enabled to give us a better account of *Tabago* than of any of the other *Caribbee-Islands*. The new colony in a short time encreased to about 200, who, finding themselves pestered by the visits of the *Caribbean Indians*, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preservation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themselves for assistance to the *Spaniards*, who readily granted it ; for they sent a force upon the island, which demolished the rising fort, and exterminated the new colony.

- It was probably from the resort of some *Dutch* merchants to *Courland*, that first gave the hint to *James* duke of *Courland* for settling *Tabago*. He was a prince of a stirring, active disposition, and finding that there was room for such a settlement, he sent over a colony of his own subjects, who settled upon what has been since called *Great Courland Bay*, and erected a small regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of *James*, in honour of their own sovereign, who was named after *James I.* of *Great Britain*. Here they lived so inoffensively, that they remained unmolested, either by the *Caribbeans* or the *Spaniards* ; and they found its soil so kindly, that the colony in a short time had an excellent appearance. They were supplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utensils, and they flourished to such a degree, as to awaken the jealousy of the *Dutch*, who revived their claim upon the island. In 1654, two wealthy *Dutch* merchants, *Mess. Adrian* and *Cornelius Lampsius*, of *Flushing*, fitted out some ships, who landed a considerable number of their countrymen upon *Tabago* ; but found the *Courlanders* in no disposition to yield them possession of the island, which, they said, they held under the authority of their own sovereign. The *Courlanders* were too powerful to be dispossessed ; but the *Dutch* took possession of a different part of the island, which is now called *Rockley Bay*, acknowledged.

knowledging themselves to be under the protection of the duke of *Courland*, who suffered a melancholy reverse of fortune in *Europe*.

The former obtain the island.

THIS duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between *Poland* and *Sweden*; but having given umbrage to *Charles Gustavus* of *Sweden*, he was taken prisoner in 1658, and carried first to *Riga*, and next to *Ivanagorod*. The news of the duke's disaster, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching *Tabago*, the *Dutch* immediately besieged *Fort James*, which by the mutiny of the garrison was given up to them, and thereby they claimed possession of the whole island; but still promising to restore *Fort James* as soon as the duke should recover his liberty. By this time, the court of *France*, by one of those arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inserted *Tabago* among the other islands that were granted to their *West India* company; and the *Dutch* planters of *Tabago* thought that to be a good opportunity for establishing themselves under so powerful a protection. *Lampsius*, accordingly, in August 1662, had so much interest at the court of *France*, as to procure letters patent from *Lewis XIV.* creating him baron of *Tabago*, and they were registered the year following in the parliament of *Paris*. *Lampsius*, soon after, prevailed upon the *Dutch West-India* company to resign to him all their right in *Tabago*, and becoming thus the proprietor of the island, under the crown of *France*, he sent over Mr. *Hubert de Beveren* as his governor of the same. The new governor projected many public works and buildings to put the island upon a respectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built *Lampsinburgh*, and he gave the same name to the harbour, as also to a regular fortress which he erected at the same time. He likewise built *Fort Beveren*, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call *New Flushing*; besides raising several other forts for the security of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great spirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which served equally the purposes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and sugar-mills; and in short, *Tabago* then seemed in a condition to rival the most flourishing of the *English West-Indian* settlements.

The duke of Courland resumes his pretensions upon it.

THE treaty of *Oliwa* having restored the duke of *Courland* to his liberty, he demanded of the States-General the restitution of *Fort James* and his establishment at *Tabago*. This application was treated with great neglect, and the *Lampsius* sent orders to their governor in *Tabago* to be upon his guard, and to put the island in the best posture of defence he could. The duke finding himself thus injured, applied himself in 1664 to *Charles II.* of *England*; who, on November the 17th, that year, granted to him in property, the island of *Tabago*, on consideration of certain services reserved to the crown of *Great Britain*; and upon condition, that none shall inhabit the said island, save only the subjects of the king of *England*, and the duke of *Courland*, their heirs and successors. This grant was duly intimated to the States-General; but this intimation had no other effect than putting the *Dutch* of *Tabago* still more upon their guard; especially, as a war between them and *England* appeared at that time to be unavoidable. We are destitute of any regular information concerning the operations of the two powers in the *West Indies*; because most of them were undertaken by private adventurers, either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, who have given us no account of their proceedings. All we know is in general, that in the first *Dutch* war, the *English* privateers destroyed the *Dutch* forts and colony upon *Tabago*. In the succeeding war, which the *French* and the *Dutch* carried on against *England*, the *English* were dispossessed in their turn of this island, and the *Dutch* reinstated in it by the *French* governor of *Grenada*. It afterwards served as a rendezvous for the combined fleets of the two nations, who thereby did prodigious damage to the *English* trade; insomuch, that it was thought our *West-Indian* possessions must have been ruined, had not the *English* admiral, Sir *John Harman*, before the end of the war, attacked and defeated their joint squadrons, and totally destroyed the remains of that of *France*, which he pursued to *St. Christopher's*.

It is conquered by the French.

WE are not here critically to examine the right which *Charles II.* had to grant the property of this island to the duke of *Courland*; but it appears to have been more valid than the *French* grant, because it was founded upon prior rights, and particularly upon the deed made to the earl of *Pembroke*. Notwithstanding this, the *Dutch*, even after the defeat of their fleet, and that of their allies, not only kept possession of *Tabago*, but fortified it, in five years time, with three strong forts, and a numerous artillery, so that it was considered to be impregnable to all the force the *English* could bring against it. Sir *Tobias Bridges*, however, in 1673, made a descent upon *Tabago*, and not only plundered it, but carried off 400 of the inhabitants prisoners. The peace which succeeded between the *English* and the *Dutch* next year, left the latter once more in possession of *Tabago*, and they even conquered from the *French* the island of *Cayenne*. *Lewis XIV.* was then in the height of his glory, and the vice-admiral of *France* the count *D'Etrees*, sailing to the *West Indies* with a large armament, reconquered *Cayenne*, and appeared before *Tabago*. *James Binkes*, the admiral of *Zealand*, was then lying in *Great Rockley-Harbour* with a stout squadron of *Dutch* ships, which

- a which were attacked by sea and land by the count on the 3d of March, 1677. The engagement was desperate, and the count's ship, called the *Glorieux*, of seventy guns, with several others being blown up, he was obliged to retire, but not before he had destroyed great part of the *Dutch* squadron in port. This action gave the count so much credit with his own court, that he was reinforced with a stronger squadron towards the end of the year, to complete the reduction of the island. Having landed his men, he regularly invested the chief fort of the island, which he found to be so strong, that he was obliged to bombard it. The third bomb he threw in fell upon a magazine of powder, which blew up the fortrefs, together with admiral *Binkes*, and the greatest part of the officers and garrison. The count then completed the reduction of the island, and on the 27th of December the same year, utterly destroyed the *Dutch* colony upon it: an event which was celebrated by his master on a pompous medal struck upon the occasion.

- We are at a loss to know what measures the court of *England* and the duke of *Courland* were taking all this time towards settling the island in terms of the duke's grant; but it is certain, that the duke was not idle, and that about the year 1682, he covenanted with one captain *John Poyntz*, for settling 120,000 acres of land with the subjects of *England* and *Courland* upon the following terms, the publication of which, as that island is now entirely ceded to *Great Britain*, cannot fail of being agreeable to our readers: "Imprimis, That 120,000 acres of land, in the said island of *Tabago*, is given and granted to myself and company, and our heirs for ever; and seven years to be free from the payment of any rent; and after the expiration of seven years, each for himself is to pay two-pence per acre every year, to the duke, his lawful heirs and successors. Secondly, That myself and company, and all the inhabitants, shall enjoy liberty of conscience without interruption, Roman catholics only excepted. Thirdly, That myself and company, &c. are to be governed by a governor, deputy-governor, and assembly, to be yearly chosen by the majority of freeholders votes of the people in the island, to make good and wholesome laws for the good government and defence of the said island; and all controversies in the premises, to be decided by the majority of voices."

- Mr. *Poyntz* afterwards published other proposals for the farther encouragement of his intended colony, by which, every one who inclined to become a planter might have as much land as he pleased, either by lease or purchase, provided he put one white man to every fifteen acres of land, and so in proportion to other quantities. Mr. *Poyntz* next proposed to give better encouragement to all servants upon the island than any that had yet been given in any *English* settlement in *America*. All planters, and others concerned, were to have credit given them from crop to crop for what they should stand in need of; for which purpose, the company was to erect a bank, or factory, of credit in the island, the debtor only allowing two and a half per cent. The fourth article of encouragement was as follows: "All merchants and others, that shall import any negroes, or other merchandize, into the said island, shall have their goods and debts insured, and disposed of for two and a half per cent. with factorage, storage, and wharfage; and exported again for two and a half per cent. more. And all tradesmen and others, that contract any debts against themselves, shall have credit given them out of the bank or factory, from crop to crop, for two and a half per cent: and the proprietors to engage their whole interest for the true performance of the aforesaid premises." By the fifth article, such persons as contracted with the proprietors before the first shipping departed out of the river *Thames*, to ship off goods or people for the island, but had not ready money to purchase land, or to pay for their own and their servants passage, their goods were to be received as money.

- ALL the mighty expectations of profit and advantage from this island, were built upon the fertility of its soil in producing tobacco and cacao-nuts; and the vast profit which the *Spaniards* at *Trinidad*, notwithstanding the heavy imposts they paid, made of those commodities. It was particularly asserted, that an *Englishman*, settled upon *Tabago*, could purchase, for fifteen pounds, a negroe, who must cost a *Spaniard* an hundred; and that a *Spaniard* pays sixpence or more, for every thing that an *Englishman* could have bought for a penny. All those, and many other considerations, even at this time, require attention. It is certain, that these proposals being published under the authority of the duke of *Courland's* grant from the crown of *England*, the same was quietly submitted to at that time by all the powers of *Europe*; and even the *French* king refused to give a new grant of the island, tho' he had conquered it; because, as he said, it belonged to a neutral prince who had given him no provocation: nor do we perceive, that the States-General themselves had any thing to object to Mr. *Poyntz's* proposals when he republished them, under the patronage of king *William*. The truth is, that monarch, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, was not fond of encouraging any commercial schemes that clashed with the interest of *Spain*.

Upon the extinction of the *Kettler* family, dukes of *Courland*, in the person of *Ferdinand*,

Tabago reverts to the crown of England,

to which it is ceded by the treaty of Fontainebleau.

Natives.

Climate,

and soil of Tabago.

Trees.

son to duke *James*, the fief of the island of *Tabago* reverted to the crown of *England* in 1727, and our government asserted its right to it. The *Dutch*, however, revived their claim to the island, and even suffered their *West-India* company to grant to one of their subjects a commission for the government of *Tabago*. As to the court of *France*, its conduct was unaccountable to absurdity; for though by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Tabago* was one of the four islands that were declared to be neutral, yet the marquis *de Caylus*, then governor of the *French* islands, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even sent troops and men to fortify and settle it. The governor of *Barbados* receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, sent captain, now admiral *Tyrrel*, in his majesty's ship the *Chesterfield*, to oppose so manifest a violation of all good faith; while the duke of *Bedford*, who was then secretary of state, and the earl of *Albemarle* the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, made such strenuous remonstrances on the same head, that the *French* court disavowed the proceedings of *de Caylus*, whom they ordered home, and commanded their settlement of the island to be discontinued. In this state it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at *Paris*, by its ninth article, gave *Tabago* in full right to *Great Britain*, after which the government of it was bestowed upon colonel *Melvil*.

HAVING thus exhibited the civil and military history of *Tabago*, the reader will easily perceive from the various contests which it has occasioned, that it must in itself be of uncommon value, which renders it the more necessary for us to give a description of its natural and other advantages. A few *Indians*, while it was in its state of neutrality, were its only settled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the sea-coast, towards the northern extremity of the island. Those *Indians* are by nature far more tractable than the other *Caribbeans*; and though they are distractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt; but that very passion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a *British* government. A short time, and good usage, will reconcile them to the more polished habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utensils, a few presents of that kind might in time render them extremely serviceable to the first *British* planters of the island. The climate of *Tabago* is far more temperate than could be expected in an island that is but 11 deg. 10. min. north from the equator; for the force of the sun is diminished by the sea-breezes. The *Dutch*, when they first settled the island, thought it was unwholesome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its salubrity encreased, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the spice and gum-trees, with which the soil every where abounds. *Tabago* has another favourable circumstance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of those hurricanes that prove so fatal to the other *West India* islands; and consequently, it is not liable to those blasts that sometimes destroy the most promising harvests upon them.

THE surface of the island is unequal, and agreeably diversified with risings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impassable, though its north west extremity is mountainous. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing in the greatest plenty, whatever is raised in other parts of the *West-Indies*. The abundance of springs upon the island contributes to its healthfulness, and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for all kind of shipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its situation requires fortifications to render the island secure against the visits of savages and enemies. This is a most important consideration for the government of *Great Britain*, as without such fortifications, the natural richness of the island serves but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on *Tabago*, is, perhaps, the greatest riches; for, besides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in the other *West Indian* islands, the *Dutch* affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon this island. Though the *Dutch* can scarcely be supposed to be deceived in the natural properties of those trees, which they acknowledge to be different in some respects from those in their *East Indies*, and their other *Asiatic* plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of *Tabago*, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the *East Indies*. Though the latter is the most probable opinion, yet, as the fact itself, which is undisputed, evinces that those rich spices may be cultivated upon the island, it renders it an object highly deserving the attention of the public; especially, as sugar itself was imported into the *West-Indies* from *Europe*; and the same may be said of other commodities that now become staple ones in *America*.

MR. *Blome*, who in the year 1687, wrote the present state of our *American* islands, says, that the soil naturally produces *Indian* corn, such as grows in *Virginia*, *New-York*, and *Carolina*; but that no *English* grain, excepting peas, beans, and pulse, can be raised there; and that the island produces *Guinea* corn, *French* beans, and various kinds of peas. He mentions the cushen apple, which he says, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rhind when green. The fig-trees upon *Tabago* are reckoned equal to those in *Spain* and *Portugal*. The prickle-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the

- a the pine apple, and several other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are said, by our author ^g, to be of three kinds, or rather to serve three purposes, the sour or bitter one for sauce, their flowers for essences, and their sweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons and limes of both kinds, viz. sour and sweet, are found in plenty upon this island; and the marmalade, which is made of its guavas, yields to none. Plantanes, that food which is so useful in supporting the negroes, to whom it is very agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind, as do tamarinds. Though the island produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluster, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here; and yet it is very probable, that a little culture and perseverance might raise wine equal to any in *Europe*. The custard-apple, the sour-apple, the papaw-apple, the mamme apple, and the yellow plum, are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the island are but indifferent. The cocoa-nut tree grows here to such perfection, that the *Indians* call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Musk, cucumbers, and water melons thrive here, as do pomkins and gourds. The inhabitants make use of potatoes as bread. They likewise have yams, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and cassada root. The author last quoted ^h, though he wrote almost four-score years ago, bears an ample testimony of all that is said at present in favour of this island; for he tells us, that besides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different sorts of pepper, the long, the cod, the bell, the round, and the *Jamaica*; all which grow upon the island, without culture. Notwithstanding this, we cannot think that those are natives of *Tabago*; but they sufficiently prove, that all the products of the *East-Indies* may be cultivated there.

Plantanes.

- According to the same author, wild hogs abounded so much upon *Tabago*, that the people cut off at least 20,000 of them every year, without their being sensibly diminished. The pickery of *Tabago* resembles a hog, and it contains numbers of armadilloes, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; *Indian-conies*, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horses, cows, asses, sheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the *Dutch*, and their breeds are still to be found upon the island. Its shores are stored with excellent fish, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a most delicious taste, with other kinds unknown in *England*. In short, no island, perhaps, in the world, can boast of such variety of fishes, both shell and others, as *Tabago* can; so that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The same may be said of their fowl, and, according to the above author, the "commodities which the country doth or may produce, are, cocoa-nut, sugar, tobacco, indigo, ginger, sarsaparilla, semper-vivum, bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balsam, balm, silk-grass, green tar, soap-earth, with many curious shells, stones, markasites, and minerals, found up and down the island of *Tabago*, whose virtue and worth are yet unknown."

Tabago wild hogs,

and other commodities.

The BAHAMA ISLANDS.

- c THOSE islands lie the most easterly of all the *Antilles*, and to the north of the isle of *Cuba*, and east and south-east from the *Spanish Florida*, stretching from north-east to south-west, between the 21st and 28th degree of north latitude, and between 72. and 81. of western longitude ⁱ. By this situation, it is plain, they lie out of the course of ships bound for the *American* continent, which most probably was the reason why they were so lately taken notice of by the *English*. They were first discovered by the famous *Columbus*; and the island of *Guanabam*, now called the *Isle of Providence*, is laid down in *Bry's* map of the *West-Indies*, published in 1594, as are likewise *Babama* and *Lucaya*; but they are mentioned in such a manner, that it is plain the geographers had but very imperfect notions f either of the situation of that, or any other of those islands. *Benzoni*, one of the first navigators to *America*, says, that the sailor, who first discovered land, and called out that he saw a fire, was denied the reward that was promised to the first discovery; and that he afterwards went to *Africa*, where he turned Mahometan (X). Whatever may be in this, it is pretty certain, that *Guanabam* was the first *American* land that was discovered by *Columbus*; who no sooner approached it, than he went into his boat, and landing ^k, he fell

Discovery of the Bahama Islands,

^g Candid and impartial Considerations on the nature of the Sugar-Trade, p. 248.

^h Ibid. p. 249.

ⁱ System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 692.

^k BENZONI, p. 34. apud DE BRY. PETER MARTYR, *ibid.*

(X) The pretext for this injustice, was, that *Salsedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, affirmed, that his master, two hours before, had declared he had seen the same fire. As this declaration was not public, but communicated to a *Spanish* gentleman on board, the poor sailor had a

right to complain; so that we must conclude, it was either not in the power of *Columbus* (on account of the opposition he met with) to reward him, or that he himself was immeasurably fond of the honour of being the first discoverer.

upon his knees, and most devoutly thanked God for making him the instrument of publishing his gospel in the New World. He then ordered a tree to be cut down, and erected a cross in its place, and gave it the name of *San Salvador*, taking possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty.

by Columbus.

COLUMBUS perceiving that the island was small, and the islanders (who appeared to have no sensation but amazement at the sight of the ships and their new guests) were but poor, and gathering from their signs, that the little gold they had among them, came from the westward, or the southward, he carried off with him some of the natives to assist him in his future discoveries; but it is certain, that he made no settlement upon *St. Salvador*, or, as it is now called, *Providence*, or any of the *Bahama Islands*. Though we cannot suppose those to have been long unknown to the *English*, yet one captain *Sayle*, who was bound for *Carolina*, in the year 1667, is the first *Englishman* mentioned to have landed upon it, which he was obliged to do by stress of weather. Upon his return to *England* that same year, he made so favourable a report of the *Bahama Islands* in general to his employers, the proprietaries of *Carolina*, that six of them applied for, and obtained, a grant, for that of *Providence*, or as it is sometimes called, *New Providence*, and of the *Bahama Islands* in general, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees. The names of their first proprietaries were *George duke of Albemarle*, *William lord Craven*, *Sir George Carteret*, *John lord Berkley*, *Anthony lord Ashley*, and *Sir Peter Colliton*. But though this was the first legal settlement made of the *Bahamas*, it appears from many evidences, that they had long before been (the island of *Providence* particularly) a shelter for pirates, and a disorderly set of people, who lived either upon the wrecks of the ships driven upon those dangerous coasts, or by supplying the mariners, who approached them, with liquors and other necessaries.

Settled by
English prop-
rietaries.

Chilling-
worth gover-
nor,

CAPTAIN Sayle, in a second visit he paid, or was obliged to pay, to the island of *Providence*, discovered the vast advantage the possession of those islands would be of to the people of *England*, and made the government so sensible of it, that they resolved, about the year 1672, to send a governor and some settlers thither; and the first governor pitched upon was one *Mr. Chillingworth*, a gentleman of character and capacity. By this time, the natives of the *Bahamas*, though they were reckoned to be by far the most harmless of any in the *West-Indies*, had been either barbarously butchered or carried off by the *Spaniards* and pirates; but *Mr. Chillingworth* found a far more unruly set of men to deal with. *England* was at that time over-run by dissolute people of both sexes, many of whom embraced the encouragement given by the government, by shipping themselves for *New Providence*, which was represented as a perfect paradise. Those meeting with the pirates and coasters already settled there, the whole formed so ungovernable a colony, that *Mr. Chillingworth*, in endeavouring to reclaim them, was himself shipped off for *Jamaica* in a forcible tumultuous manner, and an unrestrained anarchy ensued among the settlers.

is forcibly sent
to Jamaica.

Clark, gover-
nor,

THOSE disorders continued for some years, neither the government nor the proprietaries being at the expence of checking them. At last, one *Mr. Clark* accepted of a proprietary commission to be governor. The *Spaniards*, who had fomented all the disorders of the former colony, no sooner understood that the *English* intended to resettle the island, than they invaded it, destroyed all the stock, and burnt the cottages of the inhabitants; and it is said, that having carried off the governor in chains, they afterwards cruelly put him to death. After this depopulation, this island, and all the other *Bahamas*, which are supposed to consist of near 500, but most of them barren rocks, were abandoned, the *English* removing to *Carolina* and other settlements. At the time this disaster happened, the chief town of the island, which has been since called *Nassau*, consisted of 150 houses. Nothing could have prevailed upon the *English* government to have been at any farther expence about the *Bahamas*, but the vast consequence of their situation, especially in war-time. This was so evident, that before the Revolution, a great many people, both from *England* and the continent of *America*, removed thither; and by the year 1690, *New Providence* became so populous, that the proprietaries thought it worth their while to appoint one *Cadwallader Jones* to be their governor; and he accordingly arrived there on the 19th of June.

murdered by
the Spaniards.

Jones, gover-
nor.

THERE is one reason for believing that the new colonists retained the spirit of their predecessors. *Jones*, by all accounts, was of a rough, arbitrary disposition; and probably for that reason was made choice of by the proprietaries to manage so mutinous a set; and indeed it seems to be chiefly owing to him, that the government of the *Bahamas* was reduced into any form; for in his time, mention is made of counsellors and assembly-men, though we can say little as to their qualifications. If we are to believe the enemies of *Jones*, (especially one *Bulkley*) the whole of his government was oppressive, treasonable, and even sometimes frantic (Y). But, indeed, great allowances are to be made for the genius of

(Y) This *Bulkley* wrote and published a most shocking account of his sufferings under *Jones*, which he entitled, *An Appeal to Cæsar*.

- ^a the people he had to govern, which might oblige him to follow measures that were not strictly warrantable, and render him not very fond of assemblies. At first he was treated with great respect, but every day producing new quarrels between him and the people of the island, Mr. *Bulkley*, who was his capital enemy, exhibited (before the council we suppose) a charge of high treason against him; upon which he was arrested, and thrown into prison. The council, upon this, published a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of the *Bahama Islands*, that the government was devolved upon them and their president, Mr. *Gilbert Aspley*, whom they were required to look upon as their governor. This proclamation, which was dated the 24th of *January*, was signed by two deputies of the proprietaries, and five of the assembly-men. *Jones*, who perhaps, knew his cause to be none of the best,
- ^b applied to compromise matters with *Bulkley*, who, notwithstanding all the offers made him, remained inexorable, and entered into a recognizance of 500*l.* to prosecute him. *Jones*, upon this, acted as a man of spirit; for he assembled the people of the island, and they delivered him by main force from his imprisonment, where they placed his accuser *Bulkley* in his room. It was no wonder if the latter, as he most grievously complains, met with very severe usage under his confinement; especially as it does not appear that he was backed by the council. He, however, at last, obtained his enlargement, upon his delivering up his books; but on the arrival of one Mr. *Graves*, with a proper commission from *England*, he was put in irons, under a charge of high-treason, for his proceedings against the governor. If we are to believe his own representation, several designs were laid to murder him; but those charges most probably were false or aggravated, for he remained in custody all the remaining time of *Jones's* government.

is imprisoned; but recovers his liberty.

- THE proprietaries by this time were sensible, that it would be highly improper to continue *Jones* longer in the government, and one Mr. *Trott* was appointed to succeed him. Under him Mr. *Bulkley* took his trial, and was acquitted; and, at the same time, *Jones* was suffered to depart without any censure. *Bulkley* afterwards applied to the *English* government for damages, which he laid at 4000*l.* but though his papers were referred to the secretary of state, we do not find that he obtained any compensation. Under Mr. *Trott* the town of *Nassau* recovered its former figure, and its houses amounted to about 160, provided with a church, and a fort to protect the town, mounted with 28 guns, besides demiculverins. Before this fort could be built, the ship of the famous pirate *Avery*, which carried 46 guns, and 160 stout men, arrived at *Providence*; and though, if he had landed, the governor could not have opposed him with more than 70 men, yet his crew paid for all the refreshments they called for, as most of them very possibly were themselves *Bahama-men*. Soon after his leaving the island, both it and two other of the *Bahamas*, *Harbour-Island*, and *Eleuthera*, with a few other smaller ones, grew so populous, that they could muster above 200 men; and though the *French* paid them several unwelcome visits, yet, by the help of their fort, they made so good a countenance, that they suffered little, or no loss.

Trott, governor.

- IN 1697, the lords-proprietaries, with the approbation of his majesty king *William*, appointed *Nicholas Webb*, Esq; to the government of the *Bahama Islands*. *New Providence*, in this gentleman's time, enjoyed, for some time, a tolerable state of tranquillity; and it was reckoned to contain about 400 negroes. One Mr. *Lightwood*, who was afterwards governor, endeavoured to set up a sugar-work upon *New Providence*, the soil of the island being very proper for that commodity; but the very means employed by a good governor to improve this colony, served to weaken it; because the pirates, finding now no harbour in the *Bahamas*, no longer spent their money with the inhabitants, who, being at the same time, refrained from the cruel practice of plundering wrecks, their restless spirit grew with their poverty. Perpetual altercations happening between them and their governors, their differences were by the lords-proprietors generally referred to the government of *South-Carolina*, which gave matter of discontent equally to the people and the governor; for they complained, that they were treated only as a dependent province of that colony.

Webb, governor.

- ABOUT the year 1700, while matters were in this untowardly state, one *Elias Hasket*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Webb* in the government of the *Bahamas*; but he was scarcely settled in his government, when disagreeing with the inhabitants, they put him in irons, and sent him off the island; and by their own authority they chose *Ellis Lightwood*, Esq. We know of no resentment shewn on this occasion by the proprietaries. Mr. *Lightwood* seems to have remained in possession of the government till the year 1703, when the dissensions, that still prevailed on the island, encouraged the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were then at war with *Great Britain*, to make a descent upon it from *Petit Guaves*. The island was then completely ruined. The town of *Nassau* and its church were burnt down, the fort dismantled, its guns nailed up, and the governor, with half the negroes, were carried off prisoners. As to the white inhabitants, their enemies seem to have taken very little concern about them, and they retired to the woods till the danger was over. Returning from thence, and finding

Hasket, governor.

Lightwood, governor.

Birch, governor.

finding the island entirely ruined, they found means to remove themselves to other settlements. The proprietaries had taken so little concern in the affairs of *New Providence*, that they did not even know of the catastrophe which had happened; and they named one *Birch* to the government of *New Providence*; but when he went thither, he found it entirely abandoned; so he was obliged to take up his habitation in the woods, and he returned home without opening his commission. The *Isle of Providence* after this became once more a residence for pirates and free-booters of all kinds and nations, especially *English* and *Irish*, who committed more depredations upon the *British* trade than both the *French* and *Spaniards*. The intelligent part of the nation saw and bewailed this; but the little care which was taken during queen *Anne's* time, to protect our *West-Indian* commerce, prevented any remedy being applied. At last, the house of lords in *March*, 1714, addressed the queen, to put the *Island of Providence* in a posture of defence, observing, at the same time, that "it would be of fatal consequence, if the *Bahama Islands* should fall into the hands of an enemy; and beseeching her majesty to take the said islands into her own hands, and give such such order for their security, as to her royal wisdom she should think fit." No regard was paid to the address by the then tory ministry, on pretence of the proprietary right, though that right certainly was extinguished by the inattention of the proprietaries to the affairs of the colony. After the accession of king *George I.* the neglected state of the *Bahama Islands*, and the vast encrease of piracies in the *West-Indies*, became again matters of very serious consideration; and the lords, in another address, complained, that "there were not any the least means used in compliance with their advice, for securing the *Bahama Islands*; and that then the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on *Harbour Island*, and that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates, are at *Providence*." Upon this address, his majesty gave orders for fortifying and settling the island, and for dislodging the pirates.

Rogers, governor.

THE execution of this plan was committed to captain *Wood Rogers*, a celebrated navigator, who in the year 1718, sailed as governor of *Providence* with a force sufficient to reduce the pirates. Before his arrival, governor *Bennet* of *Bermudas* had sent a sloop to *Providence*, requiring the pirates to surrender themselves, by which they were entitled to the benefit of a late proclamation for pardon. About an hundred and fifty of the pirates, among whom were several of their captains, gladly accepted of this summons, and surrendered themselves. Upon the arrival of *Rogers* at *Providence* in *July* 1718, *Vane* one of the outstanding captains of the pirates, converted one of his prizes into a fire-ship, by which he attempted to burn the *Rose* frigate, which narrowly escaped, while *Vane* and fifty of his men got off in a sloop. When *Rogers* landed he found upon the island about 300 men capable of bearing arms; many of whom had been pirates themselves, and none of them under any apprehensions from that wicked fraternity; but all of them very determined to defend themselves against the *French* and *Spaniards*, which, by the assistance of an hundred regulars *Rogers* brought along with him, they were soon in a condition to do. The first measure of *Rogers's* government was to take possession of the ruined fort, and to read his majesty's commission to him, as governor, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the island. It must be acknowledged, that the plan upon which he acted was as moderate as it was wise; for he admitted to the benefit of the proclamation about 200 of the remaining pirates who surrendered themselves. In settling his council, that he might restore a form of government to the island, he nominated six adventurers who attended him from *England*, and had the good fortune to meet with six inhabitants of the island who pretended they never had been pirates, with whom he filled up the remaining number. He himself had been appointed captain of the independent company which came with him; and the judge of the admiralty, the collector of the customs, the chief justice, the secretary, the register, the provost-marshal, and the naval officers, had their commissions from *England*; and the colony throve so well that it soon amounted to about 1500 whites.

The island cleared of pirates.

claimed by the Spaniards.

As the *Spaniards* had but two years before delivered a memorial to the governor and council of *Jamaica*, claiming the property of the *Bahama Islands* as belonging to his catholic majesty; the chief care of the inhabitants was to prepare against a *Spanish* invasion, and this led them to work incessantly upon the new fortifications of the island, and to form themselves into three militia companies, who regularly did duty at *Nassau* guard-house. Another fort was erected at the harbour-mouth, a good guard ship was provided for the road, and the ground all about *Nassau Town* perfectly cleared. *Eleuthera* and *Harbour Islands* were likewise peopled, and put in a posture of defence; and, in a short time, the town of *Nassau* consisted of about 300 houses, the materials for building being there very plentiful. But the industry of the inhabitants was chiefly confined to military matters; for being bred up in habits of idleness, they paid too little attention to the cultivation of the excellent soil of their island, and were obliged to bring many of the necessaries of life from *England*, or the *American* continent. Mr. *Rogers*, about the year 1721, returned to *England*.

a land, to solicit some fresh supplies that had been promised him, but never had arrived. Having a thorough knowledge of the interests and importance of the islands he governed, the commissioners of trade received his representations very favourably, and the matter being brought before the privy-council, his majesty was pleased to give him a new commission as governor of the *Bahama Islands*, with a salary of 400*l.* a year, and to appoint him to the command of a free company in the island of *Providence*.

b THE representations he gave in to the board of trade very justly observed, that the *Bahama Islands* lying near to *Hispaniola*, and to the noted port of *Havannah*, in the island of *Cuba*, where the *Spanish* galleons and flota always rendezvous before they return to *Europe*, having the gulph of *Florida* to the west, and the *Windward Passage* to the east of them; their situation in time of peace is capable of great improvement in trade, and has always been a good retreat for disabled ships, blown from various parts of the continent of *America*. It was farther observed, that in time of war, the *British* cruizers and privateers, stationed at the *Bahama Islands*, are more capable to obstruct and annoy the *Spanish* trade homeward-bound in time of war, than all that are stationed at the rest of the *British* colonies in *America*; and that they were very proper for the reception of small cruizers, not exceeding forty guns, while the harbour of *Port-Royal*, which was then the southermost frontier of the *British* possessions on the continent, and lying on the other side of the gulph of *Florida*, was capable of receiving the largest ships; and those two stations were much more proper than that of *Jamaica*, either for annoying the enemy, or protecting our northern colonies and our sugar-islands.

Memorial of Rogers.

c THE *Spaniards* seemed to be fully sensible of all the truths contained in this representation; for according to the account left us by Mr. *Rogers* himself, who suffered greatly in his private affairs, by exerting himself, as he did, for the interest of his government, they fitted out two expeditions against the *Bahamas* at the expence of 100,000*l.* and attacked the *Bahamas* with 2000 men, whom Mr. *Rogers* defeated, and burnt two of their ships of war in their retreat, without having any support from the other colonies, but what he engaged on his own personal credit. He died within two or three years after his return to his government. He was succeeded by one captain *Fitzwilliams*; but in the year 1736, the independent company quartered at fort *Nassau* mutinied on account of the smallness of their pay, they having no augmentation as the companies at *Jamaica* have. The mutineers at first were formidable, for they seized the fort, fired upon the governor and his attendants, broke open and plundered the storehouse, and would have made themselves masters of the magazine, had they not been prevented by the activity of the governor. At last they seized a small sloop in the harbour, and releasing a *French* sailor from prison to be their pilot, they set sail; but next morning being pursued, they were all taken and brought back to *Providence*, where they were tried and convicted, and twelve of their leaders, with the *Frenchman*, were hanged. Since that time, the history of *New Providence* affords us nothing remarkable, only that it continues still on the thriving hand, and was of great benefit to the *British* trade, during the late war between *France* and *Spain*. We shall now proceed to give some farther account of the *Bahama Islands*, which is the more necessary, because it is universally agreed that a sufficient attention has not been paid to their importance and value.

Fitzwilliams, governor.

d MR. *Tinney* superseded captain *Rogers* in the government of the *Bahama Islands*; but he being replaced upon *Tinney's* death, *Rogers* succeeded him, but he died in 1733; and upon the resignation of *Fitzwilliams*, his successor, *John Tinker*, Esq; was appointed governor.

e THE largest of those islands is *Bahama*, which gives name to all the others. It is seated in lat. 26. 45. north, and is distant above fifteen leagues from the peninsula of *Florida*. According to the best accounts it is fifty miles in length, and in some parts sixteen in breadth. Though the island is well-watered, the soil fruitful, and the air serene, yet it was inhabited only by a few stragglers, who subsist by selling necessaries to the ships which the currents drive upon their coast. This island formerly produced guaiacum, sarsaparilla, and red wood; all which are said to have been entirely destroyed by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants are obliged to bring all their subsistence and necessaries from *Carolina*, excepting some white fowl, and a particular kind of rabbit which they rear. The straits of *Bahama*, which the *British* fleet so happily cleared in the last expedition against the *Havannah*, are well known to navigators for the dangers and difficulties that attend the passing them. We have already mentioned *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Island*, and can say nothing particular as to the rest of them, though many of them are said to be large, fruitful, and well watered, especially those of *Lucayonequa*, *Andros*, *Cigateo*, *Yumeta*, *Samana*, *Mayaguana*, *Yuma*, or *Exuma*, *Ynagua*, *Caicos*, and *Triangulo*. Those islands, through the dangers attending the navigation to them, are so little known, that it is uncertain whether they are inhabited; some navigators affirming, that several of them are still peopled by the *Spaniards*; and others, that the descendants of the original natives are yet to be found upon

Natural history of the Bahamas.

them. We have little to add to the natural history of those islands, only that it appears ^a from some papers in the Philosophical Transactions, that whales have been found dead on the shore here, with sperm all over their bodies; but the writer says, that he never heard of one of those whales being killed, so fierce and active are they when alive. A spermaceti whale when dead is computed to be worth several hundred pounds. Some ambergrease, of which our forefathers made so great account, has been found on the coast of the *Bahamas*; but many of the fishes taken on the same coasts, are either hurtful to the health or poisonous in themselves.

The *BERMUDAS*, or *SUMMER-ISLANDS*. b

Discovery of
the Bermudas
Islands,

by the Eng-
lish.

who abandon-
ed them.

They are re-in-
habited.

And their pro-
perty given to
the Virginia
company.

IT is uncertain, nor is it indeed material, whether one *John Bermudas* a *Spaniard*, or one *Henry May* an *Englishman*, was the first *European* discoverer of those islands, which, according to our best information, lay at such a distance from the continent of *America*, that they were out of the reach of the *Indian* navigation; and therefore, at their first discovery, they were found to be entirely uninhabited. It is certain, that the *Spaniards* never took possession of them, though the catholic king gave in 1572, a gift of them to one of his subjects. As to *May*, he was shipwrecked upon *St. George's*, one of the most considerable of those islands; and with the cedar which they felled there, assisted by the wreck of their own ship, he and his companions built a new one, which carried them to *Europe*, where ^c they published their observations and accounts of the *Bermudas Islands*. When lord *Delaware* was made governor of *Virginia*, *Sir Thomas Gates*, *Sir George Sommers*, and captain *Newport* were appointed to be his deputy-governors; but the ship in which they were being separated from the rest of their Squadron, was wrecked on the *Bermudas*; and the governors disagreeing among themselves, built each of them a new ship of the cedar growing upon the islands, in which they severally sailed to *Virginia*, where they arrived in about fourteen days, the crews of all the three ships consisting of about an hundred and fifty men. When they arrived at *Virginia*, that colony was in so great distress, that the lord *Delaware*, upon the report which his deputy-governors made of the plenty they found in the *Bermudas*, ^d dispatched *Sir George Sommers* to bring provisions from thence to *Virginia* in the same ship which carried him from *Bermudas*, and which had not one ounce of iron about it, excepting one bolt in its keel. *Sir George*, after a painful voyage, at last reached the *Bermudas*, where, soon after his arrival, he died, leaving his name to the islands, and his orders for his attendants to return with black hogs to the colony of *Virginia*. The crew neglected to fulfil this part of his will, and set sail in their cedar-ships for *England*, where they landed at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this dereliction of the *Bermudas*, it was not without *English* inhabitants. Two *Englishmen*, *Carter* and *Waters*, being apprehensive of punishment for their crimes, had secreted themselves in the woods from their fellows, when *Sir George* and his company were first shipwrecked on the island; and had lived upon the productions of the ^e soil of *St. George's* island, where they had likewise built a hut. Upon the second arrival of *Sir George*, they enticed one *Chard* to remain with them; but differing about the sovereignty of the island, *Chard* and *Waters* were on the point of cutting one another's throats, when they were prevented by the prudence of *Carter*. Soon after, they had the good fortune to find on the coast the greatest piece of ambergrease ever known, weighing about eighty pounds, besides other pieces, which, in those days, were sufficient, if properly disposed of, to have made each of them master of a large estate. Where they were, this ambergrease was useless, and therefore they came to the desperate resolution of carrying themselves and it, in a boat, to *Virginia*, or to *Newfoundland*, in hopes of being able to ^f sell it.

We know not by what right the property of *Bermudas* was transmitted to the *Virginia* company; but it is certain that they claimed it, and sold it to 120 persons of their own society, who obtained a charter from king *James* for their possessing it. This new *Bermudas* company, as it was called, fitted out a ship with sixty planters on board, to settle upon the *Bermudas*, under the government of one *Mr. Richard Moor*, who was a plain sensible man, and by profession a carpenter, by which he was very well qualified for his trust. The new colony arrived upon *St. George's* island just at the time when the three mariners were ready to set sail in their boat with their ambergrease, which *Moor* having discovered, he immediately seized and disposed of it for the benefit of the company, though we cannot see what right they could have to the poor men's fortunate acquisition. So valuable a booty ^g gave vast spirit to the new company, and the adventurers settled themselves upon *St. George's* island, where they raised cabins. As to *Mr. Moor*, he was indefatigable in his duty, and carried on the fortifying and planting the island with incredible diligence; for we are

a are told, that he not only built eight or nine forts, or rather blockhouses, but enured the settlers to martial discipline.

BEFORE the first year of his government was expired, Mr. *Moor* received a new supply of provisions and planters from *England*; and he planned out the town of *St. George* as it now stands. In a short time, the plantation, by the seasonable supplies it received from *England*, was enabled to answer the company's expences, by returns in several sorts of drugs, ambergrease, cedar, tobacco, and other commodities. The fame of the settlement awakened the jealousy of the *Spaniards*, who appeared off *St. George's* with some vessels, which being fired upon by the *English*, they shied off, tho' the *English*, at that time, were so unprovided for a defence, that they had not above one barrel of powder on the whole island. During b *Moor's* government, the *Bermudas* islands were visited with the loathsome plague of rats; which had been imported into them in *European* ships. This vermin multiplied so much in *St. George's* that they even covered the ground, and had nests in the trees. They destroyed all the fruits and corn within doors; and they encreased to such a degree, that *St. George's* at last was unable to maintain them, and they swam over to the neighbouring islands, where they committed the like havock. This calamity lasted, but we suppose not in the same degree, for five years, and at last it ceased all of a sudden.

UPON the expiration of *Moor's* term of government, which was but for three years, he was succeeded by captain *Daniel Tucker*, who improved all *Moor's* schemes for the benefit of the island, and particularly encouraged the culture of tobacco. Being a severe disciplinarian, he held those under him to such duty, that five of them planned the boldest enterprize that perhaps ever was carried into execution. Their names were, *Barker*, who is said to have been a gentleman; another *Barker*, a joiner; *Goodwin*, a ship-carpenter; *Pact*, a sailor, and *Saunders*, who planned the enterprize. Their management was as artful as their design was bold. Understanding that the governor was deterred from taking the pleasure of fishing in an open boat, on account of the dangers attending it, they proposed building for him one of a particular construction (Z), which they accordingly did, in a secret part of the island; but when the governor came to view his boat, he understood that the builders had put to sea in it. The intelligence was true; for the adventurers, having provided themselves with the few necessaries they wanted, sailed for *England*; and, d notwithstanding the storms they encountered, their being plundered by a *French* privateer, and the incredible miseries they underwent, they landed in forty-two days-time, at *Cork*, in *Ireland*, where they were generously relieved and entertained by the earl of *Thomond*.

IN 1619, captain *Tucker*, whose administration was of infinite service to those islands, resigned his government to captain *Butler*. By this time, the high character which the *Summer Islands* bore in *England*, rendered it fashionable for men of the highest rank to encourage their settlement; and several of the first nobility of *England* had purchased plantations among them. Captain *Butler* brought over with him 500 passengers, who became planters on the islands, and raised a monument to the memory of Sir *George Sommers*. The island was now so populous, (for it contained above 1000 whites) that captain *Butler* applied himself to give it a new constitution of government, by introducing an assembly; the government, till this time, being administered only in the name of the governor and council. A body of laws were likewise drawn up, as agreeable to the laws of *England*, as the situation of the island would admit of. One Mr. *Barnard* succeeded captain *Butler* as governor, but died six weeks after his arrival upon the island; upon which the council made choice of Mr. *Harrison* to be governor, till a new one should be appointed. No fewer than 3000 *English* were now settled in the *Bermudas*, and several persons of distinction had curiosity enough to take short trips from *England* to visit it. Among those was Mr. *Waller*, the poet, a man of fortune, who being embroiled with the parliament, and the commonwealth of *England*, spent some months in the *Summer Islands*, which he has celebrated in one of his poems, as being the most delicious spot in the creation. Some have doubted, whether the poet ever was in the *Summer Islands*; but the fact seems now to be ascertained, and indeed the picture he gives of them, though none of the best of his works, is too characteristical not to be drawn from an original. The dangers attending the navigation, notwithstanding the untowardly situation of the islands, through their distance from the *American* continent, seems to have been the chief, if not the only reason, why the *Bermudas* did not become the best peopled islands belonging to *England*; and we are told, that some years ago, they contained no fewer than 10,000 whites.

THE chief adventurers of distinction in settling the *Bermudas Islands*, were, the marquis of *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the earls of *Devonshire*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, and *Southamp-*

Moor, governor.

Tucker, governor.

Wonderful escape of five Englishmen in an open boat.

Butler, governor.

Prosperity of the island.

(Z) In a Latin inscription upon *Blome's* map of the *Bermudas*, the boat is said to have been open above, and about three tons burden, for so we understand the words, *Trium delictorum majorum capacitatis*.

ton, and Sir *Edwin Sands*. One Mr. *Norwood*, a surveyor, was sent from *England* to partition out the islands, which he did into eight districts, or, as he called them, tribes; each tribe bearing the name of one of those proprietors, and was divided into fifty shares; every share, one with another, consisted of about twenty-five acres, and the value of each share¹, is said to have been from 300 to 500*l.* proclamation-money; but no beauty, or fertility of climate or soil, can compensate the want of trade. The *Summer Islands* dwindled in their population so much, that it is reckoned they do not now contain above 5000 whites; nor, indeed, did the inhabitants ever discover any great spirit of commerce. Some years after the Revolution took place, they sent over to king *William* a very loyal address, which was presented to him by Sir *William Trumbal*, one of his principal secretaries of state, together with the association, for the support of his government, signed by the governor^b council, assembly, and principal inhabitants. In 1698, *Samuel Day*, Esq; was, by the same king, appointed lieutenant-governor of the *Summer Islands*, where he arrived in the *Maidstone* man of war. Two years after, he was succeeded by captain *Bennet*. *Alured Popple*, Esq; formerly secretary to the board of trade and plantations, was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1737; and in 1747, he was succeeded by his brother, *William Popple*, Esq; who died in his passage to *England*, 1754.

Day, governor.

Bennet, governor.

Account of dean Berkley's ineffectual project.

In the reign of king *George I.* the famous dean *Berkley*, afterwards bishop of *Cloyne*, the greatest metaphysical genius of his age, formed a plan for founding in *Bermudas* a college or seminary, for the education of the *British American* youth, which he himself proposed to superintend. As the neglect of education in *America* had been long complained of, and the dean's abilities, as well as virtues, were universally respected, his plan was espoused by the society for the propagation of the gospel; and they assisted him in obtaining a patent for it from the crown. In consequence of this patent, the dean engaged three fellows of *Trinity College*, in *Dublin*, to accompany him, as did several other public-spirited persons of distinction, and at a very considerable expence of his private fortune, he purchased a noble library, and hired a ship, which was to carry him and his friends to the *Bermudas*. Nothing can give us a stronger proof than this project does, of the fallibility of human genius, when depending upon reading and information alone, without the assistance of experience, for the execution of a great project. The dean and his friends were enamoured with the Elysian descriptions of the *Summer Islands*, from which all luxury was debarred; where the air was pure; the manners of the inhabitants untainted, and where no objects could present themselves to divert the attention from study. After a tedious winter-passage, he was obliged to put in at *Rhode Island*, in *New England*; where, upon a little cool reflection, he was convinced how impracticable his project was. People of great weight in *England* were, at the bottom, no friends to a plan, which they thought might engross too much of that time, and too many of those abilities, that ought to be dedicated to the pursuits of commerce. Besides this, he learned upon better information, that the island was often inaccessible through storms, and destitute of most of those good qualities for which it had been celebrated by the authors he consulted. Those, and a variety of other considerations, determined him to drop his plan; and, after generously bestowing a large part of his library upon the colleges of *Massachusetts-Bay* and *Connecticut*, he and his friends returned to *England*.^d

Natural history of the Summer Islands.

BERMUDAS is in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 65 deg. west from *London*, lies 200 to 300 leagues distance from the nearest lands, viz. *New England*, *Virginia*, *South Carolina*, and *Providence*, or the *Bahama Islands*. The tide flows five feet, in narrow channels and turnings, requiring a good pilot^m. The whole number of the islands, called the *Bermudas*, are said to be near 400, a few of which only are habitable. The principal is *St. George's*, which is not above sixteen miles in length, and three at most in breadth. It is universally agreed, that the nature of this and the other *Bermudas Islands* has undergone a most surprising alteration for the worse since they were first discovered, the air being now much more inclement, and the soil much more barren than formerly. This is ascribed to the cutting down those fine spreading cedar-trees, for which those islands were famous, and which sheltered them from the blasts of the north wind, and at the same time protected the under-growth of the delicate plants and herbs. In short, the *Summer Islands* are now far from being desirable spots, and their natural productions are but just sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, who chiefly, perhaps for that reason, are deemed to be temperate and lively, even to a proverb. The tobacco they raised was, upon experience, found to be inferior to that growing in the other *American Islands*, and therefore that trade is now almost at an end in the *Bermudas*. Their ambergrease trade has decreased in proportion, as likewise has their whale trade; though the perquisites upon it form part of the governor's revenue, he having about 10*l.* for every whale that is caught.^g

¹ DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 147.

^m Ibid.

- a THE *Bermudas Islands*, however, might still produce some valuable commodities, were they properly cultivated. There is here found, about three or four feet below the surface, a white chalk-stone, which they export, and is easily chiseled, for building gentlemen's houses in the *West-Indies*. Their palmetto-leaves, if properly manufactured, might turn to excellent account in making hats for women, and their oranges are still valuable; but the chief resource of the inhabitants for subsistence, consists in their remains of the cedar-wood, of which they fabricate small sloops, with the assistance of *New England* white-pine; and they sell many of them in our *American* plantations, where they are highly prized. Their turtle-catching trade is of vast service for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and they are still able to rear great variety of tame-fowl, wild ones abounding in vast plenty. All the attempts to establish a regular whale-fishery in the *Summer Islands* have hitherto proved ineffectual; and even the black hog breed, which probably was left here by the *Spaniards*, is greatly diminished. The water on the island (excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is preserved in cisterns) is brackish; and at present the same diseases reign there as in the other *Antilles Islands*; so that an inhabitant of the *Bermudas* will find difficulty in bringing himself to believe that he is living upon the spot that *Walier* celebrates.

Y A M A I C A.

- c WHEN *Columbus* returned to *Spain* from his first voyage, in which he discovered *America*, he was greatly caressed by that king, who gave him the command of a considerable squadron, on board of which, besides sailors, were 1500 men, most of them artisans, and proper for settling colonies. He likewise carried along with him useful *European* quadrupeds of all kinds for breeding, with all manner of utensils. In his voyage he stopt at no island till he came to *Hispaniola*, where he found all the *Spaniards* he had left there dead; but, upon enquiry, he had reason for believing, that they had drawn their fates upon themselves from the natives, whom they most cruelly oppressed, even to the violation of their beds, and putting them to death when they offered to complain. Some of his attendants were for taking a severe revenge; but *Columbus*, who was naturally just and humane, suffered the matter to rest. *Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* to command in *Hispaniola*, went on board three of his ships to make new discoveries; and among other islands, he landed upon *Jamaica*, which lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of west longitude from *London*, and is between 17 and 19 degrees distant from the equinoctial. In this navigation, he found the natives to be of so different dispositions, some receiving him friendly, and others opposing his landing, which was the case when he approached to *Jamaica*; but, upon a discharge of the *Spanish* cross-bows among them, they became tractable, and even brought them goods to barter. It does not appear, that at his first discovering *Jamaica*, he made any settlement upon it, because he was obliged to return to *Hispaniola*, where the *Spaniards* he had left on that island were guilty of the most abominable excesses; but we are told, that a young inhabitant of *Jamaica* became so fond of the *Spaniards*, that he accompanied *Columbus* when he first departed from the island, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his relations.

Discovery of
Jamaica by
Columbus.

- As to the word *Jamaica*, it is probably *Indian*, because *Oviedo* mentions a river in *Hispaniola* of that name: but the *Spanish*, as well as the *French* writers of voyages and *American* histories, are very inaccurate as to the etymologies. It is pretty certain that *Columbus* entertained so favourable an opinion of *Jamaica*, that he marked it out as an estate to his family. In 1504, as *Columbus* was returning from *Spain* to *America*, he found his ships in such distress, that he was obliged to run them into the island, after having been debarred by *Bobadilla*, whom he had left governor of *Hispaniola*, from landing on that island. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he had but two ships remaining of four; and their crews were thin and sickly. To add to his misfortunes, one *Francisco Porez*, who commanded one of his ships, formed a party against him; and having purchased some canoes of the natives, attempted to sail for *Hispaniola*. *Benzoni*^a says, *Porez* finding the *Indian* canoes he had provided too slight to carry him to *Hispaniola*, was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, where a battle ensued between him and *Columbus*, in which the latter was victorious, and *Porez* was made prisoner. From the whole complection of this affair, it is most likely, that the difference was compromised, and that *Columbus* suffered *Porez* and his friends to remove to *Hispaniola*. It is on all hands agreed, that *Columbus* was in the utmost distress; his ships were so worm-eaten, and so leaky, that they were filled with water to their very decks; so that he was obliged to lodge his men in sheds on their poops and forecastles. The natives hearing that he had been abandoned by the greatest part of his men, became very shy, so that

His difficulties
upon the
island, from
which he es-
capes.

^a BENZONI, apud DE BRY, p. 38.

[•] Ibid. p. 63.

^p Ibid.

Columbus was cautious of suffering any of the *Spaniards* to go on shore. Famine, however, obliged him to invite the *Indians* by all means to traffick, being utterly unable, through his weakness, to force them. *Benzoni* gives us, on this occasion^a, an instance of that admirable presence of mind which attended *Columbus* in all his undertakings: he says, that the natives having built a hut in the neighbourhood of the *Spanish* ships, *Columbus* called to them from on board, and informed them, that unless they furnished him and his men with provisions, they would be soon visited with a pestilence, that would destroy every soul of them; and as a sign of the truth of his declaration, which he pretended came from heaven, he told them, that in two days time, the moon (which he knew was then to suffer an eclipse) would wear a bloody visage, naming the very hour when this would happen. The thing fell out exactly as *Columbus* had foretold, and the *Indians* were so much astonished at the truth of the prediction, that they not only furnished him with all the provisions he wanted, but implored his pardon, and begged that he would not leave them with any marks of his resentment. The great difficulty, however, still remained, how to transport himself and his men to *Hispaniola*, none of his own ships being in a condition to undertake such a voyage. At last, he engaged *Diego Mendez*, his steward, to embark on board an *Indian* canoe, with ten of the natives, whom he hired for the service, by exorbitant rewards. Those savages, who were well acquainted with that navigation, carried *Mendez* to *Hispaniola*, where he bought one ship for the use of *Columbus*; and *Ovando*, the governor of the island, ordered another to be fitted out, to bring *Columbus* and his men from *Jamaica*, which they accordingly did. His Catholic majesty rewarded *Mendez* for his difficult and dangerous expedition very nobly, and gave him leave to carry, in his armorial bearing, the canoe in which he sailed.

Jamaica peopled by the Spaniards,

AFTER *Columbus* had refreshed himself and his men for some days at *Hispaniola*, he set sail for *Spain*, where he died soon after his arrival. Some authors, particularly *de Laet*, are of opinion, that while *Columbus* resided upon *Jamaica*, he built, or rather planned out, the town of *Metilla*, which is by no means unlikely, when we consider, that the natives were fully reconciled to him before he left the island. It is certain, that his son and family considering *Jamaica* as their own property, built upon it *St. Jago de la Vega*, and several other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantages attending the situation of *St. Jago*, which increased in buildings and people so greatly, that it is said, in a short time, to have contained 1700 houses, 2 churches, 2 chapels, and an abbey. The court of *Spain*, notwithstanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the government and property of *Jamaica* to his family, and his son *Diego Columbus* was its first *European* governor, with the magnificent title of duke of *la Vega*. But the descendants of the great *Columbus* degenerated from his virtues, and fell into all the vices and indolence of their countrymen. Having no idea of any *West-Indian* acquisition that did not produce gold and silver, they neglected all improvements upon *Jamaica*, and studied only to raise their rents, and oppress the planters. *Columbus* himself had preferred this island, on account of its situation, and its being the most populous of any he had met with in *America*; but his descendants, or their substitutes, murdered 60,000 of those natives, under tortures so exquisite, that the relation of them is unfit for Christian ears.

WE know little of the particulars of the *Spanish* traffick, while they held *Jamaica*. Some wealth, however, must have been among them, because, in 1596, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, who had the command of a squadron off the continent of *America*, landed upon *Jamaica*, where he took and plundered the town of *St. Jago*. In 1635, colonel *Jackson*, in his passage from the *Leeward-Islands*, landed 500 men upon *Jamaica*: and after driving, as is said, 2000 *Spaniards* from their works at *Passage-Fort*, he took the town of *St. Jago*, with the loss of forty men, and divided its plunder with his soldiers. He received, at the same time, a considerable sum, to ransom it from being burnt down.

invaded by the English;

BUT the most considerable revolution that *Jamaica* underwent, was during *Cromwell's* usurpation in *England*. He had wrong and narrow notions concerning the interest of *Europe*, and he fell in with the vulgar way of thinking (to which he was indeed partly impelled by the necessities of his government) that the acquisition of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the *Spanish West Indies*, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But by this time, the object of the *English* national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of *Austria* to that of *Bourbon*, which last, under the administrations of the cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, had been attempting to lay, for many years, the foundations of universal monarchy. *Cromwell*, not attentive to this momentous consideration, was persuaded by *Mazarine* to fit out, from *England*, an expedition, for the conquest of *Hispaniola*. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in *England*; and even many of the royal party, who

^a BENONI, apud DE ERY, p. 63.

- a were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of *Madrid*, embarked in it, to the number, some say, of 2000. The command of the expedition was given to colonel *Venables* and admiral *Penn*; and they sailed from *England* with at least 7000 land troops on board, great part of whom was composed of *Cromwell's* veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of *Barbados*, and the other *Leeward-Islands*; and on the 13th of *April*, the fleet landed upon *Hispaniola*, in sight of the town of *St. Domingo*. The numbers who landed under *Venables*, (who was suspected of a warm side towards the royal party) are said to have been 7000, besides a troop of horse; but by means of misfortunes, which are foreign to this part of our history, they were repulsed; and *Venables* re-imbarked his men.
- b The shame of returning unsuccessful to *England*, rather than any regular plan that had been formed, put into the thoughts of the *English* officers, who still commanded 10,000 men, an expedition against *Jamaica*, which was instantaneously resolved on, before the *Spaniards* there could have any intelligence of the repulse of the *English* at *Hispaniola*.

- On the 2d of *May*, the *English* landed on *Jamaica*, and it being determined immediately to attack *St. Jago*, proclamation was made that every man should shoot his neighbour dead, if he should see him attempt to fly. The *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*, being in no condition to oppose the force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate and to deliver up the city; and in the mean time, they furnished the *English* with fresh provisions, and the choicest productions of the island. *Venables* has been blamed
- c for suffering the people of *St. Jago* to amuse him as they did, but, we think, without foundation, considering the precariousness of the conquest, and how necessary it was for him to save his men; to omit mentioning that, as he had no commission to attack *Jamaica*, he must have answered with his head any ill success he met with. Those considerations more than probably determined him to treat with the *Spaniards*; and it is not at all unlikely, that the latter, during the time of the negotiation, secured, in the more inland parts, their best effects; so that when the *English* came to take possession of *St. Jago*, they found nothing there but bare walls.

- NOTWITHSTANDING this disappointment, they were in possession of the capital of the island, and in fact of the island itself; for though the *Spaniards* in parties sometimes attempted to surprize them from the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to transport themselves and their effects to *Cuba*. The reduction of *Jamaica*, with so little loss on the part of the invaders, astonished the *Spanish* government. The viceroy of *Mexico*, understanding that the mulattoes and negroes belonging to the *Spaniards* of *Jamaica*, had been left in the woods there, sent orders to the governor of *Cuba*, to supply the exiles with whatever was necessary for taking re-possession of their island, and promised to support them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned thither, but lived dispersed in the woods, in so miserable a manner, that the 500 land troops which were sent to their assistance, refused to associate themselves with them, and fortified themselves in the northern part of the island at a place called *St. Chereras*, where they soon received very considerable reinforcements. In the mean while, the *English*, who have the best colonizing genius of any people in the world, had begun to plant the south and south-east parts of the island, of which colonel *Doyly* was left governor with 3000 men, and a large squadron of ships commanded by vice-admiral *Goodson*, while *Penn* and *Venables* returned to *England*.

- THEIR success at *Jamaica* had not abated *Cromwell's* resentment for their failure at *Hispaniola*, and it was greatly increased by his being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no sooner landed than they were committed prisoners to the Tower of *London*; from which they were soon after delivered with abundance of honour, and without any trial; and *Venables* afterwards became eminently instrumental in restoring
- f *Charles II.* *Cromwell* resolving to trust no officer recommended by *Venables*, sent over major *Sedgewick* to supersede *Doyly* in his command, with a reinforcement of 1000 men. In the mean while, the *Spaniards*, who had fortified themselves at *St. Chereras*, had been reinforced with thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions from *Cuba* and the continent, and had thrown up several formidable works at *Rio Nuevo*, in the precinct of *St. Mary*. *Doyly* attacked them in their fortifications, from whence he drove them in a few days with great loss, and he then demolished them. They next attempted to make a stand at *Point Pedro*, from which they were likewise driven; and thus the *English*, under *Doyly*, being far inferior in numbers to the *Spaniards*, re-established the character of their national valour, which had suffered at *Hispaniola*. As to the *Spaniards*, being driven from place to place, they were obliged at last to embark on board their ships, and to return to *Cuba*, leaving the quiet possession of *Jamaica* to the *English*.

- THE *Spanish* negroes and mulattoes, however, still kept the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned

who conquer it, under Cromwell.

Doyly, governor;

superseceded by Sedgewick, who dies;

War with the negroes.

done by the *Spanish* regulars, they murdered the governor who had been put over them, and chose one of their own number. All this while, they were hunted and cut off by the *English* like so many wild beasts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they sent a deputation to governor *Doyley*, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them still subsisted, and were headed by some of the old *Spanish* inhabitants. The submitting negroes, who were much fonder of their new masters than they had been of their old, were very useful in clearing the island of those remains of the *Spaniards*, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their negroes in a year's time were left upon the island; but they knew the inland part of it so well that they could not be dislodged; and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the island. *Doyley*, though a declared royalist, still kept the command of the island, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution; major *Sedgewick* having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, being well supplied from their mother-country with all kind of necessaries, a spirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel *Raymond*, and lieutenant-colonel *Tyson*, got into the army. It is probable, that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how disagreeable *Doyley* was to *Cromwell*; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were sentenced to be shot to death, which was accordingly executed. *Cromwell*, by this time sent orders to colonel *Brayne* in *Scotland*, to embark with 1000 men from *Port Patrick*, and to sail to *Jamaica*, where he was to supersede *Doyley* in the government; but that gentleman likewise died soon after his arrival at *Jamaica*; and it is very remarkable, that *Doyley* remained governor of the island at the time of the Restoration.

and by
Brayne, who
dies likewise.

Vast improve-
ment of the
colony.

Modiford,
governor.

As the first *English* planters of *Jamaica* were composed of men of various sects, parties, and opinions, but most of them accustomed to a military life, either by sea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform system of conduct. The example and authority of *Doyley* had, indeed, done wonders; and some of *Cromwell's* veterans, as well as the royalists, were become excellent planters; others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruizers and privateers against the *Spaniards*, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immense sums, which were all spent at *Jamaica*. This, together with the thriving state of the colony, raised its character in the *West-Indies* so greatly, that several eminent planters repaired thither from *Barbados*, as being the preferable island. Colonel *Doyley*, about the time of the Restoration, was succeeded by lord *Windsor* as governor of *Jamaica*. We know little of his lordship's administration; for in 1663, he was succeeded by Sir *Thomas Modiford*. This gentleman having made a great estate at *Barbados*, removed to *Jamaica* to better it, as did several other wealthy planters. *Jamaica* had, by this time, increased its inhabitants to the number of between 17 and 18,000 *English*; but its chief trade, as we have already hinted, consisted in their depredations upon the *Spaniards*, which, as there is too much reason to believe, were winked at by the governor.

As *Modiford* knew, perhaps, beyond any man of his time, the interests of the *English West-Indies*, he introduced into *Jamaica*, the art of making sugars, of planting cocoa-groves, and erecting salt-works; so that the arts of industry began to prevail over the ancient habits of the planters, and the island wore a new face; but this reformation was not universal. Many of the old planters were too much in love with their old custom to abandon them; and hence sprung up that race of pirates, for they were no better, called buccaneers, whom it is necessary to give some account of, as their proceedings make so great a figure in the history of the *English* and *Spanish West Indies*. But we are to observe, that those buccaneers were not entirely of *Jamaica* breed; for they consisted of adventurers of all nations, and they resorted to *Jamaica*, chiefly on account of the vast conveniency of its situation for robbing the *Spaniards*. *Barbados*, and our other islands, furnished their quotas for this desperate society; and when assembled, they bound themselves down to certain regulations and subordinances that would have done honour to a more virtuous institution.

Rise of the
buccaneers of
Jamaica.

A *Portuguese* pirate founded the fraternity; but being drowned as he was conducting his prize to *Jamaica*, he was succeeded by a *Dutchman* of *Brasil*, who is therefore called *Brasilliano*. This *Dutchman*, and his companion buccaneers, were at once profligate and prodigal. Being chosen the head of a mutiny, when but a private man, he ran away with a ship, and intercepted and took a rich *Spanish* vessel, homeward-bound, the contents of which being mostly in ready money, they squandered at *Jamaica* in the most tasteless extravagance; and so ingenious were they in the arts of dissipation, that one of the common men is said to have spent 3000 pieces of eight in a month. When their treasure was gone, they again went to sea and took another prize; but they were mastered upon the coast of *Campeachy*, and being condemned to be hanged, they had address enough to get their sentence mitigated to their serving in the galleys, from whence they escaped, and returned to *Jamaica*, where they continued to pursue their former piratical practices. One

See,

- a *Scot*, a *Welchman*, who plundered *Campeachy*, and *Mansfield*, an *Englishman*, distinguished themselves in this depredatory way; and another *Englishman*, *Davis*, brought from the sack of *Nicaragua* above 50,000 pieces of eight to *Jamaica* for his own share of the plunder. He then formed an expedition against *St. Augustine*, and succeeded, though there was in the castle a garrison of 200 men. But the most distinguished of all the buccaneers was a *Welchman*, one *Henry* (afterwards *Sir Henry*) *Morgan*. When young, being of a roving disposition, he went to *Barbados*, from whence he removed to *Jamaica*, where he commenced pirate, and was more than commonly successful in making prizes of *Spanish* vessels. He served as *Mansfield's* lieutenant in the expedition against *St. Catharine's*, which they attacked and took with fifteen ships and five hundred men. *Mansfield* and his companions considered this island as now being their property, and he left upon it one *Simon*, with an hundred men, to be its governor. The pirates were so elevated by this conquest, that they would have proceeded against *Panama* itself, had they not understood that the *Spaniards* were provided to receive them; upon which they retired to the island of *Tortuga*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, about fifteen miles from the continent.

History of Sir Henry Morgan.

- b By this time, *Modiford* was succeeded in the government of *Jamaica* by *Sir Thomas Lynch*, and the complaints entered by the court of *Spain* against the buccaneers being too flagrant to be stifled, *Modiford* had been sent for home in custody, and *Lynch* had orders to check them; but those freebooters not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themselves and *Jamaica*, had the confidence even to propose to *Lynch* to make a settlement upon the isle of *St. Catharine's*, which demand being refused them, *Mansfield* retired in discontent to *Tortuga*, where he died, and *Simon* was obliged to yield up his government by capitulation to the *Spanish* governor of *Costa Rica*. After this, *Morgan* became the head of all the pirates in the *West Indies*, and shewed unparalleled boldness and courage in his profession. His first expedition was against *Puerto del Principe*, which he took, and divided 50,000 pieces of eight among his followers. But his men being composed of various nations, the *French* here abandoned him on account of one of their countrymen being killed.

- c It must be acknowledged, that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the behaviour of the court of *England* towards that of *Spain* at this time to the principles of good faith, without supposing that the government of *England* and that of *Jamaica* had separate interests. It is true, the *Spaniards* had laid many claims to places, and to exclusive rights of commerce in *America*, which the *English* never had submitted to; but still a good correspondence had been always kept up between the two crowns, and each had mutually promised to the other a redress of its grievances. But this was no easy matter, as they were found to be so complicated, that many dispatches passed between *Jamaica* and *England*, before any one point could be settled. The *Spaniards*, for instance, as we have seen in our history of the other islands, claimed, and sometimes attacked several of them, that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*, and the *English* laid claim to the right of cutting logwood in *Campeachy*, and upon the bay of *Honduras*, of which they said they were the first discoverers. This claim became a very serious affair, and the proofs and depositions on that head, which were sent over to *England* by the government of *Jamaica*, were so strong in favour of the *English*, that the affair then remained undecided. The *Spaniards*, however, still continued to make prize of all the *English* ships, and sometimes to cut off their crews, which touched at the bay of *Campeachy*, or upon *Honduras*, which the *English* considered as so many robberies and murders. In short, the matter remained in such a state of indecision, that it came before the *British* parliament, who referred it to the Board of Trade and Plantations; and part of their report was, "That the bay of *Campeachy* might so far be called the property of *England*, that the *English* for some years before, as well as after the *American* treaty in 1670, enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the *Laguna de Terminos*, (which lies at the bottom of the bay) and other places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* in the province of *Yucatan*; either through right, sufferance, or indulgence. That the said treaty even established a right in the *British* crown to the said *Laguna*, and parts adjacent, which had been for some years before, as well as at the time of the treaty, in the possession of the *English*; and that though the right of the *English* crown to the said *Laguna* should not be insisted on, the same liberty was actually granted and confirmed by the treaty of commerce at *Utrecht*."

Disputes between England and Spain.

- f We have been the more explicit on this head, because not only many foreign historians, but several of our own writers, have been very free in charging our government, in general, with authorizing acts of piracy against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*. The tameness of the administration under *Charles* and *James II.* towards the *French* and *Spaniards*, in not refuting these accusations, gave them but too much countenance; though, upon the whole, the insolence and injustice of the *Spaniards* were, at least, equal to the irregularities and rapaciousness of our buccaneers. It is true, we cannot venture to say any thing

with regard to the legality of that commission from the governor and council of *Jamaica*, a under which *Morgan* is said to have acted, if our court was serious in its pretensions towards that of *Spain*. *Morgan's* next expedition was against *Puerto Velo*, a rich city in the district of *Panama*, which he likewise took; and its plunder, besides other rich merchandize, amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight; all which centered in *Jamaica*, to the vast emolument of the industrious inhabitants, as well as of their mother country. After this successful expedition, *Morgan* became a kind of an *American* naval power, so that in a little time he was at the head of fifteen ships and 900 men. He roved through the *Spanish* settlements, and even made an attempt upon *Hispaniola*, but with no success; but at last he attacked and took the town of *Maracaibo* upon the *Terra Firma*, where, besides destroying three *Spanish* men of war off the harbour, the booty he made was equal to what he got at *Puerto Velo*. b

Morgan conquers Panama, and other places in the Spanish West-Indies.

BUT *Morgan*, with all the habits of a pirate, was without that of a squandering disposition; and he more than once endangered his life by withholding from his men what they conceived to be their just due. Notwithstanding this, the same of his successes and good fortune was such, that at his rendezvous next year at *Tortuga*, he found his men increased to two thousand, and his ships to thirty seven. Imagining himself to be invincible with such a force, he projected the conquest of *Panama* itself. To facilitate this enterprize he again took possession of *St. Catharine's Island*, while *Brodely* made himself master of *Fort Chagre*, to secure his retreat, and which *Brodely* held with a garrison of five hundred men. *Morgan* then with the remainder, which consisted of about fourteen hundred, all of them c stout, experienced, resolute free-booters, marched against *Panama*. The inhabitants of that city had never been famous for their courage, but they opposed *Morgan* with more spirit than was expected from them. Nothing could equal the discouragements that *Morgan* encountered in this expedition. Finding that the river, by which he was to approach the city, was impassable by his large ships, he was obliged to leave another detachment to take care of his fleet and artillery, and to embark part of his men on board canoes and small boats, while others marched by land under most inconceivable miseries from the heat of the climate, and want of provisions, for six days time. Being joined in one body, they were opposed by the governor of *Panama*, with four regiments of foot and two squadrons of horse, and a brisk action ensued, in which the *Spaniards* were defeated with the loss of d six hundred men. The victors, without giving their enemies time to recover, pressed towards the city, and after some dispute, without the assistance of artillery or scaling-ladders, they mounted the walls, and became masters of *Panama*.

It must be acknowledged, that *Morgan* made use of his success with no great moderation; and some part of his conduct, on this occasion, seems to have been very black; for it is said, that after he was master of the town, he set it on fire without consulting any of his men; and this he probably did the better to conceal the true amount of the plunder he had secured for himself. The number of houses in *Panama*, which were generally built of cedar and very magnificent, are said to have been seven thousand, but this account is probably exaggerated, besides two hundred warehouses. *Morgan* made war, not as a pirate, but e as a lawful conqueror in one respect, which was, that he was in no hurry to abandon his conquest, for he remained four or five months in *Panama*, where he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and gave out his orders with the utmost coolness, in which he was punctually obeyed by his men. He did not leave *Panama* before the 24th of *February*, 1671; and it is said, that the gold, silver, and the precious spoils of the city, loaded 175 beasts of burden; and his prisoners amounted to 600, whom he obliged to ransom themselves. In his retreat he plundered the town of *Cruz*, and blew up the fortifications of *Chagre*. When he came to divide the immense booty he had made among his men, each share did not amount to above fifty pounds a man. This exasperated them afresh against their commander, whom they accused of having defrauded them. *Morgan*, perceiving f that their discontents might end in a mutiny, made choice of four ships, whose crews he had secured to himself, and sailed with them to *Jamaica*, leaving the bulk of his companions at *Chagre*. The air of resolution and authority with which he acted on this occasion, disconcerted the other buccaneers so greatly, that they did not offer to pursue him; and it is said, that he carried into *Jamaica* 400,000 pieces of eight upon his own account.

This conquest.

It is impossible to say with any precision, at this distance of time, and amidst the uncertainty of private information, what *Morgan's* real views were, had every thing succeeded with him as he could have wished; but, by the best authorities we have been able to collect, he seems to have had a notion of erecting the island of *St. Catharine's* into a settlement, of which he himself was to have been the proprietor, or rather the sovereign. The g buccaneers were to have formed the chief strength of the island, and to have subsisted themselves, and, indeed, all the other *English West Indies*, upon the spoils of the *Spanish* commerce, with whom they were to have had a perpetual war, as the *Algerines* have now with the

- THOUGH *Vaughan* had brought over with him strict injunctions for putting a stop to the piracies against the *Spaniards*, yet he seems to have brought with him likewise a pardon for all that had passed, which had been embraced by *Morgan*; for we are told, that about this time, he received the honour of knighthood, on account of his incomparable valour; and he was made one of the commissioners of the admiralty at *Jamaica*, where he had purchased a large estate, and was carrying on very considerable improvements. But *Jamaica*, at this time, laboured under the same misfortune as *Barbados*, by the institution of the royal *African* company of *England*, whose ships, assisted by those of the crown, seized upon all *Jamaica* vessels which they found trading to *Guinea*, *Angola*, and *South Barbary*. This company, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the *Jamaica* trade; and as the importation of negroes was so capital a point with all our sugar-islands, it must have ruined them, had not the *African* company been laid open by parliament. The measure itself was a mere strain of prerogative, by which the court pretended to establish exclusive rights; but the *English* sugar-planters had the spirit to oppose them; and in some cases that were tried before the *West-Indian* judicators, they got the better.

LORD *Vaughan* left the government of *Jamaica* with no great credit for his generosity and public spirit; and was succeeded in 1678, by *Charles* earl of *Carlisle*. During this nobleman's administration, the people of *Jamaica* were infested with the same apprehensions that then filled all *England*, as if the *French*, the *Irish* Roman catholics, and the

*Evacuation of
Surinam by
the English.*

Lord Carlisle,
governor, and
Sir Henry
Morgan his
deputy.

English papists, had entered into a conspiracy for exterminating the protestants. The neighbourhood of M. D'Etrees to *Jamaica* with a strong *French* squadron, did not a little encrease their alarms; and the chief employment of lord *Carlisle*, during his government, was in preparing to receive the enemy, or in endeavouring to remove the apprehensions of the islanders. Lord *Carlisle*'s health disagreeing with the air of *Jamaica*, he returned to *England* in 1680, leaving Sir *Henry Morgan* to be his deputy-governor. This gentleman, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant against the pirates; and surprized, in *Cow Bay*, a pirate sloop, commanded by a noted pirate, one *Everson*, a *Dutchman*, but manned by *English*. The captain was killed, but the crew being taken, were sent to *Carthage*, there to be tried, and punished by the *Spanish* governor, for the depredations against his countrymen; no full proof of which could be obtained in *Jamaica*.

Lynch, go-
vernor.

In 1682, Sir *Thomas Lynch*, who, with all his faults, was a warm loyalist, was again appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. About this time, the panic of the popish plot had worn off in *England*, where the court-party had got an entire ascendancy; and a presbyterian plot, equally ridiculous, was introduced in its room. Sir *Thomas* did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to celebrate the triumphs of the royal party; and the assembly of the island gave a still more substantial proof of their loyalty, by continuing his majesty's revenue in the island for twenty-one years. Sir *Thomas* was not in other respects wanting in the duties of a good governor; and to wipe off the suspicions he had formerly incurred, of encouraging pirates, he exerted himself the more remarkably in suppressing them. All the great services that had been performed by Sir *Henry Morgan*, could not prevent his being sent home prisoner, though it is evident, that the money he had acquired was his chief crime. He pleaded the commission of the governor and council of *Jamaica*, and the public thanks they had returned to him, in defence of what he had done; but this did not prevent his undergoing a long ministerial prosecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health, and the prejudice of his private fortune.

The pirates
continue their
practices.

UNDER Sir *Thomas Lynch*, several excellent laws passed for the good of the island; all which were printed and published. But notwithstanding all the cares of Sir *Thomas*, the *French*, *Dutch*, and some *English* pirates, still continued to infest those seas; many of them being provided with commissions from the *French* king, who was then at war with the *Spaniards*. The *Ruby* and the *Guernsey*, *English* men of war, were perpetually cruising to the windward to suppress them; and the governor fitted out for the same purpose, a galley of fifty-four oars, of a curious construction, which was of vast service in scouring the coast. The *English* commanders, however, were greatly diffculted how to behave towards such of the pirates, though they knew them to be so, who carried *French* commissions, and who never offered any violence to the subjects of *England*. One *Laurens*, and one *Michael Tankers*, a *Dutchman*, headed them; and on the 14th of *December*, 1683, they came to a regular engagement with the *Spaniards*, who had fitted out three ships of war against them at *Carthage*; one of 40, one of 36, and the other of 20 guns. The event was, that the pirates, with the loss of no more than 14 men, took all the three ships, and killed 400 of the *Spaniards*. The *French* king soon found that no benefit accrued to himself, or his subjects, by his granting commissions to those pirates, who, whenever they had an opportunity, robbed all nations equally; and therefore he dispatched orders for all his governors in *America*, to recal all *French* commissions that had been granted to those freebooters, who, after that, were to be deemed as common pirates.

Molesworth,
governor.

Duke of Alber-
marle, gover-
nor.

CHARLES II. some time before his death, appointed colonel *Hender Molesworth* to succeed Sir *Thomas Lynch* in the government of *Jamaica*; and it fell to this colonel to proclaim king *James*'s accession in that island, which he did with great solemnity, and, at the same time, transmitted to him a most loyal congratulatory address. Soon after, a post-office was erected in *Jamaica*, and the duke of *Albemarle* being appointed governor of that island by king *James*, he set sail with his dutchess on board, on the 12th of *September*, 1687. This nobleman, who was son to the restoring duke, had dissipated, or mortgaged, a large fortune, by his intemperance and extravagance; but having received a considerable recruit of treasure, by employing Sir *William Phipps* in fishing up the *Spanish* wrecks, which we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, he was in great hopes of pursuing the like discoveries to vast advantage, and is said to have solicited this government from the king, who the more readily granted his request, as his grace was known to be averse to the establishment of popery. The prevailing reports of vast numbers of rich *Spanish* ships having been wrecked in those seas, and whose treasures were recoverable, made his appointment to this government very agreeable to all the adventurers of those islands, and he landed, with his dutchess, from on board the *Assistance* man of war in *November*, 1687. This year a most dreadful earthquake happened at *Jamaica*, and was felt over all the island. Though it lasted but about a minute, yet it damaged a vast number of houses, and ruined many works; but the memory of it was effaced by a more dreadful calamity of the same nature,

- a which happened a few years after. The sad consequences of those earthquakes had been frequent since the *English* took possession of this island; because they had neglected the wise precautions of the *Spaniards*, who built their houses very low, with light roofs, and of piles driven deep into the ground, so as to prevent the inhabitants from being buried in the ruins; but the *English*, on the other hand, built their houses strong and substantial.

- THE connections which *James II.* had formed with all the Roman catholic powers on the continent, rendered him very pliable as to any concessions demanded of him, with regard to his *American* dominions. He, therefore, during the government of the earl of *Albemarle* in *Jamaica*, granted a commission to Sir *Robert Holmes*, for the suppression of piracies in *America*; and Sir *Robert* carried over with him a proclamation to the same effect, which was published by his agent Mr. *Lynch*, not only at *Jamaica*, but in all the *Spanish* ports of *South America*, with permission of that court. It is certain, that at this time, and for several years before, the vast ignorance of the court of *Madrid* in commercial affairs, gave great advantages to the *English West-Indies*. Those were engrossed partly by freebooters, and partly by private subjects; and this had given king *James*, when duke of *York*, the first idea of forming an *African* company, which was alone to reap all the benefit arising from the importation of negroes. The benefits arising from this trade to the *English*, were derived from the immense duties imposed upon the importation of negroes by the *Spanish* court, and which amounted to 120 pieces of eight for every slave imported, from 15 to 25 years of age, and other ages in proportion. The assentists, who entered into this contract with the *Spanish* government, were under no obligation to bring those negroes from *Africa*, of which trade they had little or no notion; but were allowed to purchase them from the subjects of any power not at war with the crown of *Spain*; and in those days, the *African* company had an immense profit when they sold to the *Spaniards* for 20*l.* a slave, whom the assentists could dispose of for double the money, besides the the vast duty paid for such slave to the Catholic king.

- ON the other hand, the *English* merchants and planters thought it unjust in the highest degree, that they should be excluded from the privilege of importing negroes; and such importations had, ever since the royal *African* charter passed, been deemed at the court of *England* as so many acts of piracy; which *Holmes* was now sent over to suppress. According to a dispatch from Sir *William Godolphin* to secretary *Coventry*, this introduction of negroes to *Barbados* and *Jamaica*, must have brought into the *English African* company, a neat gain of four hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight yearly. While this affair was in agitation, the duke of *Albemarle*, governor of *Jamaica*, died in that island, as is given out, by the effects of his intemperance in drinking *Madeira* wine. Upon his death, colonel *Hender Molefworth* was, by the council and assembly of *Jamaica*, again appointed governor. After the Revolution, the maxims of king *William's* government in favour of the *Spanish* interest in *America*, went even beyond those of the family of *Stuart*; and a convention was actually entered into by don *Santiago del Castillo*, (who was afterwards knighted by king *William*) on the part of *Spain* and the *English*, for the latter supplying the *Spaniards* with negroes; and don *Santiago* was appointed the *Spanish* commissary at *Jamaica* for the execution of the treaty.

- IN 1690, king *William* appointed the earl of *Inchiquin* to the government of *Jamaica*, for which he embarked in *May* that year. On the 29th of *June* following, a dangerous conspiracy broke out amongst the negroes of the island. One Mr. *Sutton* had a large plantation in the mountains, where the old natives of the island, with the remains of the *Spanish* slaves, still continued to reside, as all means to reduce them had proved ineffectual. Those having debauched Mr. *Sutton's* negroes, they attacked his house, to the number of 400, seized upon twenty muskets, with other arms in proportion, and a large quantity of powder and ball, and killed the house-keeper. They are likewise said to have made themselves masters of four small field-pieces. This large magazine of arms was certainly very improperly lodged, unless it had been better guarded, in so dangerous a neighbourhood. The rebellious negroes now thought to carry all before them, and they marched to an adjoining plantation, where they were disappointed in being joined by their countrymen, who all of them fled to the woods. By this time, the white inhabitants were alarmed, and about fifty of them, horse and foot, getting under arms, checked the progress of the rebels, while other parties taking the field, they were surrounded and attacked next day both in front and rear. The rebels at first endeavoured to defend themselves, and set fire to the sugar-canes, to favour their retreat; but they were so briskly pursued, that they were either killed, or forced to throw down their arms; so that very few of them escaped perishing, either by the sword or the halter. This and the like insurrections were the more

*Proclamation
against pi-
rates,*

*dated Madrid,
May 15,
1678.*

*Lord Inchi-
quin, gover-
nor.*

*A rebellion of
the negroes sup-
pressed.*

dangerous, as at this time the war was raging with great violence between *France* and *England*. In 1691, intelligence was received, that a vast number of *French* were attempting a settlement upon *Hispaniola*, where they had several ships. This intelligence was not without foundation. The remains of the freebooters of all nations, perceiving that they had now no longer access to *Jamaica*, or any of the *English* settlements, cast their eyes upon *Hispaniola*, as the most inviting place in all the *West-Indies* for their reception. Nothing could be more agreeable to the secret views of the court of *France*, than such a design; and they were favoured in it beyond their expectations, by the indolence and cowardice of the *Spaniards*, who had abandoned one half of the island, in hopes of securing to themselves the possession of the other. Many of the *French* inhabitants of the *Lesser-Antilles* joined in the same scheme, and attended the adventurers, who now lost the names of buccaneers and pirates in that of *French* privateers, acting under a commission from his most Christian majesty.

Account of a
dreadful
earthquake.

Philosophical
Transactions,
Vol. II. p. 402.

LORD *Inchiquin* had orders, if possible, to dislodge the *French* from this new settlement. With that view, he sent the *Swin* and *Guernsey* men of war, the *Quaker* ketch, and a large transport, with 900 men, commanded by captain *O'Brian*, to *Hispaniola*. Great expectations were raised from this armament, but they were far from being answered. All that the *English* could do, was to destroy or take a few inconsiderable ships at sea, and a few still more inconsiderable works at land; the *French* having foreseen and prepared for their reception. On the 7th of *June*, 1692, *Jamaica* was visited with one of the most dreadful scourges that any island ever suffered, an earthquake. The town of *Port Royal* there was incomparably the finest and the most populous of any in the *West-Indies*, but was destroyed by this earthquake, which it is impossible to describe so well as in the words of the sufferers themselves, who were present, and who transmitted their accounts of it to the Royal Society, who published them in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

“ I lost, says one of them, all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. *B.* and her daughter. One white maid escaped, who gave me an account, that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high, and she was sent into the garret, where was Mrs. *B.* and her daughter, when she felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My son and I went that morning to *Liguania*: the earthquake took us in the mid-way between that and *Port-Royal*, where we were near being overwhelmed by a swift rolling sea, six feet above the surface, without any wind. Being forced back to *Liguania*, we found all the houses even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but negroes huts. The earth continues to shake (*June* 20) five or six times in twenty-four hours; and often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and falls down daily.” Another writer, in the same collection, gives us a still more lively description of the earthquake: “ Between eleven and twelve, says he, we felt the tavern where I then was shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the floor. At the same time we heard a noise in the streets cry, an earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all people with lifted-up hands, begging God’s assistance. We continued running up the street, while on either side of us we saw the houses, some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the sand in the street rising like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the same time, a flood of water broke in, and rolled these poor souls over and over, some catching hold of beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this dismal sight, stood on a small piece of ground, which, thanks be to God, did not sink. As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous of knowing if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea-side towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out at sea; and as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and still rowed on till I came where I thought my house stood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning, I went from one ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my wife and two of my negroes. She told me, when she felt the house shake, she ran out, and called all the house to do the same. She was no sooner out, but the sand lifted up, and her negroe-woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very instant the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a *Spanish* vessel and took them up.”

THE other particulars of this dreadful calamity were, that the wharfs of *Port-Royal* sunk down at once with the loss of many of the most eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of several fathom, filled the space where the street had stood. According to some credible accounts, the earth in its openings swallowed up people, and threw out their bodies in other parts

- a parts of the town, and this, with such rapidity, that some of them lived after. About 1000 acres, to the north of the town, sunk, mountains were split, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly stood; and all this, with such loss of lives, that no fewer than 2000 blacks and whites are said to have perished in the town. The ships in the harbour had their share in this disaster, for several of them were overset and lost; and the motion of the sea even carried the *Swan* frigate over the tops of houses, but without upsetting, by which she was the instrument of saving many lives. The rest of the island suffered in proportion; and scarce a house in it was left undemolished, or undamaged. In short, it entirely changed, not only its improved, but natural appearance; scarce a mountain, or piece of ground standing where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake
- b was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were such as cannot be described.

WHEN the first shock was over at *Port-Royal*, the clergyman desired the people to assemble with him, and implore the Divine forgiveness, which they did. Some miscreant sailors, and others of the island, took that opportunity of robbing the houses of the wretched inhabitants, when a second shock happened, by which many of those villains were swallowed up; but the earthquake itself, calamitous as it was, was far less ruinous to the island than its consequences were. The whole system of the air and soil was changed, and such putrid smells issued from the apertures that had been made, that it is thought no fewer than 3000 white inhabitants died of pestilential diseases. As to the loss in goods and property which this earthquake occasioned to the merchants and planters, it is not to be calculated; but the

c assembly humanely passed an act, exempting some of the chief sufferers from paying large sums as customs for wines that had been destroyed. Before the people of *Jamaica* had time to recover themselves, the *French* landed 500 men on the north side of the island; but the *Guernsey* man of war, and some other sloops, who had done notable service in saving the inhabitants during the earthquake, being apprized of the descent, burnt their ships, and destroyed or took all the men they had landed, excepting eighteen, who were carried off in a sloop.

and pestilence.

The French invade Jamaica.

- IN the year 1692, lord *Inchiquin* died in *Jamaica*, where an annual fast was instituted in commemoration of the late dreadful earthquake. King *William* appointed colonel *William Beeston* to succeed him in his government, and gave him the honour of knighthood. Upon
- d his arrival on the island, he endeavoured to prove himself worthy of his government, by enquiring into, and remedying a number of abuses that had prevailed during that of his predecessor. Next year, the people of *Jamaica*, notwithstanding the incredible damage they sustained by the late earthquake, had been so industrious as to send a fleet of merchantmen from thence to *England*, under convoy of the *Merdaunt* man of war; but they were unfortunately cast away on the rocks near *Cuba*. There are few instances in history of a set of private merchants who had sustained so many losses as those of *Jamaica* had done, supporting themselves so well as they did without any public retribution, which it does not appear they ever had solicited. They knew of what vast importance their island was to the mother-country; and therefore they believed, with reason, that their friends would support them.
- e They chose three agents in *England*, Mr. *Gilbert* (afterwards Sir *Gilbert*) *Heathcote*, Mr. *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, merchants in *London*; and a sum of money was immediately remitted to them, as a consideration for their soliciting the public affairs of *Jamaica*. At the same time, a committee of the gentlemen of the island was chosen to manage the correspondence with them. Their names were, *Samuel Bernard*, *Nicholas Law*, *James Bradshaw*, *William Hutchinson*, *Thomas Clark*, *James Banister*, and *Modiford Freeman*, Esqrs.

Death of lord Inchiquin.

- WHILE *Jamaica* was thus in a manner emerging from its calamities, the *French* were meditating to reduce it by one blow. They received no small encouragement for this from certain persons, *Irish* especially, who being friends of the abdicated government in *England*, persuaded them that the people of the island longed for a revolution, and to return to their
- f obedience to the *Stuart* family. Though nothing could be more distant from the views of *France* than this suggestion, yet it was encouraged by M. *du Casse*, who was at this time appointed governor of the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. He had some time before taken the *Falcon* frigate, and carried it into *Petit Guavas*, from whence captain *Elliot* making his escape in a canoe, arrived at *Port-Royal* in 1694, and informed Sir *William Beeston* of the storm impending against *Jamaica*; and that three men of war, of fifty guns each, had arrived, a little time before, from *Old France*, where the government did not doubt of making a complete conquest of an island that had lately suffered so much. Sir *William* immediately assembled the council, who passed the proper resolutions for putting the island in a posture of defence, and that the principal forces of the island should be assembled for the defence of
- g *Port-Royal*, where it was understood the *French* were to make their first attempt.

THE intelligence proved true; for on the 17th of *June* following, the three *French* men of war we have already mentioned, attended by about seventeen sail of privateer sloops and transports, appeared off the island. Of those, eight remained about *Port Morant*, and the rest

The French defeated in their descent upon Jamaica.

rest anchored at *Cow-Bay*, about seven leagues to the windward of *Port-Royal*. *Du Casse* a having landed his troops, proceeded in a manner that would have disgraced their predecessors, the buccaneers; for they made war upon cattle. After plundering and burning all the open part of the country eastward, they butchered all the sheep and cows they could meet with, and as a more compendious manner of destruction, many of them being driven into houses, were sacrificed in the flames. Some *Englishmen* who fell into their hands, were tortured, that they might discover their effects, and they exercised even the diabolical spirit of drawing the dead from their graves, and obliging women to submit to the lusts of their negroes. Both divisions of their fleet were guilty of the same inhumanities, and would have continued them in *St. Mary's* and *St. George's*, where they landed, had they not been deterred by the appearance of some *English* forces, upon which they retreated to their ships. b

Two days after they landed, the *French* admiral's ship, commanded by *M. Rollon*, parted from her anchors, as did another of their fleet; and they landed some men in *Blackfield Bay*. Here a sharp skirmish ensued between them, and an *English* officer, major *Ardruffs*, who killed a number of their men, and forced the remainder, without carrying off with them the provisions they had landed, to retreat to their ships. Finding it in vain to attempt any thing farther in the open part of the island, all their ships rendezvoused at *Port-Morant*, from whence they sailed on the 16th of *July*. On the 17th, they came in sight of *Port-Royal*, and landing their men, they filled all the neighbourhood with their fires, that they might strike the *English* with the greater terror of their numbers. Returning, however, in the night to their ships, they were seen on the 18th standing to the west of *Port-Royal*, by c which it was conjectured that they intended to land from *Carlisle-Bay*, in *Vere Parish*. Upon this, two troops of horse, two regiments of *St. Catherine's*, and part of those of *Clarendon* and *St. Elizabeth*, were ordered to observe their motions, and to curb the excesses they had been guilty of in other parts of the island. The *French* that very afternoon anchored in *Carlisle Bay*, and landing about 1500 men, they attacked an *English* breast-work defended by about 200 men. A very sharp action ensued, in which the *English*, after losing a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and a lieutenant, besides having some of their best officers wounded, being over-powered by numbers, retreated, but not till after they had killed more of their enemies than they themselves lost. The *English*, upon their retreat, which was across a river, found themselves reinforced by some companies of foot, and a few horse, d who had marched thirty miles the day before, renewed the charge, and not only checked the pursuit of the *French*, but drove them back with very considerable loss, though not without some to themselves, for several more of their men and officers were wounded, and some of both were killed.

THE two following days those actions passed in skirmishes; but the day after, which was the 22d of *July*, the *French* attacked a house belonging to one *Mr. Hubbard*, a post of some consequence. The place had no more than twenty-five people to defend it, who beat off the *French*, but next day they brought against it a greater number of men and some cannon. In the mean while, major *Lloyd*, the *English* commandant in that quarter, after reinforcing the garrison of the house, made such dispositions on the flanks of the *French* with the rest e of his men, that had they advanced to assault the place, they must have been cut off. The *French* either saw or suspected this, and finding they had already suffered considerably in their numbers, and that the *Jamaicans* behaved with far more spirit and courage than they expected, came to a resolution to re-imbark, and to abandon the island, which they did on the 24th. *Du Casse* sailed with three of his capital ships to *France*, where he magnified the importance of his services in *Jamaica*, while seventeen others completed their wooding and watering with great hurry at *Port Morant*, where they even set on shore the few prisoners they had made. In this expedition, it was computed that the *French* had about 350 men killed, and that at least an equal number died of diseases. Of the *English* f not above 100, *Jews* and negroes included, were killed or wounded. King *William* was so sensible of the importance of captain *Elliot's* early intelligence, that he presented him with a medal and chain of one hundred pounds value, besides five hundred pounds in money; and recommended him for preferment to the lords of the admiralty. Each of the people who escaped with him were presented with fifty pounds.

and re-imbark.

Capt. Elliot rewarded.

Wilmot and Lilliston's expedition,

As it was of the utmost importance to king *William's* government that *Jamaica* should not fall into the hands of the *French*, the administration at home had taken great care that the island should be properly reinforced, which drew from the council and assembly an address to his majesty, most gratefully acknowledging his majesty's royal care of them, "in ordering a speedy relief and assistance to be sent thither, for the defence and security of their persons and estates against a cruel and barbarous enemy; who, in their late attempt upon that island, had no other advantage over them, but what was owing to the inequality of their numbers, and not to the valour of their men, which chiefly shewed itself in burning deserted plantations, murdering g prisoners

- a prisoners in cold blood, and offering indignity to women." By this specimen, the reader may form some idea of the inhuman manner in which the *French* have always made war. As it was well known they were perpetually forming new schemes against the *English West-Indies*, *Jamaica* in particular, his majesty ordered a force of 1200 men, under colonel *Lilliston*, to be sent to that island, in 1694. This was thought to be a bold measure, at a time when the nation itself was every day expecting an invasion from *France*; but the king was intent not only upon protecting *Jamaica*, but upon dispossessing the *French* of the quarter they had usurped in *Hispaniola*. No sooner was *Lilliston* landed, than the governor of *Jamaica* sent off the *Swan* frigate to *Hispaniola* to inform the *Spaniards*, and to concert measures for supporting the descent that was to be made upon the *French* part of the island. It was agreed, that the governor of *St. Domingo*, the capital of the island, should march with the *Spaniards* to *Manchaneel-Bay*, on the north-side of the island, where ships were to wait for them.

THE marine part of the expedition was committed to captain *Wilmot*, who was commodore of a Squadron of *English* ships at *Jamaica*; and he sailed with *Lilliston* and the land forces on board, for *St. Domingo*, where the above-mentioned plan was confirmed, and from thence to *Cape François*, the chief settlement which the *French* had in *Hispaniola*. *Lilliston* landed some men within three leagues of the *Cape*, while *Wilmot* bore up within cannon shot of the fort. This was on the 18th of *June*, and the enemy kept a brisk fire upon all the *English*, who approached the shore, both from their cannon and musketry. Three attacks were then formed against the fort, one by the land-forces, another by a body of seamen, who were to land likewise, and another by the ships who were to batter it. *Wilmot*, in endeavouring to find a place for landing his men, narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade of the *French*, who were placed at the corner of a bay, and who fired smartly upon him, but without doing any execution. Next night he returned to the same place with an additional strength, which daunted the *French* so much, that they immediately blew up their fort, set fire to their town, and without carrying off, or spoiling forty pieces of cannon, with which their works were mounted, they marched off in the dark. Next day the *English* entered the town and plundered it.

- PORT *Paix*, the strongest settlement the *French* had in *Hispaniola*, was the next object of the *English*, and it proved a matter of more difficulty than the reduction of *Cape François*. From the several narratives that have been published of this expedition, it appears, as if neither the *Spaniards* nor the *English* land-forces contributed much to its success. *Wilmot* waited for some days expecting their arrival; but being disappointed, he landed a party of his seamen about five miles to the eastward of *Port Paix*; where, driving before him the *French* who opposed his landing, and who retired to their fort, he destroyed their plantations to its very walls. This fort was situated at the bottom of a bay, on a flat rocky hill, which sloped towards the sea, but was steep on the land-side. It had four bastions, its walls were very strong, and built in form of a square, mounting fourteen pieces of cannon. From this description it appears, that the place could not be taken without a regular siege. Intelligence coming that the land-forces were at hand, *Wilmot* put ashore 400 seamen, and four days were employed in landing the heavy artillery. On the 21st some cannon and mortars were landed on the west side of the castle; and by the 27th, the *English* played upon it most furiously from the batteries; so that the *French* themselves soon saw that it was untenable. This intelligence coming on the third of *July* to the knowledge of colonel *Lilliston* and captain *Wilmot*, they resolved to intercept the fugitives. The *French* who marched out of the fort amounted to 310, exclusive of 200 negroes armed, and 150 unarmed. Having left the fort, they were attacked by the ambuscade of *English* and *Spaniards*, who killed all who did not surrender themselves prisoners, who were not above the number of 150, both *French* and negroes, and amongst the slain were almost the whole of the *French* officers. The *English*, after this, entered and demolished the castle, but carried off the stores, provisions, and artillery, to the number of eighty pieces of cannon, besides other considerable plunder.

SUCH, in general, is the account of this expedition against the *French* of *Hispaniola*; but particulars have been so variously related, and with such seeming evidences of truth on both sides, that we have not ventured to descend much into them. *Wilmot* accused the *Spaniards* and the *English* soldiers for not doing their duty; and they recriminated upon him by charging him with treachery and avarice, with exposing them wantonly to danger on all occasions, and with-holding from them even their necessary allowances. Perhaps, both parties were to blame from that spirit of disagreement that then subsisted between the land and sea-services; but it was on all hands agreed, that the *English* officers acquitted themselves with great honour, and that the expedition itself terminated highly to the interest of *England*. It must, however, be acknowledged, that it might have been much more so, had *Wilmot* literally followed his instructions, which were to proceed against *Petit Guaves*,

against the
French in
Hispaniola.

and to destroy in his return the *French* fisheries on the banks of *Newfoundland*; but, it is said, that the prospect of plunder induced him to proceed as he did. He died in his return to *England*, where his fleet arrived in a most miserable condition. a

Negroes made
free.

THE island of *Jamaica* continued still to be pestered by the rebellious negroes, in concert with the original negroes and inhabitants of the woods. Several attempts had been made to suppress them; and this very year the inhabitants fitted out two sloops of war, and raised 260 men for that service, at the expence of 4300 *l.* of which 750 *l.* was cheerfully given by the *Jews*, who had by this time acquired great property in the island. Garrisons were likewise put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*; and gentlemen of credit on the island were appointed by an act of assembly to collect and receive the money, and to superintend the disposal of it. The same year five gentlemen, viz. *Richard Lloyd*, *Francis Rose*, *James Bannister*, *Thomas Bindies*, and *John Walters*, Esqrs. were appointed commissioners to execute an act of the assembly, for giving freedom to all negroe slaves who could prove that they had done any remarkable service against the *French*. This was a very wise and generous measure, and for the more ready execution of it, sub-commissioners were appointed all over the island. b

Pointis ap-
pears before
Jamaica,

By those wise and many other regulations, *Jamaica* prospered so greatly, that in the year 1696, when the *French* admiral, *Monf. Pointis*, was on his famous expedition against *Carthagera*, he appeared off *Jamaica*, where the sight of his powerful squadron, far from intimidating the inhabitants, made them wish he would attempt a landing. In an instant, all the posts of the island were manned; and though *Pointis* had on board 2000 buccaneers, all of them used to desperate services, yet the *Jamaicans* made so good a shew, that he passed by without attempting any thing against their island. This was the more extraordinary, as most of the men whom *Lillison* had brought were now dead, either by the hardships they had suffered in the expedition, or the diseases they had contracted. By this time, the court of *England* hearing of *Pointis*'s destination, had ordered admiral *Nevil*, who was joined by a *Dutch* squadron, to follow him; but *Pointis* had then succeeded against *Carthagera*, where he found a booty of eight millions of crowns; and all that *Nevil* could do in his voyage to *Jamaica*, where he was to go on shore for intelligence, was to take a *French* privateer. He arrived at that island on the 16th of *May*, and sailed again on the 25th. *Pointis* receiving intelligence of his being in those seas, after finishing his business at *Carthagera*, bore away for the *Bahama Islands*; but on the 22d of *May*, he fell in with the combined squadron. *Pointis* made the best of his way to escape, which he did, with wonderful good fortune; but the *English* took and carried into *Jamaica* one of his richest ships, being valued at 200,000 *l.* During the chase, both the *English* and *Dutch* rear-admirals sprang their fore-top-masts, which disabled them from proceeding. *Nevil* then directed his course for *Carthagera*; but before his arrival there, it had been a second time plundered by the *French* buccaneers, who alledged, what indeed was true, that *Pointis* and his officers had defrauded them of their due, though the success of the expedition had been chiefly owing to them. c

is pursued by
admiral Ne-
vil,

NEVIL thus finding *Carthagera* in a manner abandoned, again directed his course for *Jamaica*. In a few days he discovered eight sail of *French* ships, of which he ran two a ground, took two others, and the rest escaped. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he was prevailed upon by Sir *William Beeston*, to form a plan for attacking *Petit Guaves*, under rear-admiral *Meesse*, which was accordingly taken, plundered, and reduced to ashes. *Nevil*, at the same time, set sail for the *Havannah*, in consequence of his master's instructions, to take the *Spanish* galleons under his convoy, and to bring them safe to *Europe*: but king *William* had a much better opinion of the *Spaniards* than they had of the *English*, or of himself; for both the governor of the *Havannah*, and the general of the plate-fleet, were so far from trusting it to his care, that they refused to admit him into the harbour. Upon this *Nevil* made the best of his way through the gulph of *Florida* to *Virginia*, where he died of heart-break. He was succeeded by captain *Dilkes*, who, on the 24th of *October*, brought back his shattered squadron to *Portsmouth*, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the people of *England*. As to *Pointis*, he was far more fortunate; he escaped a second time from an *English* squadron, commanded by captain (afterwards Sir *John*) *Norris*, which he found lying at anchor in the bay of *St. John's*, in *Newfoundland*; and a third time, from a squadron under captain *Harlow*, which he out-sailed, though his ships were foul and leaky, and those of his enemies had just put to sea. But we are now upon the eve of an event, the most critical, not only to the *English*, but the *Spanish* empire in *America*; and which having hitherto been but little understood by *English* writers, and misrepresented by others, we shall endeavour to explain with all possible succinctness. d

in vain.

Account of the
Scots colony at
Darien.

THE *Scots*, during the reign of king *William*, not only considered themselves as an independent people, but as being intitled to the highest favours which that monarch could grant them, by their early and ready joining in the Revolution. As they were not destitute of a spirit e

- a a spirit of enterprize, various methods had been proposed for raising themselves by trade ; and one *Paterfon*, a visionary projector, and a *Scotchman*, but settled in *England*, having become acquainted with *Dampier*, and other *West-Indian* adventurers in *London*, was by them informed that the isthmus of *Darien*, the most important spot in *America*, was possessed by an independent people, who were irreconcilable to the persons and government of the *Spaniards*, and who would most undoubtedly grant a settlement in their country to any *European* people, who would assist them against the encroachments of that nation. *Paterfon*, though a low-bred man, found means to discourse with several people of rank upon the same subject ; and making himself master of every particular concerning it, he immediately formed a project, not only of peopling this precious spot with his countrymen, but for raising in
- b *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and other states, more than sufficient subscriptions for carrying it into execution. We are to inform our readers at the same time, that upon this project was grafted another, for a trade between *Scotland* and *Africa*, notwithstanding the charter of the royal *African* company in *England*.

THOUGH nothing could be more chimerical or impracticable than the plan of this undertaking, yet the encouragement that it met with is incredible ; the whole being founded on the independency of the *Scots* and that of the *Darien* Indians. The marquis of *Tweeddale* was, at that time, the royal commissioner or viceroy for *Scotland* ; and he and his friends were actually surprised into passing, with all possible formalities, an act, “ for erecting a company, to be called the company of *Scotland*, trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, with great immunities, viz. of being custom-free for above twenty years ; and that all ships, which should be taken or damaged by any other nation, to be made good at his majesty’s charge.” By those two great encouragements, the *Scots*, who were embarked in this project, were enabled to under-sell their neighbours, and the adventurers were always sure of public protection, and even indemnification. The reader may perceive, that the title of this act comprehended three quarters of the globe, *Africa*, and the *East* as well as the *West*, *Indies*. This was a shallow device for enlarging their scheme, and inviting adventurers ; but, at the same time, it multiplied their enemies, among whom the chief were the old and new *East India* companies in *England*. The act of parliament, however having passed for this extraordinary establishment, it became a very serious matter ; and king *William*, when he heard the uses that were to be made of it, was so astonished, that he publicly said, with unusual warmth, that “ he had been ill-served in *Scotland*.”

THE ferment, which the act itself occasioned in *England*, became universal : and his majesty was applied to by petitions and remonstrances from all nations, who complained of the *Scotch* project, as being utterly inconsistent with their commercial rights. The *English*, especially the *East-India* company, insisted upon their being preserved in the possession of those privileges for which they had paid so dear. The *Dutch* were alarmed, lest the *Scots* should supplant them in their gainful, but illicit, trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*. Even the *French* king, notwithstanding his enmity to *England*, offered his fleet for dislodging the *Scots* from any settlement they should make in the *East* or *West-Indies* ; but of all complaints on this occasion, the loudest came from the *Spaniards*, who were well acquainted with the design of the *Scots*. All those remonstrances did not invalidate the act of parliament, and the *Scots* met with uncommon success in raising subscriptions, particularly in *Hamburg*, where 100,000 *l.* sterling was supposed to be subscribed. This alarmed the *English* parliament itself, and on the 14th of *December*, both houses joined in a very strong address on that subject, remonstrating that the late *Scotch* act of parliament, if carried into execution, must absolutely destroy the most valuable branches of the *English* commerce.

HIS majesty was at this time in a most undesirable situation ; he could not disown the act, and if he did not, he must break with the *English*, with whom he then stood upon very indifferent terms. In answer to the address, he repeated what he had said before, “ that he had been ill-served in *Scotland*, but he hoped some remedies might be found, to prevent the inconveniencies that might arise from the act.” Though by those expressions, and by his majesty’s turning out of their posts all who had been instrumental in procuring the act, the *Scots* might have easily foreseen its fate ; yet they went madly on, as if no method, if it could not be repealed, could have been found out to evade it. The king perceiving they were resolved to proceed, shewed his disapprobation, by sending orders to Sir *Paul Rycart*, the *English* resident at *Hamburg*, and his envoy at the court of *Lunenburg*, to join in a memorial, which was to be delivered to the senate of *Hamburg*, threatening them with his majesty’s highest displeasure, if they joined with the *Scots* in any treaty of commerce whatever. This memorial was presented at the very time when the hopes of the *Scots* were at the highest ; and it produced an address to the king from the council of the *Scotch* company, in pretty severe terms. This address farther embarrassed his majesty, who ordered the two *Scotch* secretaries of state to signify to the company, that he would give orders to his envoy at the court of *Lunenburg*, and his resident at *Hamburg*, not to make use of his majesty’s name

name or authority, for obstructing the company in the prosecution of their trade with the inhabitants of the city. But those inhabitants dared to do nothing, but by the approbation of the senate; and thus the *Scots* all of a sudden failed in their great expectations at *Hamburg* as well as in *England*. Some of the *Hamburg* merchants, indeed, seemed inclined to continue their subscriptions, but were soon obliged to desist. This produced addresses upon addresses from the company, and even from the parliament of *Scotland*, (where the whole nation seemed to be unanimous in support of the project) to the king, but without their receiving any satisfactory answers. Their disappointment was far from damping their zeal; they subscribed 400,000 *l.* sterling to the company, no rank or degree of men among them being free from the infection. Noble offices and warehouses were erected, and four ships, the smallest carrying sixty guns, were built at an immense expence for the use of the colony, besides tenders and transports.

The Scots
land at Da-
rien.

TILL those ships were built, their destination had never been published by the directors of the company, and *Paterfon's* scheme for the *Scots* settling the isthmus of *Darien* was now first openly avowed. Three of their ships, and two tenders, with about 1200 choice men on board, sailed from the *Frith*, and about the middle of *November*, 1698, they landed safe, with the loss of but few of their men, in the bay of *Darien*, where they immediately took possession of *St. Catherine's Island*, which we have already mentioned, then called *Golden Island*. This they fortified to great advantage, its port being large and capacious enough for ships of the greatest burthen, and at the same time extremely secure. The fort built here mounted fifty guns, and its garrison consisted of 600 men. To do the *Scots* justice, they proceeded in a regular manner in their settlement. The first thing they did, was, to enter into an alliance with the inhabitants, and the king (as he is called) of *Darien*, who disclaimed all dependance upon, or league with, the *Spaniards*. Intelligence of this arriving in *Scotland*, the council-general of the company there laid before his majesty the proceedings of their colony; and, to induce him to protect it, informed him, that they had undoubted intelligence of the *French* designing to settle the same country, had they not been prevented by the *Scots*; and that they had in every thing acted according to the conditions required in the act of parliament, and by their letters-patents.

AT the time this representation was laid before the king, a very pressing memorial was presented by the *Spanish* ambassador (who was personally obnoxious to his majesty) upon the same head. Though it must be acknowledged, that the proceedings of the *Scotch* company, as founded on their act of parliament (supposing them to be an independent people, as they certainly were) were irreproachable; yet the united interest of all *Europe* required their being crushed. The king, who was entirely of that opinion, complained of his not having been made acquainted with the destination of the *Scotch* ships, and refused, by the earl of *Seafeld*, the secretary of state for that kingdom, to give them any countenance or protection, till the place of their settlement was fully known. The people of *Jamaica*, of all the *English West-Indians*, had the greatest reason to be alarmed at the progress of the *Scots*; for though both were under the same king, yet the opposition the latter had met with at *London*, had exasperated them greatly at their *English* brethren. It was evident, from the situation of the *Scotch* colony, that if properly supported, it would, some time or other, be in a condition to give law to all *America*, especially as their new harbour was declared a free-port; and this must not only thin *Jamaica*, and the other *English* islands, of their inhabitants, but drain them of their money. The *Jamaicans* were soon delivered from their apprehensions by the following proclamation, which was very secretly sent over, being published in their island.

Proclamation
against the
Scotch ad-
venturers.

“ BY the honourable Sir *William Beeston*, knight, governor and commander in chief for his majesty in the island of *Jamaica*, and of the territories and dependencies of the same, and admiral thereof.

“ WHEREAS I have received orders from his majesty, by the right honourable *James Vernon*, one of the principal secretaries of state, importing, that his majesty was not informed of the intentions and designs of the *Scots*, in peopling *Darien*, which is contrary to the peace between his majesty and his allies, commanding me not to afford them any assistance: in compliance therewith, in his majesty's name, and by his order, I do strictly charge and require all and every his majesty's subjects, that upon no pretence whatsoever, they hold any correspondence with the *Scots* aforesaid, or give them any assistance with arms, ammunition, provision, or any thing whatsoever, either by themselves, or any other for them; nor assist them with any of their shipping, or of the *English* nation's, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure, and suffering the severest punishment. Given under my hand and seal of arms, the 9th of *April*, 1699, and in the 11th year of the reign of *William III.* king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and lord of *Jamaica*, defender of the faith.”

THE

^a THE like proclamation was published by the governors of *Barbados*, *New-York*, and *New-England*. In the mean while, the new settlement of *Darien* had been attacked by the *Spanish* governor of *Santa Maria*, whom they defeated with the loss of 100 of his men, and made himself prisoner. But an enemy of a much more powerful nature began then to invade the new colonists. Great part of their provisions had been consumed before they left their native country, so that they were now threatened with famine; and when they applied for relief to the *English* colonies, the proclamation was produced as their answer; though, before the proclamation was published, the people of *Jamaica* were ready enough in supplying the colony with provisions and turtle, and others, perhaps, would have traded clandestinely with them, even after the proclamation: but the colonists were either unable or unwilling to answer their exorbitant demands. Thus, in fact, this ill-concerted expedition, after filling the mother-country with the most unbounded hopes, came to nothing, because it was not properly supplied and supported; and the settlers were obliged to abandon the spot, which had promised them such immense riches. Their miseries, even after quitting *Darien*, were inexpressible. Such of them as came on shore at *Jamaica*, were considered in little better light than that of hostile pirates; and though famine was painted in their faces, they received no other relief but what they paid for in the goods which still remained in their hands, at above fifty *per cent.* discount (A). In the mean time, scarcely had the first settlers abandoned *Darien*, when they were succeeded by a fresh recruit; but the chief ship, which carried their provisions, being burnt by accident, and having no place on the globe, from whence they could draw sustenance, but from their native country, they too were obliged to quit the settlement. A third embarkation, better provided than any of the two former had been for colonizing, landed soon after; but that also miscarried, through the factions ^{and divisions of those who had the management of it; so that they were not able to resist} *and its scheme miscarries.* even the feeble force of the *Spaniards*; and they too, under the protection of a capitulation, abandoned the colony.

It is foreign for us to particularize the prodigious ferment which the miscarriage of this colony occasioned all over *Scotland*. Perhaps the capital misfortune of the whole lay in the danger of the court of *Spain* confiscating all the *English* effects in that country, which, at that time, were far more considerable than ever they have been since; and therefore the *English* mercantile interest in general engaged to oppose it. But even this obstacle, strong as it was, might not have defeated the scheme, had it not been for the particular situation of the affairs of *Europe* at that time, which soon after took a turn very different from what had been foreseen by his majesty or his *English* ministers, who little thought that a branch of the house of *Bourbon* was to succeed to the *Spanish* monarchy in *America* as well as in *Europe*. *Jamaica* seems to have been the only *English* colony who gained by the miscarriage of the *Scotch* settlement. Many of the adventurers chose to settle there, rather than be exposed to farther troubles, which contributed to the population of the island; and being in general a strong hardy race, they were very useful in their sugar-works, and other manufactures, while not a few of them served as overseers and tutors to young planters.

^e THE *French* still continued their preparations against the *English*, and during the *Scotch* settlement at *Darien*, they had fourteen men of war at *Petit Guayas*, some of them 70 gun ships, with which they gave out they intended a descent upon the *Havannah*; but that their views were defeated by the unforeseen preparations of the *Spaniards*. By this time *Port-Royal* had been rebuilt, as well as the late devastation of the earthquake could admit ^{rebuilt.} of, and the assembly passed an act for fortifying it, which obliged the governor to remove thither from *Spanish-Town*, that he might superintend the works. The government of *England* being of opinion, that the *French* still had an eye upon *Jamaica*, in 1699 sent thither admiral *Bembow*, with a considerable squadron of men of war, but during his passage, infectious distempers made great havock among his crews and officers. Upon their arrival ^f at *Jamaica*, the survivors recovered their health, and the island was then considered as being in a high pitch of prosperity, notwithstanding two *English* men of war were cast away near *Hispaniola*, and *Fort Charles* in *Port-Royal* was blown up by accident. Sir *William Beeston* ^{Death of Sir William Beeston.} died upon the island in 1700, and was succeeded in *April*, 1701, as governor, by major-general *Selwyn*. ^{Selwyn governor.}

THE succession of the duke of *Anjou* to the undivided monarchy of *Spain* now taking place, it was naturally concluded that a war between *Great Britain* and the two branches of the *Bourbon* family must soon ensue, and this made admiral *Bembow*, who was then upon the island, extremely active and solicitous upon every measure that could contribute to its security by sea. *Selwyn* died soon after his arrival at *Port-Royal*. Upon his death, *Peter Beckford*, ^{Beckford, governor.} Esq. was appointed by the council to be lieutenant-governor; and he celebrated

(A) The new cloathing of their soldiers, which was of red cloth, was sold for half a crown a coat, and all other wearing-apparel in proportion.

in a signal manner the sad obsequies of king *William*, and the joyful accession of queen *Anne* to the throne. No sooner did the expected war between *England* and *France* break out, than *Bembow* exerted himself to the utmost, by making dispositions of his cruisers and men of war for the annoyance of the *French* and their trade. He dispatched some of his ships towards *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, where they made a very rich prize; while he himself sailed with the rest of his squadron to intercept a *French* fleet, which had been fitted out under *M. Du Casse* against the *English West-Indian* islands. One of the *English* men of war had the good fortune to send the *Gloriana*, a *Spanish* man of war, bound from *St. Domingo* and *Carthagena*, a prize into *Port-Royal*. In the mean while, the admiral, with seven of his best ships, put the *French* and *Spaniards* into dreadful consternation by cruising off *Leogane* and *Petit Guaves*. Here the enemy was obliged to blow up one of their 40 gun ships, which he had driven ashore; he burnt two of their best merchant-ships; and the *Colchester*, on the 14th of *August* 1702, brought into *Port-Royal* several rich prizes. The address sent over by the council and assembly of *Jamaica*, which was transmitted to her majesty, and presented by *Sir Gilbert Heathcote*, and *Sir Bartholomew Gracedieu*, seems to have put her majesty in mind, that a governor was still wanting for *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the earl of *Peterborough*, who was invested with fuller powers than any other governor had ever been. The reputation of this nobleman made his appointment highly acceptable to the inhabitants of *Jamaica*.

History of
Bembow's en-
gagement with
Du Casse.

THE brave vice-admiral *Bembow* still continued stationed at *Jamaica*, and on the 11th of *July* 1702, he sailed from *Port-Royal* to join rear-admiral *Whetstone*; but on the 14th, having undoubted intelligence that *Du Casse*, with the *French* squadron, was expected in those seas, he failed to fight him. In his voyage thither, he destroyed a *French* 50 gun ship, and took eight or ten merchantmen. On the 15th of *August* he came in sight of *Du Casse*, who was bearing towards *Carthagena*. *Bembow's* force was as follows; the *Breda*, captain *Fog* of 70 guns, on board of which he was himself; the *Defiance*, captain *Richard Kirby*, commander, of 64 guns; the *Windsor*, captain *John Constable*, of 60 guns; the *Greenwich*, captain *Cooper Wade*, of 54 guns; the *Ruby*, captain *George Walton*, of 48 guns; the *Pendennis*, captain *Thomas Hudson*, of 48 guns; and the *Falmouth*, captain *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 guns. *Du Casse* had under him four large ships of war, from 66 to 70 guns, with a *Dutch* fly-boat of about 30 guns, a transport full of soldiers, a sloop, and three smaller vessels; and the engagement which ensued happened near *St. Martha*, on the 19th of the same month. The disposition which *Bembow* had ordered for the engagement being formed, he was extremely uneasy at seeing the *Defiance* and the *Windsor* so backward in answering the signals for their falling into the line of battle; but all the succeeding night he kept up with the enemy, in expectation of the *Defiance* coming into its station, which was a-breast of the headmost ship. At last, the *Falmouth*, the *Windsor*, and the *Defiance*, engaged, and the *Breda* was obliged to do the same. The *Defiance* and the *Windsor*, after receiving some broad-sides from the enemy, broke out of the line, and consequently out of danger, and left the admiral to bear all the fire of the sternmost ships of the *French*. Night coming on, he perceived that the *French* wanted to escape, but he resolved to pursue them, and himself to lead the chase; for which purpose he formed a new line of battle, in hopes that his cowardly captains might be prevailed upon to second him. The *French* continued still retreating; but on the 20th, the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, seconded by the *Ruby* only, his other ships being from three to five miles a stern of him. A kind of a running fight in this manner continued for two or three days, till the *Ruby* was so much shattered that she was towed off, while the *Defiance* and *Windsor*, though within point-plank of the enemy's rear-ship, never fired a gun. The admiral, however, continued to maintain the fight most gallantly, and the *French* as industriously endeavoured to avoid it. This running engagement continued till the 24th, the *Ruby* being ordered for *Port-Royal*, and the admiral being then seconded only by the *Falmouth*. The engagement then recommenced with great fury, till *Bembow's* right leg was, by a chain-shot, shivered into pieces; so that he was carried to his cabin; but he immediately ordered himself to be brought upon deck, in a cradle, and gallantly maintained the fight. By this time, one of the largest *French* ships was rendered a wreck, and four sail of the *English* squadron poured their broadsides into her; but then retreated, without the least regard to the signal of battle. The enemy upon this took heart, and attacked the admiral so briskly, that he was obliged to lay by and refit his ship, and he took that opportunity of expostulating with his cowardly captains, whom he sent for on board, upon their behaviour. Though nothing could be more certain, than that the whole of the *French* fleet must have been destroyed or taken, had the courage of the *English* admiral been seconded; and though it was evident, that the *French* made their utmost efforts to escape, yet the other captains concurred with *Kirby* in advising him to desist from engaging farther, on account of the superiority of the *French*. *Bembow* easily perceived from this concerted piece of cowardice, that he was to expect no assistance from his captains, while his

Cowardice of
his officers;

a own and another ship could not continue the engagement against all the *French* squadron, especially as he himself had not only lost a leg, but had been wounded in the face and arm, in an attempt made by the *French* admiral to board him; and therefore, with the utmost reluctance, he returned to *Jamaica*.

b FULL of rage and just resentment, *Bembow* on the 6th of *October* issued a commission to rear-admiral *Whetstone*, and some captains, for trying *Kirby*, *Constable*, *Wade*, and *Hudson*, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. The court, upon the fullest proof, after sitting four days, condemned *Kirby* and *Wade* to be shot to death; but their sentence was respited till her majesty's pleasure should be known. They were accordingly sent home to *England* in the *Bristol* man of war; and the queen not only confirmed the sentence, but sent orders to the sea-ports, that whenever they should arrive their sentence should be executed without their being suffered to come on shore, which was accordingly done. *Hudson* had died before the trial. *Constable* was cleared of cowardice, but was cashiered the service, as being guilty of the other crimes, and sentenced to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. It appeared in the course of those trials, that *Bembow's* haughty behaviour had produced a general confederacy of his captains against him, in which even the gallant captain *Walcott*, who afterwards distinguished himself so bravely in the service, concurred during an hour of intoxication; but, upon sober reflection, renouncing the engagement, he fought with a courage equal to that of *Bembow* himself, till his ship was disabled. *Fog* and *Vincent* were convicted of having signed a paper not to serve under *Bembow*; but all other circumstances appearing highly in their favour, they were only provisionally suspended.

two of whom
are punished
with death.

c It must be acknowledged, that the *English* never lost a fairer opportunity than they did by the cowardice of those captains, of disabling the *French* in the *West Indies*; and, consequently, of cutting them off from all the nerves of war, by preventing the transportation of the *Spanish* treasure to *Europe*. *Bembow* was sensible of this, especially when he received the following billet, dispatched from *Du Cassé* after his arrival at *Carthagena*: "Sir, I had little hope on *Monday* last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it. Yours, *Du Cassé*." In his letter to his wife, d he told her, that "the loss of his leg did not trouble him half so much, as the villainous treachery of some of the captains under him, which hindered him from totally destroying the *French* squadron." Melancholy at last co-operated with the wounds of this brave admiral, and he died when he was but fifty years of age; during which, he had raised himself from the lowest to the highest offices in the navy, on the 4th of *November* 1702. Upon his death, rear-admiral *Whetstone* took upon him the command of the squadron at *Jamaica*, where the spirit of privateering was now very strong among the inhabitants. A small squadron from thence attacked a place about twelve leagues from *Carthagena*, called *Toulon*, which they plundered and burnt. They then sailed to *Caledonia*, the late *Scotch* settlement, and going up the river *Darien*, they found all to be true that the *Scots* had reported concerning the aversion of the *Indians* of that isthmus to the *Spaniards*; for they joined the *English* in their search of the mines of *Santa Cruz*, near *Santa Maria*. On the 9th day of their march, the whole of the *English* being 400, they surprized an out-guard of ten *Spaniards*, and though they took nine of them, yet the tenth escaping, alarmed the inhabitants of *Santa Maria*, who retired from thence with all their treasure and best effects. Tho' this was a disappointment to the *English*, yet they attacked and took the fort and the mine, and set seventy negroes, whom they found there, to work upon the same; by which in twenty-one days time, they got above eighty pounds weight of gold-dust, besides discovering some parcels of plate, which had been buried by the inhabitants. When they departed, they burnt the town all but the church, and they carried off the negroes. As gold was the sole object of the adventurers, some of them went farther up the river, in search of another mine, while two of their sloops landed near *Trinidad*, which they took, plundered, and burnt, after making a very considerable booty.

Du Cassé's
letter to *Bembow*.

Jamaica privateers.

f LORD *Peterborough*, who, upon the death of major-general *Selwyn*, had been appointed governor of *Jamaica*, never went to that island, for reasons which do not fall under our consideration. But in 1703, colonel *Handaside* was appointed lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica* by the crown. It was, during his time, that the town of *Port-Royal*, in *January*, 1703-4, was burnt to the ground. It was then in very flourishing circumstances: but being built on a narrow neck of land, surrounded by the sea, the houses crowded, and the streets narrow, no assistance could be given to stop the conflagration: so that the inhabitants lost some of their effects, but the merchants saved their warehouses and magazines, by the help of boats, together with their books and money, and of the shipping, only one brigantine and sloop, which were at anchor in the harbour, were burnt. The lieutenant-governor lost no time in relieving the sufferers; and calling the assembly, they approved of

Lord Peterborough, governor, and Handaside, lieutenant-governor. Port-Royal burnt.

of all he had done, and reimbursed his expences, but at the same time they voted, that *Port Royal* should not be rebuilt, and that the inhabitants should remove to *Kinston*, which was laid out in a more advantageous manner, and was soon inhabited to the full. a

THE island of *Jamaica* lost at this time, through mismanagement at home, the fairest opportunity that it ever had of enriching itself. All restraints were now taken off from the *Spanish West Indies*, which the inhabitants were at liberty to attack and to plunder; but this could not be done without overawing the *French* marine. Prince *George* of *Denmark* was then lord high-admiral of *England*, and being totally unacquainted with maritime affairs, he acted by the advice of a council, who were as interested as he was ignorant. Vice-admiral *Graydon*, a man unskilled in his profession, and brutal in his manners, was one of their favourites, and it was resolved to send him with a squadron of men of war to *Jamaica*. b The true design of his expedition was to dispossess the *French* of *Placentia*, and the *Newfoundland* trade; but for that purpose, he was to collect all the force he could upon *Jamaica* and the other *West-Indian* islands. It seems to be pretty certain, that the *French* at this time had their agents in the *English* admiralty, and that *Graydon*, who was more than a tory, was backward in provoking them. He set sail from *Plymouth* on the 13th of *March*, with the *Resolution*, the *Montague*, the *Nonsuch*, and the *Blackwall*, with transports, store-ships, and merchantmen, and the regiment of brigadier *Columbine*, who died in his passage, on board. The fifth day after he sailed, he fell in with *Du Cassé's* squadron, which had just escaped from that of *Bembow*, and was very foul and leaky. Captain *Cleveland*, of the *Montague*, attacked the sternmost of the *French* ships; but, upon the first firing, the vice-admiral threw out a signal to call him off, by which *Du Cassé's* squadron got safe into *Brest* with all his treasure. *Graydon* pretended the urgency of his orders, and the necessity he was under to proceed, to excuse this shameful conduct, and in this he was publicly justified by the admiralty. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he disgusted all the inhabitants both of that and the other *West-India* islands by his conduct, of which they sent over complaints to *England*. Having collected all the strength he could there, he sailed for *Placentia*, but his fleet was dispersed for thirty days in a fog, and when it re-assembled, it was concluded, in a council of war, that the *French* were too well prepared at *Placentia* to be attacked; upon which he returned to *England*. By this time, the house of peers had voted, "That his behaviour, in letting the four *French* ships escape, was a prejudice to her majesty's service, and a great dishonour to the nation; and that his proceedings in *Jamaica* had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, and prejudicial to her majesty's service." They likewise "made an humble address to her majesty, that Mr. *Graydon* might not be employed any more in her service; but, having been acquainted, since the report made to them from their committee, that Mr. *Graydon* was discharged, they besought her majesty that he might be employed no more in her service." d

Admiral
Graydon's
misconduct.

ADMIRAL *Whetstone*, at this time, had cruised for five weeks on the coasts of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of intercepting a large fleet of merchant ships coming under a convoy from *Old France*. Being disappointed in this expectation, he sent captain *Vincent*, who had behaved so bravely in *Bembow's* engagement with *Du Cassé*, with one half of his ships to the southward, while he himself, with the other half, kept to the northward. Three *French* privateers, in endeavouring to avoid captain *Vincent*, fell in with the admiral, who sunk two of them, and took the third; while captain *Vincent* was equally successful upon another part of the coast, where he destroyed four *French* privateers. The destruction of those privateers was a fortunate circumstance for *Jamaica*; for they were appointed to carry 500 men to land upon some part of that island, and to plunder it. The loss of the *French*, upon this occasion, was very considerable; and the more so, as they had no more privateers in those seas, the *English* carrying off 120 prisoners. Those and other successes against the *French* went far towards clearing the *English West Indies* of their privateers. This facilitated a clandestine commerce between the *Jamaicans* and the *Spaniards*, to the great enriching of the former; and on the 7th of *May*, 1704, admiral *Whetstone*, who had returned to *England*, arrived at *Jamaica* with six ships of war, for the protection of the island, having a convoy of merchantmen under him. While he remained in those seas, he was very successful against the *French*; and besides the privateers he took, he destroyed an enemy's ship of 46 guns. The privateers of *Jamaica* were equally successful, by taking several very rich prizes, *Spanish* as well as *French*. In *January*, 1705-6, two *English* men of war, the *Bristol* and *Folkstone*, fell in with two *French* men of war, which had under their convoy, ten sail of merchant-ships, all of them richly laden. *Anderson*, who was the *English* commodore, attacked the convoy, but suffered the men of war to escape, and arrived at *Jamaica* with six of the *French* merchantmen, his prizes. The flagrancy of this conduct brought *Anderson* and his officers to a trial, and they were adjudged by the admiral to lose their commissions. e

Success of the
Jamaica pri-
vateers.

THE mismanagements in the marine which still prevailed at the *English* admiralty-board, undoubt-

a undoubtedly gave great handles for oppressing the people of *Jamaica*. Though *Graydon* had been dismissed for his misconduct and brutal behaviour in that island, yet his punishment was not adequate to his offences, and this encouraged others to imitate his example. Captain *Kerr*, who had been left to command the squadron at *Jamaica*, when *Whetstone* returned to *England*, was suspected of being in a correspondence with the *French*, by the vast number of rich *Spanish* prizes which he let slip; and by his tyranny over all the sea-faring part of the island. The *Jamaicans*, however, had the spirit to employ a solicitor to prosecute him in *England*, which he did with such effect that his commission was taken from him, and the instruments of his tyranny were punished. The *Jamaicans*, at this time, were not much better pleased with the conduct of their governor *Handside*, whom they b accused of being entirely under the direction of one *Rigby*, who set the governor and the assembly at variance in 1711. This *Rigby* had monopolized into his own hands several of the most lucrative employments in the island. This had produced a bill against such engrossments, which passed the assembly, but was disallowed of in *England*; but at last it was confirmed, after some alterations had been made in it. *Peter Beckford*, junior; was then speaker of the assembly; but it was in so ill a humour with the governor, that several motions were made, which he disliked so much, that he more than once attempted to leave the chair; but he was held forcibly in it by some members, who drew their swords, and shut the doors of the assembly house. *Peter Beckford* the elder, father to the speaker, hearing of this, went to the governor, and told him they were murdering his son. The governor, upon this, took along with him the two centinels that stood at his gate, forced open c the doors of the house, and dissolved the assembly, in the queen's name. This act of resolution prevented the continuance of the riot; but the fright is said to have had a fatal effect on old Mr. *Beckford*, whom it killed either that, or the next day. The differences between the governor and the assembly still continuing, it was resolved at court to send over a new governor to *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the lord *Archibald Hamilton*, brother to duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*.

As the last mentioned nobleman was extremely obnoxious to the whigs, on account of his supposed attachment to the Pretender's interest, his brother's appointment to the government of *Jamaica* was very disagreeable to that party. He arrived at *Jamaica* in July d 1711; but found the people in so bad a humour, that he was obliged to put off the meeting of the assembly. To this it is said, he was advised by *Rigby*, and by one *Broderick* the attorney-general, who had been imported into *Jamaica* from *Montserrat*, and other violent tories, particularly one *Stewart*, a physician. Though the peace between *France* and *England* was, by this time, far advanced, yet hostilities still continued between the two nations in the *West-Indies*; and *Cossart*, a *French* admiral, after making a descent upon *Montserrat*, threatened the same upon *Jamaica*. The universal consternation which this spread, for some time suspended party-heats. The *London* merchantships were detained for the defence of the island, and an embargo was laid on all other shipping. This proved fatal to many of them; for the apprehensions of *Cossart* were scarcely blown over, when the island e was invaded by a most dreadful hurricane of wind, lightning, and rain. This happened on the 28th of *August*, 1712; and though the storm lasted but six hours, yet several ships belonging to *London* and *Bristol*, were destroyed, as were fourteen belonging to the island. Even the king's ships at *Kingston* and *Port-Royal*, were greatly damaged: vast numbers of houses and warehouses were blown down or shattered, past repair. Many valuable goods were spoiled by the deluges of rain which fell, and the rest of the mischief that was done, was beyond estimation. Trees were blown down by the roots, and the canes and provisions for the negroes, were, in general destroyed all over the island; but the greatest loss consisted in that of 400 sailors, who were drowned in the harbours of *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*, and numbers of persons, who were killed by the fall of houses and sugar- f works.

THE calamity which this hurricane occasioned made the inhabitants of *Jamaica* apprehensive that the *French* would take advantage of it to invade their island; and on the first of *September*, 1712, martial law was proclaimed, and all the inhabitants were mustered under arms. On the 18th of the same month, another hurricane happened, which lasted from eight at night till noon next day. The *Jamaicans* had so often felt the dreadful effects of those hurricanes, that they were equally alarmed for the safety of their own ships of war, as at the destination of the *French*. The *Defiance* or the *Centurion* man of war was then cruising off *St. Martha* and *Carthage*, and the *Jamaicans* soon had the consolation to know, not only that they had rid out the storm, but that the *French* ships had been so shattered by g it, as to be obliged to quit those seas. The great numbers of *Scotch* and *Irish* gentlemen, who expected to make their fortunes under the new governor, and who attended him to *Jamaica*, gave disgust to the inhabitants, as indeed their political principles did to all who wished well to the house of *Hanover*. It was no wonder, if to supply so many hungry ad-

Lord Archibald Hamilton governor.

A hurricane.

Oppression: ven-

venturers, some arbitrary acts of government were committed, particularly by seizing lands and tenements of the owners, under pretext of their not having a legal title to them, and that they had escheated to the crown. This practice was the more oppressive, as several families thereby lost their estates, which they had purchased upon the faith of their having a valid title to them, and had laid out their whole substance upon their improvement. *Rigby*, whom we have already mentioned, and *Broderick*, the attorney general, were accused as being the prompters of those iniquitous proceedings. That they were flagrant, appears by a letter, complaining of the government of the island, published in 1714, in the following terms: "The mal-practices of Mr. *Rigby*, his confederates, abettors, and tools, have been so grossly fraudulent and oppressive, to the manifest prejudice both of the queen and the subject, that in the escheating of estates, whether justly escheatable or not, the private composition given to the governors, besides what these escheat-parties have got themselves, has oftener than once amounted to near three hundred times as much as the pretended trifling value, though upon oath, of such estates brought to the queen's account." Those practices at last became so crying, that the assembly interposed, and passed three acts; the first was chiefly levelled at Mr. *Rigby*, and was for preventing any one person holding two or more offices and posts in the island; the second was for regulating exorbitant fees; and the third for quieting mens's possessions, and preventing vexatious suits at law.

and abuses of
the govern-
ment of Ja-
maica.

RIGBY being secretary of state, as well as provost marshal, it was his office to transmit to the government of *England*, under the broad seal of the island, all the acts that were sent home for ratification. So secure was this officer of his interest at court, that when he transmitted those acts he affixed no broad seal to them; by which omission, the ratifications of them were delayed, and in danger of being entirely lost. The truth is, the island, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition. Its governors, who for many years before, had been bred either in the army or to the sea, presided in chancery, where their will was their law. The chief justice, who presided in their law-courts, had a few years before been a cabin-boy, and having lost the ship he afterwards got the command of, he married a planter's widow, and became a judge; and all the other judges and justices in the island were of the same cast. It was to make way for such, that colonel *Haywood* was removed from being chief justice, and a member of the council, though a person of great interest in the island; as were Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*. A dispute about money advanced for the maintenance of colonel *Handside's* regiment, and two independent companies of foot on the island, having been referred by the assembly to a committee, of which Mr. *Chaplin* was chairman; they reported their opinion, that the said money had been raised without law, and without the public faith having been given for it; and the assembly in consequence resolved, that the same was no public debt. This proceeding, though the assembly thereby did no more than assert their own undoubted right of granting money, cost Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, who was strenuous on the same side, their seats at the council-board.

which is in-
jured by the
peace of U-
trecht.

THE inhabitants of *Jamaica* had more reason than any other *British* subjects to complain of the peace of *Utrecht*, and the Assiento contract that followed, with the *Spaniards*; which, in fact, established a new interest in *Great Britain*, incompatible with that of our *West Indies*, and of *Jamaica* in particular. Though it is evident, that the *Spaniards* and the *French*, at that time, would have granted almost any concessions in point of trade to their *West Indies*, in favour of *Great Britain*; yet our ministers were in so violent a hurry to make peace, that all stipulations of that kind were over-looked, and the whole of that trade was suffered to remain on the footing of the *American* treaty in 1670; by which all commerce between the *English* and the *Spanish* settlements in *America* was entirely prohibited. This, together with the suspension of arms between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, created an inexpressible trouble to the people of *Jamaica*. Their privateers became now no better than pirates, and were treated as such by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who charged them with carrying off from *Hispaniola*, negroes, indigo, and other goods to a very considerable amount. A complaint of this was made by the *Spanish* governor at *St. Domingo*, while the people of *Jamaica*, with equal justice complained, that they had been robbed by the *French* and *Spaniards* to the amount of 200,000 pieces of eight, after the said suspension had taken place.

It happened unfortunately, both for the island and the governor, soon after the conclusion of the peace of *Utrecht*, that the ships of war which had been stationed at *Jamaica* for its preservation, had been called home; and this rendered it necessary for the *Jamaicans* to apply for some safeguard against the vast swarms of *French* and *Spanish* privateers, not to mention their own, that were then cruising about, and indiscriminately made prize of whatever came in their way. The merchants, therefore, and the chief inhabitants of the island, applied to lord *Archibald Hamilton*, to grant commissions to certain commanders of ships,

a ships, in the nature of letters of marque, for the security of the island against those freebooters; which he accordingly did. Some of those commissions being abused, and made use of for robbing the *Spaniards*, and other wicked purposes, a great clamour was raised against lord *Archibald*, which was increased when several of the inhabitants of *Jamaica* fitted out sloops for fishing upon the wrecks of some rich *Spanish* ships that had been lost upon the coast of *Florida* and the *Bahama Islands*.

THOUGH this last had been a common practice, and great estates had been raised from it, not only by Sir *William Phipps*, whom we have often mentioned, but by other persons; yet the *Spanish* governor of *Cuba* complained of it as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns; and sent one captain *Juan de la Vallee*, deputy of the *Spanish* council of commerce, to demand satisfaction. His complaint consisted of two parts: the first was, that the *British* subjects had robbed the *Spaniards* of part of the wreck, while it was in possession of the latter; and the second reclaimed the money which had been already fished up. This affair was for some time in agitation; and, in the beginning of the year 1715, while lord *Archibald Hamilton* was still governor, it came before the council, whose opinion was, "that as to such part of the *flota* ships, wrecked on the coast of *Florida*, as remained in the possession of the subjects of his Most Catholic Majesty, of which it is pretended they were dispossessed, it is the opinion of his excellency and the council, that the dispossessors are robbers, and ought to be punished; but concerning such part of the said *flotas*, if any, lying derelict, the subjects of his Catholic Majesty were not drove and forced out of possession, but it belonged to the first occupant." Though this report is possibly not without its difficulties, yet it was agreeable to the practice of the *West-Indies*; nor do we know of any satisfaction the *Spaniards* ever received as to the last article, though they did as to the first. The *English*, in the mean while, complained with equal justice of the *Spaniards*, whom they accused of having robbed them of far greater sums than the *Spaniards* had pretended they lost; though their losses upon the island of *Cuba* itself had been admitted and liquidated by the *English* government to the sum of 200,000 pieces of eight; but the *English* claims were disregarded.

THE accession of the *Hanover* family to the throne of *Great Britain* gave a new turn to the government and politics of *Jamaica*. The gentlemen there, who were in the Revolution interest, heartily joined in the solemnity of king *George* the First's proclamation, and they resolved to raise a joint purse of 1000*l.* to be employed on agency in *England*, for obtaining redress of their grievances. Those were of so vague a nature, that many of lord *Archibald Hamilton's* friends concurred in the subscription; and one Mr. *Bendish* was appointed agent. As to the governor himself, he certainly had been guilty of no irregularities, because he had always acted according to the advice of his council, and had done nothing in which he was not warranted by the practices of the most unexceptionable of his predecessors; but he was, by the prevailing party at home, superseded in his government by colonel *Haywood*; though several of his friends had still great credit both in the council and the assembly. At the time of colonel *Haywood's* appointment, Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair* were restored to their seats in the council, and a new council was named, who, though only by a majority of one member, put the late governor lord *Archibald Hamilton* under arrest, upon a charge of having encouraged piracy. This, undoubtedly, was a most infamous abuse of power, and the chief manager against lord *Archibald* was one Dr. *Samuel Page*, an ignorant, illiterate, quack, but clerk of the council, though he could scarcely write a sentence of common *English*. Lord *Archibald* was sent prisoner to *England*. Besides the forementioned charge, another was brought against him, of his having permitted the council to amend money-bills. But he was fully cleared from this charge by the testimony of the Board of Trade, who acknowledged, that they had recommended to him to take care that the council should not be denied any right of amending money-bills. As to the charge against him of encouraging piracy, it turned out greatly to his lordship's honour, for he proved that his conduct had directly the contrary tendency. Upon which he was first admitted to bail, and then fully acquitted.

It appears, as if colonel *Haywood* had been appointed only as an occasional governor; for even before lord *Archibald Hamilton* was put under arrest, his majesty had conferred the government of *Jamaica* upon *Nicholas Lawes*, Esq; an eminent planter of that island, whom he knighted at the same time. This nomination was extremely agreeable not only to the people of the island, but to all the friends of our *West Indian* settlements, as it was looked upon as a kind of omen, that those colonies would no longer serve as retreats, where broken gamesters, and spendthrift courtiers, were sent to repair their shattered fortunes. When Sir *Nicholas Lawes* arrived at his government, the remains of the pirates and buccaners had done infinite prejudice to the *English* trade, and always found a ready asylum in the *Spanish* settlements as soon as they professed themselves to be of the Roman Catholic religion. The chief of those villains was one *Toutch*, commonly called *Blackbeard*, a native of

Martial law
revived.

Pirates re-
claimed by the
English,

of *Jamaica*, who was killed in an engagement upon the coast of *Virginia*, one *Nicholas Brown*, and one *Christopher Winter*, which two last took refuge under the *Spanish* governor of *Trinidad*. When *Lawes* came to *Jamaica*, he found three *English* men of war of forty guns each, upon that station, viz. the *Diamond*, the *Adventure*, and the *Ludlow Castle*; but as we had then a war with *Spain*, it was necessary to revive the execution of martial law, and to consider the military state of the island. For this purpose he summoned an assembly, whom he informed that he had taken care to repair the fortifications of *Port Royal*; and added, "I think the rock line, and the decayed port of *Carlisle Bay*, worth your immediate consideration. I have addressed the minister at home, for an engineer to be sent upon the establishment, to oversee the works, and direct where to raise new ones." Soon after this, the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the peace that had been lately concluded, not only refused to give any satisfaction for their former depredations upon *British* subjects, but every day committed fresh ones. This occasioned Sir *Nicholas Lawes* to apply to commodore *Vernon* for an officer to be sent to the governor of *Trinidad* in *Cuba*, to demand satisfaction from the alcaides of that place; and captain *Chamberlain* was appointed to that commission, whom the governor charged with the following letter.

Gentlemen,

"The frequent depredations, robberies, and other acts of violence, which are daily committed on the king my royal master's subjects, by banditti's, who pretend to have a commission from you, and in reality are sheltered by you, is the occasion of my sending the bearer, captain *Chamberlain*, commander of his majesty's snow, *Happy*, to demand satisfaction for the robberies your people have committed on the king's subjects of this island, by those traitors *Nicholas Brown*, and *Christopher Winter*, to whom you have given protection. These proceedings are not only a breach of the law of nations, but must appear to the world of a very extraordinary nature, when considered that the subjects of a prince in amity with another, should encourage such vile practices. I have had long patience, and declined using any violent measures to obtain satisfaction, hoping the cessation of arms so happily concluded between our sovereigns would have put a stop to these disorders; but I find the port of *Trinidad* a receptacle for villains of all nations.

"I therefore assure you, in the king my master's name, if I meet with any of your rogues upon the coasts of this island, they shall be hanged without mercy. I demand of you to make ample satisfaction to captain *Chamberlain*, for all the negroes which the said *Brown* and *Winter* have taken from these islands since the suspension of arms, and that you will deliver up to the bearer such *Englishmen* as are detained at *Trinidad*; and that you forbear granting commissions to, or suffer any such notorious villains to be equipped from your port, otherwise those I can meet with shall be treated as pirates."

The letter from Mr. *Joseph Lawes*, was as follows :

Gentlemen,

"I am sent by commodore *Vernon*, commander in chief of all his majesty's ships in the *West Indies*, to demand, in the king our master's name all the vessels, with their effects; and also the negroes taken from *Jamaica* since the suspension of arms; likewise all *Englishmen* now detained, or otherwise remaining in your port of *Trinidad*, particularly *Nicholas Brown* and *Christopher Winter*, both of them being traitors, pirates, and common enemies to all nations. And the said commodore hath ordered me to acquaint you, that he is surprized that the subjects of a prince, in amity with another, should give countenance to such notorious villains."

but refused by
the Spaniards.

THE answer of the alcaides to this last letter is a most excellent picture of their haughty bigotted manners: "Gentlemen, say they, in answer to yours, this serves to acquaint you, that neither in this city, nor port, are there any negroes or vessels, which have been taken at your island of *Jamaica*, nor on that coast, since the cessation of arms; and what vessels have been taken since that time have been for trading, in an unlawful commerce, on this coast; and as for these *English* fugitives you mention, they are here as the other subjects of our lord the king, being brought voluntarily to our holy catholic church, and have received the water of baptism; but if they should prove rogues, and should not comply with their duty in which they are bound at present, then they shall be chastised according to the ordinance of our king. And we beg you will weigh anchor as soon as possible, and leave this port and its coasts, because on no account you shall be suffered to trade, or any thing else; for we are resolved not to admit thereof." Off of the river of *Trinidad*, Feb. 8, 1720.

THIS much may suffice for a specimen of the *Spanish* stile. *Lawes* answered, that his orders were to make reprisals, and that he would treat as pirates all the subjects of *Spain*,

- a *Spain* who should fall in his hands. This was a menace, which, had he executed, must have been indefensible, as the persons he claimed were under the protection of the *Spanish* government, and so far as we know, never had been legally convicted of any crime; and therefore, the alcaide dared him to do his worst; but threatened to treat every *Englishman* he could take in the same manner as he did the *Spaniards*. The governor of *Jamaica*, finding all his menaces were in vain, did not proceed to the execution of them, but published a proclamation, by the advice of his council, promising 500*l.* for apprehending each of the two pirates, *Brown* and *Winter*; but without mentioning any treaty subsisting between the two crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, that could oblige the governor of the *Havannah*, or the alcaides of *Trinidado*, to give them up. But those rough proceedings against the
- b *Spaniards* were far from being agreeable to the people of *Jamaica* in general, because of their favourite trade with the *Spanish West Indies*; while the ministry in *England* being on very bad terms with the court of *Spain*, as industriously discouraged it. This difference in sentiments and interest produced a coldness, if not a breach between the governor and the assembly; and four days after the late proclamation, the governor called the members together, and upbraided them soundly for their refractoriness and obstinacy, not without some very severe threatnings, that if they did not comply, the government at home would take advantage of the precariousness of their tenures, and fall upon a way, without their assistance, to secure his majesty's interest.

Breach between the governor and assembly.

- THOUGH this speech was certainly both provoking and unconstitutional, yet it was as much approved of at home, as it gave disgust upon the spot, where it was well known that
- c Sir *Nicholas* had, in a manner, purchased the government of *Jamaica* from Mr. *Pitt*, formerly governor of *Fort St. George* in the *East-Indies*. But another most terrible hurricane soon suspended, for a time, all those political differences. The inhabitants had some pretension of it by the unsettledness of the weather, the shifting of the wind, but, above all, by a prodigious swell and uncommon working of the sea. On the 28th of *August*, 1722, it began at *Kingston* by eight in the morning. Half of *Kingston* was ruined; *Port-Royal* was reduced to the same condition; but it was observed all over the island, that the old houses built by the *Spaniards* received but little damage. About 400 persons were reckoned to have lost their lives at *Port-Royal*, where the sea broke over the town-wall, though it was
- d nine feet above the surface of the water, and carried with it such a number of stones as employed an hundred negroes for six weeks, in throwing them back into the sea. Of twenty-six sail of vessels and ten sloops in the harbour, only ten were to be seen after the hurricane, and half of those were damaged without repair. It would take up too much room here to specify all the particulars of this tremendous calamity. We shall therefore lay before the reader the general representation of it, sent over by the council, in an address to his majesty, which was as follows: "We beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty the deplorable circumstances we are reduced to by a dreadful storm, which happened on the 28th of *August* last. The violence of it is inexpressible. It has thrown down and shattered all our houses to such a degree, that for some time we were exposed to the extremity
- e of the weather; it has blown down part of your majesty's fortifications, dismounted the guns, destroyed the carriages, and damaged most of the powder in the magazines and the fire-arms, and the calamity has been so general, and the loss sustained so great throughout the island, that the poor inhabitants are utterly unable to put themselves in a posture of defence without some aid. We humbly beseech your majesty to send us such aids of guns, fire-arms; carriages, and ammunition, and such a number of ships of war, as your majesty in your wisdom shall think necessary." It is incredible, that during this hurricane (which though perhaps less violent than some preceding ones, did more damage to the island on account of its additional works and riches) many wretches plied about the scenes of public calamity, to pilfer whatever they could lay hold of belonging to the sufferers; and it was
- f with the utmost difficulty that the governor could recover any part of the embezzled goods, by ordering the provost-general to seize them for the use of the right owners.

Another dreadful hurricane.

Address to the king on the same.

- UPON the representation contained in the address from *Jamaica*, the government of *England* ordered twelve ships of war to be put in commission for the *West-Indies*, and on board of them all kinds of necessaries and provisions for the supply and relief of that and the other *British* islands which had suffered by the late hurricane. During that calamity, some of the *British* ships, particularly the *Launceston* man of war, captain *Chandler* commander, the *Adventure*, and the *Mermaid* had been at sea, by which they escaped the storm; and in the beginning of *May*, the *Launceston* took one of those *Spanish* pirate-ships which were then called guarda-costas, with fifty-eight *Spaniards* on board, who had taken a snow be-
- g longing to *Jamaica*, six leagues off *Hispaniola*. As such captures were undoubtedly contraventions of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, the governor and council of *Jamaica* ventured to proceed against the prisoners as pirates; and the governor, in conjunction with the council, and the captains of the king's ships at *Jamaica*, held a council of

Relief ordered to the island.

Spanish pirates taken and hanged.

Rebellion of
the mountain-
ous negroes,
and an ac-
count of the
Musqueto In-
dians.

Enemies to the
Spaniards,

and their In-
dians.

war to try them; Mr. *Kelly* being attorney-general, and one Mr. *Norris* register of the court of admiralty. Of the fifty-eight *Spaniards*, no fewer than forty-three were convicted of piracy and robbery, and executed in consequence of their sentence. This severity was far from closing the breach between the governor and the assembly, so that he desired to be recalled, but not till after the militia of *Jamaica* had been disposed into one regiment of horse, and eight regiments of foot. This regulation became the more necessary, as the negroes whom we have so often mentioned had been suffered, through the dissensions that prevailed between the governors and the inhabitants of the island, to live unmolested in the mountains, where they acquired such strength as to grow formidable; and they had, upon an almost inaccessible pass, erected a kind of a fort that bid defiance to all the force that the *Jamaicans* could bring against it; for their parties who attacked it always returned home with loss, and without success. Those negroes were not even contented with remaining on the defensive, for they often made excursions as far as *Spanish-Town*, alarming the inhabitants wherever they came. Such was the situation of affairs when the *Jamaicans* thought proper to employ in their defence the *Musqueto Indians*, who, as they are dependent on the governor of *Jamaica*, require to be described here.

THE *Musqueto*es are a nation on the continent, lying between *Truxillo* and *Honduras*, on a sandy bay, beyond *Cape Gracia de Dios*, near the bay of *Campeachy*, to which uncomfortable situation they were driven by the tyranny of the *Spaniards* from *Honduras*. When the duke of *Albemarle* was governor of *Jamaica*, the *Musqueto*es put themselves under the protection of the crown of *England*; and though their government was monarchial, their head king (for they have several subordinate ones) deigned to receive a commission from his grace. Ever since that time, when a vacancy in the sovereignty happens, the next heir repairs to *Jamaica*, where he proves his propinquity of blood; nor will his subjects acknowledge themselves to be such, till that is submitted at *Jamaica*, and he receives his commission from the governor. Their affection for the *English*, ever since their first admission, has been surprizing; for they have been known even to spare such of their enemies as could speak *English*; and several *Englishmen*, before the time we treat of, were encouraged to settle and to make fortunes among them. Their country is so well defended by mountains and morasses, that the *Spaniards*, for whom they have an invincible aversion, never could penetrate into it; but the *Musqueto*es, towards all but them and their *Indians*, who helped to drive them out of their old habitations, are a quiet, inoffensive people. They are by nature moral, and so void of vice, that they have no magistrates among them. They have the greatest veneration for matrimony, which they confine to a single man and woman, and shew signs of devotion, by worshipping the sun, and burying their dead, with their faces towards the east, upright on their feet.

As to their king, his revenues are so small, that in time of peace, he is obliged to fish and fowl to maintain himself and his family; but sometimes in time of war, he receives for his good offices presents from the governor of *Jamaica* and the *English* traders. The numbers of the *Musqueto*es are not known (B), being variously dispersed; but the whole of them might be easily united to serve under the *English*. They take all opportunities of surprizing the *Spanish Indians*, men, women, and children, whom they either detain as slaves among themselves, or sell them upon the island of *Jamaica*. About the year 1690, those *Musqueto*es obtained what they thought to be a considerable victory over the *Spanish Indians*, of whom they killed a great number. After this, the *English* invited them to come to live in their island of *Jamaica*; but the *Musqueto*es loved their independency better than they did even the *English*. It was thought they were in some measure influenced to this by their sockeys or priests, whom they held in such veneration, that some dissolute *Englishmen* have been known to take up the profession, that they might live in indolence and affluence. No people in *America* are supposed to be more expert hunters and fishers than the *Musqueto*es; and they are so useful at sea, that the master of a *Jamaica* sloop, if possible, procures one of them to be of his crew, and treats him with particular distinction, and with larger wages, than he gives to a common seaman. Upon the arrival of every new governor, the *Musqueto*es always pay their compliments to him, either by their king, or some of their capital men; and he never fails to treat them with great civility.

THE measure of taking a number of these *Musqueto*es into pay, to serve against the negroes in the *Blue Mountains*, as their habitations were called, being concluded upon by the assembly of *Jamaica*, 200 of them arrived in the island, and were formed into companies, with regular pay, under their own officers, but with white guides to conduct them to the fastnesses of the rebels. In this service, they shewed great sagacity; and they often used to check the *Jamaicans* for firing at game during their excursions, because the noise served

(B) Sir *Charles Wager*, when lord commissioner of the admiralty, thought them to be very considerable; and while admiral *Vernon* was upon his expedition,

a only to put the rebels upon their guard. It is agreed on all hands, that during their stay upon the island, which was but for a few months, they did very considerable service against the negroes; but it is not so clear, why they were dismissed, unless, which is not improbable, their affection to their own country made them desirous of returning home. *Their services against the negroes.*

EVERY day now produced fresh altercations between the governor and the assembly, who indeed seem to have been disaffected towards the establishment at home, and to have assumed an independency incompatible with the principles of the *British* government. The calamity of the *South-Sea*, which hurt so many *English* noble families, happening about this time, the duke of *Portland*, who was a great sufferer by that iniquitous scheme, was appointed to succeed Sir *Nicholas Lawes* in the government of *Jamaica*. His majesty, by giving this employment to his grace, seems to have intended to root out all the seeds of differences and discontent in the island, as no subject was better qualified than the duke was, both by his prudence, virtue, and good temper, to reconcile all parties. As it could not be supposed that his grace was thoroughly conversant in the practical part of business, and the ministry at home, perhaps, thinking it proper that a military-man should reside upon the island on the part of the government, one colonel *Dubourgay* was appointed to be his grace's lieutenant-governor, and to be assistant to him in the management of affairs. *Dubourgay*, of whom the ministry seem to have had a great opinion, had been nominated to the same place under Sir *Nicholas Lawes*; but he never exercised any part of his functions, as well knowing it would be disagreeable to the *Jamaicans* to be burdened with a governor and a lieutenant-governor at the same time; but the high quality and great reputation of the duke of *Portland* made them imagine that no such objections could be made to his having a substitute. His grace carried over with him his dutchess; and, after touching at *Barbados*, where they were magnificently received and entertained, they arrived at *Jamaica* the 22d of *December*, 1722. *Duke of Portland, governor.*

THE *Jamaicans*, before his grace came upon their island, had never known a governor of true taste, magnificence, and politeness. His grace, without departing from his dignity, was far more affable and easy of access, than any of their former governors. His house had all the appearance of a polite court, and he introduced among the islanders new and more elegant modes of living: they, on the other hand, were not wanting in gratitude, for they settled no less than 5000*l.* a year upon his grace, being double what they had ever allowed to any former governor. It soon appeared, however, that the ministry at home had entirely mistaken their measures with regard to colonel *Dubourgay*. The *Jamaicans* looked upon his appointment as being no better than imposing upon them a burden which the government at home ought to bear, and as establishing upon their island a new and an expensive officer. The manner in which his grace, in his first speech to the islanders, introduced the mention of the colonel, heightened their jealousy. "I am, said the duke, farther to signify to you, gentlemen, that his majesty has been pleased to appoint colonel *Charles Dubourgay*, a person of great merit and honour, to be your lieutenant-governor. His long and earnest services in war, and his sincere attachment to his majesty, have prepared his way to this particular mark of the royal favour; and I am commanded to let you know, that it is expected from you, that you receive him with the honour due to his commission, and provide him the support which his credentials will acquaint you with." *Character of his administration.*

It must be acknowledged, that this was a very improper stile to be made use of to the *Jamaicans*, who objected to the creation of new officers, and considered this part of his grace's speech, as having been entirely dictated by the *English* ministry, for their own ends; and, indeed, this appeared the more likely, as they had no intimation from their agents in *England*, of the provision that was expected to be made for the colonel. They therefore made the latter a handsome present of 1000*l.* to defray his expences in coming over, and he re embarked in the *Kingston* man of war, which had brought the duke to *Jamaica*. His grace could scarcely be said to have been settled in his government, when he perceived that great intestine divisions subsisted among the islanders, some of whom were upon very bad terms with the assembly and the council; but his grace, in answer to all applications made to him on that account, always most obligingly promised to do his utmost in restoring peace to the island, by reconciling all their differences. Soon after his arrival, the king of the *Musquetoos*, whom we have already mentioned, came to pay him his compliments, and was most graciously received; but his manners and behaviour soon discovered that he was very ill qualified for polite company. *Dubourgay sent back.*

ONE of the most difficult parts of his grace's administration related to an old claim, which had been set up and prosecuted by the *Jamaicans*, but had always been discouraged by their governors, of having their laws rendered perpetual. The *British* ministry thought that this was inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother-country; nor could they foresee the consequences of such a privilege; but they were in hopes that the generous provision which they had made for the duke would befriend them on this occasion; and, soon after

after his arrival upon their island, they passed a law for that purpose, to which his grace gave a negative, telling the assembly at the same time, that the matter had been thoroughly considered at home, and that the objections made to such a law were of such weight, that it would be deceiving them, should he give them the least room to expect that that bill would receive his majesty's approbation.

Value of the
coin altered.

ANOTHER great difficulty his grace had to encounter with in his government, was, the settlement of the silver coin; the value of which had been fixed by proclamation in the reign of queen *Anne*, according to the table inserted in the note (C). The people of *Jamaica*, pretending to be ignorant of the obedience due to a proclamation on so important a point, disregarded it so far, that they raised their money threepence upon a piece of eight. This produced a representation from the principal *West India* merchants both at *Jamaica* and *London*, which being laid before the lord *Carteret*, then one of the principal secretaries of state, his lordship, in a letter to his grace, written immediately after he had left *England*, acquainted him, "that the articles of complaint, in the representation, deserve his grace's most serious consideration, and the king directs his grace to use his utmost care to see proper remedies applied. That the trade and credit of the island will be lost, if the valuation of the coin be not rectified. It is, adds his lordship, a bold attempt, that those who advised have undertaken it, being expressly contrary to the act of the 6th of queen *Anne*, and your 47th instruction, which I am commanded to repeat to you, should be strictly obeyed." Upon the authority of this letter, his grace undertook to remedy the evil, which never had been attempted in *Barbados*, and succeeded so well, that it was not afterwards complained of.

Said.

Other abuses.

It must be confessed, that many other abuses prevailed, about this time, in *Jamaica*, most of which were owing to the disrepute in which the government of the island was held before his grace's arrival. The great quantity of uncultivated lands, contrary to the spirit and tenour of the original grants, had been long a subject of complaint in *England*; because, had they been properly improved, the sugar-trade, in all its branches, must have been extended, their products must have come cheaper to *England*, and the *French* must have been checked in the vast sales they found, for those commodities, in the *European* markets. This evil was apparently owing to the selfish views of the great engrossing planters, who, though they had vast tracts of improveable sugar-land, did not chuse to break them up, while they found that the scarcity of sugars kept their prices high enough to answer all their purposes, without being at any farther expence. His grace strongly recommended the removal of this abuse to the consideration of the council and assembly; but from what afterwards appeared, without much effect. The state of the high roads in *Jamaica* was, at this time, highly deplorable; and was another object, which his grace recommended to the legislature of the island. The occasion of this neglect was the vast conveniences of water-carriage, which the great planters had for conveying their goods and cargoes to the shipping. But, as his grace represented to them, they did not consider, that in case of any sudden commotion or invasion, the impassable condition of the roads cut off all inland communication, and prevented one part of the island from receiving the least assistance from the other. "One would think, said his grace in his speech on this head, the inconveniences which their impassable state bring upon the inhabitants daily, should be a sufficient motive to repair them; but the danger which the public are from thence exposed to in the case of any unexpected alarm, which does render it very difficult, if not always impracticable, for the forces of the island to join in its defence, will accuse and condemn you, should any unhappy consequences result from it. Will it be of any avail to plead, that the parishes to which these roads belong, were obliged to keep them in a good condition? The late dreadful hurricane has made the expence too great for the parishes." This important matter was accordingly taken into consideration, and the nuisances removed; so that there are now convenient communications between all the principal parts of the island; a law having passed for that purpose.

State of the
highways.

Provisions for
clergymen.

THE neglect of supplying the *English West-Indies* with clergymen of piety, morals, and reputation, had been long complained of. This was owing chiefly to the uncertain provisions made for them there, especially at *Jamaica*; so that few but men of abandoned prin-

	l.	s.	d.
(C) Seville pieces of eight old plate, to pass for	0	6	0
Ditto, new plate	0	4	9½
Mexico pieces of eight	0	6	0
Pillar pieces of eight	0	6	0
Peru pieces of eight	0	5	10½
Cross dollars	0	5	10½
Ducatoons of Flanders	0	7	0
Louis of France, silver Louis	0	6	0
Crusados of Portugal	0	3	9½
Rixdollars of the Empire	0	6	0
Three guilder pieces of Holland	0	6	10½

ciples,

a ciples, and desperate lives, cared to serve the cures upon the island. Hence arose a shameful neglect of all parochial duties; for, excepting a very few, two or three at most, no churches were regularly open for divine service. But this abuse was now remedied so far, as that an ample provision was made for the regular clergy in *Jamaica*. The endowment of the minister of *St. Catharines* was fixed at 300*l.* a year; that of *Port Royal*, at 250*l.* three others at 200*l.* a year; and all the rest at 150*l.* which, with the large perquisites the incumbents enjoyed, may be justly considered as comfortable provisions. But though the people of *Jamaica* were, at this time, remarkably well-affected towards the church of *England*, yet serious people observed with regret, that even those provisions did not remove the evil complained of, and that the clergy sent upon the island were oftentimes so far from reclaiming the inhabitants, that the latter debauched the clergy. Others, with far greater reason, thought that the defect lay at home, and that too little attention was paid to so important a matter by those whose station in the church placed them over the spiritual concerns of *Jamaica*. But the history of that island becomes now more important than ever.

b In the year 1726, and for some time before, the growing connections between the Imperial and *Spanish* courts, had given great umbrage to that of *England*, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history; and after various political operations, it was resolved, that admiral *Hofier* should sail with a squadron of seven ships of war, which was to be augmented with all the *British* men of war he could meet with in his voyage, to the *Spanish West-Indies*. The pretext for this armament was, the continual depredations committed c by the *Spaniards* on the *British* trade in those seas; their having seized the *South-Sea* company's ship the *Royal George*, and detained it at *Porto Bello*; besides committing many other gross violations of treaties both in *Europe* and *America*. The true motive, however, of this expedition, was to prevent, for that year, the arrival of the *Spanish* treasures in *Europe*, that the court of *Madrid* might be disabled from executing the important schemes it had formed against *Great Britain* in favour of the pretender. The duke of *Portland* did not live to see the event of this expedition; for, being taken ill of a fever, he died on the 4th of *July*, 1726. His death was most sincerely lamented by the people he governed, as appears by an extract of a letter from *Jamaica*, which contained the sense of the whole island on that mournful occasion. "A melancholy and universal misfortune has befallen d us here, which has thrown us into the utmost grief and confusion. My lord duke of *Portland* is dead! This may be remote and unaffectual to you, at a distance of almost half the globe: but it is impossible for us, who lived under his mild government, and participated of the gentleness of his nature, the complacency of his temper, the refinement of his manners, the generosity of his living, the tranquillity, lenity, and equity of his delightful administration, not to be forcibly touched, and grievously afflicted."

Expedition of admiral Hofier.

Death of the duke of Portland.

e THE gentlemen of this island shewed so affectionate a regard for his grace's memory, that they not only went into deep mourning, but three members of the council, by order of the board, waited upon her grace with the following address, which is here inserted for their honour. "May it please your grace; we are directed by the honourable the president and council to wait upon your grace, to condole with you upon the late unhappy occasion, and to assure your grace, that as we have a very sensible share in the loss, so likewise in the affliction. The council, may it please your grace, will do every thing in their power that may contribute to your ease. They are informed of your grace's intentions of quitting speedily this island; and as there is no ship of war in harbour to convoy your grace through these seas, they will readily embrace the opportunity, and upon every occasion endeavour to shew their gratitude, and the value and regard they have for your grace's person and character." About seven weeks after his grace's death, the dutchess-dowager sailed on board the *Essex* for *England*, with her three daughters and her husband's corpse; and, after a very fatiguing passage, arrived at *Dover*.

f THE insolence of the *Spaniards*, and the injuries they had done to the *Jamaica* trade, afforded a considerable handle for war; and *Hofier* arrived with his squadron before *Porto Bello*, where he immediately demanded the restitution of the *South-Sea* company's ship the *Royal George*, which was instantly sent to him. The *Spanish* governor of *Porto Bello* then required him to leave that station, which he was so far from complying with, that he lay before the bastimentos, and even stationed one of his ships within gun-shot of *Porto Bello*. It is doubtless that the secrets of the *British* councils, at this time, were very ill kept, and that the court of *Spain*, even before *Hofier* sailed for the *West-Indies*, knew his instructions, which were, that if he met the *Spanish* galleons, he should bring them to *England*; and if he did not, that he should block them up, by lying off the bastimentos at *Porto Bello*. Had g this scheme been conducted with tolerable secrecy, he must have met at sea with all the *Spanish* treasure, which amounted to above six millions sterling, and which actually was embarked on board the galleons. Ten days before the arrival of *Hofier* at *Porto Bello*, an account of his intention arrived there from *Old Spain* by an advice-boat; upon which all the treasure was re-landed, and carried back to *Panama*.

Hofier lies before the bastimentos.

THIS was no small disappointment to the people of *Jamaica*, who were in great hopes of being indemnified for all their losses out of the *Spanish* treasure. But the expedition itself was fatal only to the crews of *Hosier's* ships. As the government at home had no intention, could they have prevented it, to go to war with *Spain*, unless they could have done it with *Spanish* money, *Hosier* was instructed, if he could not make himself master of the galleons, to hinder them from sailing for *Europe*; but he was tied up from committing any other hostilities, and therefore he was obliged to lie off that sickly coast, till diseases swept away so many of his seamen, that he scarcely had hands remaining for manning his ships. In this terrible distress he became the object of ridicule to the *Spaniards*, and of compassion to his countrymen, especially those of *Jamaica*, to whom he was often obliged to apply, and who generously afforded him supplies and succours of all kinds.

President
Ayscough,
governor.

Hunter, go-
vernor.

THE government of *Jamaica*, after the death of the duke of *Portland*, had devolved upon *John Ayscough*, Esq; as president of the council, a gentleman of unexceptionable character and fortune; and he held the administration till the arrival of major-general *Hunter*, who was appointed by his majesty governor of *Jamaica*. This gentleman had been pitched upon for this post for the great knowledge he had acquired of *American* affairs, while he had been governor of *New-York* and *Virginia*, and for his having made himself thorough master of the respective interests of our continental and insular colonies. Add to this, that he was a person of great sagacity, knowledge, and resolution, and a firm friend to the protestant establishment, which was at that time thought to have many enemies in that island. He arrived in the *Lark* man of war, commanded by captain *John Grey*, on the 29th of *January*, 1728; and the very day after his arrival he summoned together the council, to whom he made a short, but very nervous, speech, of which the following is a part. "You, Gentlemen, (said he) lie under the same obligation with me, to give all attention to the interest and ease of his majesty's government here, as you are also deeply interested in preserving the peace and promoting the prosperity of your country, which are so far from being incompatible, that whoever sets about to separate them, even in his thoughts, must do it upon the odious supposition of lawless power on the one hand, or a spirit of sedition on the other." He then promised to lay before them the instructions which he brought from *England*.

Present salary
to the gover-
nor.

Spanish cap-
tures.

THE assembly, in their answer, seem to have thought that this speech contained a tacit reflexion upon their past conduct, in not being so pliable as they ought to have been to the views of their former governors; but after paying great compliments to Mr. *Hunter's* person, both parties departed satisfied; and writs were issued for the meeting of the assembly on the 21st of *March*. When they met, they laid some duties upon the exportation and importation of negroes; but the members would by no means agree to continue the duke of *Portland's* salary of 5000 *l.* a year to governor *Hunter*. They made him a present, however, of 6000 *l.* which he accepted of, to the surprize of many, who remembered the general instructions given to the *West Indian* governors not to accept of presents; and some were of opinion, that it was offered him only with a view of his refusing it. Notwithstanding he pressed hard, yet he could bring the assembly to no other terms than that of granting him 2500 *l.* a year. During Mr. *Hunter's* administration, he had a very difficult province to manage, on account of the growing differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, which terminated in a state neither of war nor peace. About the beginning of *February*, vice-admiral *Hopson*, in the *Lion* man of war, took upon him the command of the king's ships that were lying at *Jamaica*, and put to sea to cruize off the *Spanish* coast. This seemed rather to exasperate, than intimidate, the *Spaniards*, who took the *Anne* galley, a *Jamaica* ship, with 254 negroes on board, and carried her to *St. Jago de Cuba*, where she was condemned. This was thought the more extraordinary, as the court of *Madrid*, but a little before, had declared that they had sent orders to their *American* governors, to discontinue all such captures, which orders the latter declared they never received. A man of war was dispatched from *Jamaica* to reclaim the *Anne* galley; but the *English* commander met only with scurrilities and insults, and was obliged to return without any satisfaction. By this time, the *Spaniards* had sent to the coasts of *New Spain* five men of war to join their other ships there; and the whole, consisting of twenty-one sail, arrived at *Porto Bello*, and there took in their treasure.

To enumerate all the depredations committed by the *Spaniards* during governor *Hunter's* administration, would be endless; it is sufficient to say, that the passive behaviour of the court of *England* on that occasion, rendered the nation every where contemptible; but the people of *Jamaica* were not wanting to themselves. They transmitted to *England* particulars of all their losses in the most aggravating terms; and the gentlemen who were in the opposition to the ministry took care to improve them, so that an universal spirit of detestation was raised against the *Spaniards* all over the kingdom, which at last ended in a war between the two crowns, to the great mortification of the *English* ministry. Governor *Hunter*, while

- a while he was in *Jamaica*, had not the good fortune to reconcile all ranks of men there in his favour. Upon some surmise of the designs of the *Spaniards*, he laid an embargo upon all the shipping in the island, which was by many considered as being oppressive and detrimental to trade, though he did nothing but in consequence of his instructions. He imputed the dissatisfaction which he found among the islanders to concealed papists, and therefore he promoted with all his credit an act of assembly, by which all persons from sixteen to sixty were obliged to abjure popery. Some of the members thought that this act was not only ineffectual, but prejudicial to the protestant interest; because no true papist could be at a loss for a dispensation to appear a protestant. It met with a warm, and perhaps, insincere, opposition; but the governor's interest prevailed, and it was carried through. His death happened in the year 1734, when the *Spanish* depredations were at their height, and therefore it was looked upon as an irretrievable loss to the island.
- b

Death of governor Hunter.

- GOVERNOR *Hunter* before his death, among many excellent plans which he had drawn up for the benefit of the *West-Indies*, had laid one before the government for sending six independent companies to *Jamaica* for the protection of the island. This measure was the more necessary, as the rebellious negroes were now very numerous, and had arrived at a most alarming height. They had inveigled great numbers of their countrymen to join them, and had pitched upon a pass in the mountains, which they had fortified in such a manner as to render it a very strong post, at a place called *Nawny*. Here they erected their chief town, which was well supplied with provisions from the grounds which they themselves had cultivated; and what is still more extraordinary, they were supplied with powder and fire-arms by certain Jews upon the island, who no doubt were employed for that purpose by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who at the same time were every day threatening a descent upon the island.
- c

- SUCH was the undesirable state of *Jamaica*, at the time of general *Hunter's* death; who was succeeded by Mr. *Ayscough*, whom we have already mentioned in the same capacity. He soon saw the necessity of immediately suppressing the negroes; and martial law being again established in the island, by which every man was to become a soldier, both the militia and the regular forces were drawn out. One captain *Stoddart*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the haunts of the negroes, undertook at the head of a strong party, assisted by three field pieces, to dislodge them from their fortification at *Nawny*. Had the vigilance of the rebels been equal to their obstinacy; he must have been unsuccessful; but he prevailed through the great caution and silence which he and his men observed in approaching the pass. They mounted the narrow passage leading to it without being observed by the negroes, and pulling up their field-pieces after them with great difficulty, he planted them so, that they bore with cartridge-shot and musket-balls directly upon the negroes, who had drawn out for the defence of their town. A great number of the rebels were killed or wounded, and the island's troops falling in upon them during their disorder, compleated their rout, in which they suffered more than they had done for twenty years before.
- d

Ayscough again governor.

The negroes defeated.

- BUT the islanders were not equally fortunate in all their attacks upon those savages. Two officers of the island, colonel *Charlton* and captain *Ivy*, being at the head of a considerable party, advanced against them as far as a place called *Bagnals*. The rebels had notice of their approach, and likewise, that they marched in so irregular a manner, that the van might easily be cut off from the main body, and the main body from the rear. Upon this intelligence, the rebels formed ambuscades, and rushing upon the advanced body of the islanders, killed some of them before those who were nearest could come up to support them; and though the rebels were repulsed, yet the islanders were so surprized and disheartened, that they made no attempts to pursue them. Their escape filled all the neighbouring towns and plantations with terror, and the alarm even reached *Spanish-Town*, though thirty miles distant, where it was given out, that the negroes were in full march to massacre all the inhabitants. Governor *Ayscough* immediately assembled a body of foot, and a troop of horse, who marched to support colonel *Charlton*, or to favour his retreat; but they marched two days before they came to a place where the unextinguished fires which the rebels had lighted, gave them intelligence of their having been there the night before. They followed their tracks, and got up with them so unexpectedly, that the rebels, not venturing to stand an engagement, fled, and were pursued with very considerable execution for some miles. This disabled the survivors for many years from again appearing in open rebellion. But the *Jamaicans*, at this time, were on such terms with the *Spaniards*, that they were daily plundered by them, without having it in their power, through the aversion which the government at home had for war, to make any reprisals. This put them to an extraordinary expence, as they every day expected a descent upon their island; and they gave additional pay to the six independent companies, which, by this time, were arrived from
- e
- f
- g

from *Britain*, and were very useful in garrisoning the several posts of the island, particularly *a*
Port Antonio, on the north side, which was fortified by the advice of admiral *Stewart*, who
 fortified. then commanded a squadron of ships lying at *Jamaica*.

UPON the death of general *Hunter*, *Henry Cunningham*, Esq; a *Scotch* member of parlia-
 ham, gover- ment, was appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. He was a man of honour and cou-
 nor. rage, and had been instrumental in saving the person of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the then
 minister, from the fury of the *London* mob, when the famous excise-scheme was depending
 in parliament. He was totally unqualified, either by experience or abilities, for the dis-
 charge of such a trust as the government of *Jamaica*, and he owed his preferment to it
 entirely to the partiality of the minister in his favour. Before he arrived upon the island
 Mr. *Ayscough* was dead, and the administration devolved upon Mr. *Gregory*, who had been
 chief justice. Mr. *Cunningham*, upon his arrival, had several altercations with the planters, *b*
 and it was thought he was instructed by the minister to endeavour to allay the spirit of
 resentment against the *Spaniards*, which was every day discovering itself more and more by
 the strong representations sent over from the island to the *British* ministry. But *Cunningham*,
 who had been habitually intemperate, died of a fever contracted at an entertainment six
 weeks after his arrival upon the island. Upon his death, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* was nomi-
 nated to the government of *Jamaica*; but, for some private reasons unnecessary to be men-
 tioned here, he never left *Great Britain*. *His death.*

MR. *Gregory*, as president of the council, upon *Cunningham's* death, resumed the admini-
 stration of the island, and the clamour against *Spain* became, at this time, so outrageous *c*
 in *England*, that the minister found himself under a necessity of appointing to that govern-
 ment some man of character and resolution, and the choice fell upon *Edward Trelawney*,
 Esq. As a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was, at this time, looked upon as being
 inevitable, therefore Mr. *Trelawney's* first care was to put the island in a proper state of de-
 fence, and to restore it to tranquillity within itself. Engineers were sent from *England* to
 survey the fortifications, and to give directions for repairing them. The few troops that
 were in the island, as well as the militia, were put under the command of experienced
 resolute officers. The natural turn which the *Jamaicans* have for arms, was improved by
 daily discipline, and in a short time, their militia was thought to be little inferior to the best
 regulars. All this time, the rebellious negroes, though they had been defeated, were far *d*
 from being subdued, and miserable as their lives were, they still not only kept possession of
 their woods and fastnesses, but were a terror to all the islanders who lay near their habitati-
 ons; so that great tracts of the most useful ground in *Jamaica* remained entirely unculti-
 vated. To have attempted to reduce them by arms, at that time, would have been highly
 impolitic, and would have been attended with bloodshed; nor was it to be doubted, that
 the *Spaniards* would have found means to have furnished them with supplies of all kinds.
 Mr. *Trelawney*, therefore, wisely offered them pardon and security, which all of them rea-
 dily embraced, on condition of their being under the government of one of their own
 number, but subject to the controul of the governor of *Jamaica*, and to the inspection of
 certain white men, who were to reside among them. Though great objections may be *e*
 justly made to this pacification, which proved ineffectual, yet it served in the mean time the
 purpose of restoring internal peace to the island.

*The negroes
 pacified.*

*Orders for re-
 prisals pub-
 lished in Ja-
 maica.*

WHEN the war with *Spain* was resolved upon in the year 1739, it was at first privately
 resolved to issue an order for making reprisals; and the *Shoreham* man of war was dispatch-
 ed with the same to the *West-Indies*, where they were received with the greatest joy; but
 more especially at *Jamaica*, where great numbers of privateers were, as it were, instanta-
 neously fitted out. Commodore *Brown* then commanded the king's ships lying there, and
 the *Shoreham* arriving on the 5th of *August*, he put to sea with five sail of men of war on the
 14th, and proceeded directly against the *Havannah*, which he approached so near, that he
 exchanged several shot with its forts, but without doing or receiving any damage. It was *f*
 thought, at that time, that the government was too tame in not proceeding farther than
 issuing an order for reprisals, which the captains of *British* men of war did not think suf-
 ficiently authorized them to attack their settlements. Fault was likewise found with pub-
 lishing those orders in the *West-Indies*, because the publication of them served only
 to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard. Commodore *Brown*, upon this occasion, un-
 doubtedly lost, through his timidity lest he should transgress his orders, more than
 one opportunity of distressing the enemy; for he cruized all through the gulph of
Mexico towards *Porto Bello*, and returned to *Jamaica* without making any attempt
 upon the *Spanish* settlements at land. Soon after he left *Jamaica*, he had sent the *Sbeer-
 ness* man of war, captain *Stapleton*, to observe the strength and situation of the *Spaniards* *g*
 at *Carthagera*. The *Sbeerness* approached the harbour under the appearance of a merchant-
 ship; upon which don *Blas*, the *Spanish* admiral there, sent out a pinnace, with his
 lieutenant, to conduct her in; but this officer, with his crew, were made prisoners by
 captain *Stapleton*, and carried off. The house of commons in *England* had, at this
 ime,

- a time, fear e any other employment than receiving addrestes and petitions concerning the *Spanish* depredations; and a bill had been brought in for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in *America*, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors; and his majesty was im-
 b powered to grant commissions, or charters, to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the enemy in *America*, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. Had this bill passed when it was first brought in, it must have had a great effect upon the operations of the war, because the *Jamaicans* undoubtedly would have exerted themselves to the utmost against their enemies, and that too before they were provided to receive them. But this opportunity was lost, and the nation was obliged to depend on its fleet alone for redress.

It is certain, that the arts and great influence of the minister would have continued to defeat the voice of the nation, and all the independent part of the parliament that called for war, had not the court of *Spain* imagined, that the divisions in the kingdom were such, that the crown never would venture upon hostilities, or at least never make war in good earnest. In this persuasion, they baffled all the complying arts made use of by the *British* minister, who would have put off the war, had the court of *Madrid* condescended even to save common appearances; by seeming willing to grant satisfaction to the *British* nation; but the *Spaniards* disdained this; and at last, the uninfluenced part of the administration found means to convince his majesty, how absolutely necessary it was to pursue vigorous measures. The nation, at this time, was not destitute of able admirals and naval commanders; but they unfortunately were all of them in the interest of the minister, to whom they knew that a vigorous prosecution of the war would be disagreeable; and all, or most of them, being members of parliament, they had generally voted on his side. Captain *Vernon*, who was not at that time in parliament, was mentioned and approved of as a fit person to command an expedition against the *Spanish West-Indies*.

- He had formerly been a commodore in those seas, with which he was extremely well-acquainted; and while he sat in the house of commons, he had constantly opposed the minister and his pacific schemes; expressing an equal contempt for him and the *Spaniards*.
 d He had often declared that he could take *Porto Bello* itself with six ships of war, and the declaration being now called to mind, he was sent for to court, and he accepted of the command of the expedition. The minister could not decently oppose this nomination of a man, whose courage and abilities, as a seaman, were unquestionable; and perhaps, he expected, that his failure of success, which he looked upon as certain, would cure the people of their passion for a war with *Spain*. *Vernon* was created vice-admiral of the blue, a squadron was equipped at *Portsmouth*, and on the 19th of *July* 1739, he was appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's ships in the *West-Indies*, and repairing to *Portsmouth*, he took under his command the following ships; the *Burford*, captain *Watson*, 500 men, 70 guns; the *Princess Louisa*, captain *Waterhouse*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Worcester*, captain *P. Mayne*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Stafford*, captain *Trevor*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Norwich*, captain *Herbert*, 300 men, 50 guns; besides two other ships, which were to join him in the *West-Indies*. *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous in case of separation, and on the 22d of *August*, the squadron arrived at *Madeira*, where they took in their stores, and, especially, provisions of wine for the hospital at *Jamaica*. From *Madeira* the admiral sent dispatches to commodore *Brown* at *Jamaica*, to give out his orders immediately for having all his majesty's ships at that island put in a condition to proceed to sea with the admiral as soon as possible.

- Upon the arrival of admiral *Vernon* and his squadron on the 28th of *September* at *Antigua*, he there found the *Anglesea*, captain *Reddish*, the *Lowestoffe*, captain *Drummond*, and
 f *Saltaish* sloop, captain *Swanton*, stationed; and of those, he only ordered the *Anglesea* to attend him to *Jamaica*. On the 2d of *October*, he arrived at *St. Christopher's*, where he was met by captain *Herbert* of the *Norwich*, who had been sent express to the president of *Barbados*, to get all the intelligence he could concerning the trade of the *Spaniards*, and their situation at the *Caraccas*; and he learned from him, that the *Spanish* trade on the *Caracca* coast was limited to *Laguira* and *Porto Casallo*. Upon this intelligence, captain *Waterhouse*, in the *Princess Louisa*, with the *Norwich* and the *Stafford* under his command, was dispatched by the admiral, with orders, "to make the best of his way for the coast of *Caraccas*, taking particular care to fall in with that coast to windward of the port of *Laguira*, and if he should perceive any ships to be riding there, he was, before his coming
 g near in, to make the signal for the captains, and form his scheme for attacking them, that every one might know how he was to execute his part of it before their coming into the road, where they were to use their best endeavours to take, sink, burn, and destroy, all such *Spanish* ships and vessels, as they should find there; and they were farther ordered

to range that coast as far as *Porto Cavallo* afterwards, and endeavour to do the same with all *Spanish* ships and vessels that they should meet with, and then to make the best of their way for *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*." When *Waterhouse* came to *Laguaira*, a considerable port and a little town on the *Caracca* coast, he saw seventeen ships in the harbour, which was defended by three forts, and they played vigorously upon the *English* shipping, which steered almost up to the forts. A brisk cannonading ensued, by which the fortifications, churches, and houses of the *Spaniards*, suffered greatly; and it is said, that the lieutenants and sailors of the squadron offered to have landed and stormed the works; but they were countermanded by the commodore, on pretence that his ships were already too much damaged; that the weather was beginning to grow boisterous, and that the undertaking was too hazardous; upon which he left the place, and proceeded to *Jamaica*.

Knowles
takes a ship.

By this time, captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond* man of war, had taken and carried into *Jamaica*, a *Spanish* ship, with 74,000 pieces of eight, and cloathing for the garrison of *Augustine*; and on the 15th of *October*, admiral *Vernon*, in the *Burford*, with the *Worcester*, arrived at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, where he was joined by the *Hampton-Court*; so that besides the ships already mentioned, his force consisted of the *Hampton-Court*, commodore *Brown*, captain *Dent*; the *Sheerness*, *Stapylton*; *Windsor*, *Berkley*; *Falmouth*, *Douglass*; and *Fraternity* tender, *Truewith*. The admiral, mindful of his engagement to take *Porto Bello* with six ships only, detached the *Worcester* to cruize off *Cape Tiberon*, and the *Blandford*, to cruize to windward, for the safety of some ships, expected with stores from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and sent other ships on different cruizes. The failure of *Waterhouse* at *Laguaira* put him under various difficulties, as he was furnished with no precise information with regard to the strength or situation of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he found that governor *Trelawney* had issued out letters of marque and reprisal against the *Spaniards*, and that the numerous privateers already fitted out by the *Jamaicans* had made several considerable captures. But *Vernon* began now to suspect that his six ships alone might be in danger of, miscarrying in his favourite enterprize, the attack of *Porto Bello*, unless he had along with him some land troops, he having brought none from *England*. He was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. *Trelawney*, who furnished him with 240 soldiers, though they could be but ill spared, from the defence of the island. This seasonable supply enabled the admiral to put to sea. Here it may be proper to inform our readers, in order to obviate a common mistake, which has prevailed, as if *Vernon* had been cramped in his operations by the ministry, that he had a discretionary power of proceeding against any part of the *Spanish West-Indies* he thought proper, only he was, by all means, to make himself, if possible, master of the plate-fleet. *Vernon* knew the great value of time, and having communicated his intentions to his captains, on the 5th of *November*, he sailed from *Port-Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, with the following ships, the *Burford*, *Hampton-Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerness*, the last of which he ordered to cruize off *Carthagena*. The number of sailors on board this squadron was 2495.

Proceedings
of admiral
Vernon.

Porto Bello
described and
taken.

On the 7th of *November*, admiral *Vernon* delivered his orders, for the attack of *Porto Bello*, to the commodore and his captains, which were drawn up with a clearness and precision, which do great honour to his character as a seaman, and with so much foresight, that they admitted of little alteration when they were carried into execution. Those given to captain *Stapylton*, were to look in on the back of the town of *Carthagena*, and see whether the galleons were still in that harbour, and to carefully observe their motions; and if he found them already at, or in a disposition for coming to sea, or that any men of war were to come to join them, then to make the best of his way for *Porto Bello*, to give the earliest advice of it he could, to prevent the admiral's being surprised. The winds proving contrary, the squadron did not come in sight of *Porto Bello* till the 20th of *November*, and anchored six leagues off the shore, and next day he made dispositions for the attack. The strength of *Porto Bello* lay in three forts, one on the north entrance of a bay, which is about a mile deep, and which, from its strength, was called *Iron Castle*, mounted 78 guns, and had a battery with 22 guns, parallel with the water, with a garrison of 300 men. The *Gloria Castle* lay a mile farther up the bay, besides many other fortifications, mounted 90 guns; and a little above that, near the other end of the town, which lay at the bottom of the harbour, lay the strong fort of *St. Jeronimo*, which, with *Gloria Castle*, protected the shipping; so that upon the whole, the *Spaniards* looked upon *Porto Bello* as being next to impregnable. Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton-Court*, led the attack upon the *Iron Fort*, to which the squadron was piloted by captain *Renton*, being well seconded by captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and captain *Mayne* in the *Worcester*, while the admiral lay behind to observe the effect of their operations. This excellent disposition had the desired effect; for the fire from the shipping was so hot, that the admiral perceived that some of the *Spaniards* fled from several parts of the fort; upon which he made the signal for the boats

a boats in which the soldiers were, to make the best of their way in order to their landing, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing up as near to the fort as he could, the fire of his small-arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from those batteries, from which they could do most harm; and by this means, the men were also secured at landing. They chiefly depended upon those lower batteries for defence; but the admiral, though no breach was made, ordered the boats, as they came up with the soldiers, to land their men under the walls of the fort in the front of their lower batteries. The sailors and soldiers were no sooner landed from the boats, than they scaled the fort walls, and mounted, assisted by one another, to the embrasures upon the mouth of their great guns. The *Spaniards* had no idea of such daring, b or, as they thought it, madness; but seeing it take effect, they abandoned their lower batteries, and ran to the upper part of the fort, where they hung out a white flag for capitulating, which was soon answered with another by the admiral, who had some difficulty in preventing his own crew, and those of the *Stafford*, from continuing their fire. By this time, the *English* sailors had struck the *Spanish* colours, and no more than thirty-five men, who surrendered at discretion, of all the garrison, were left; all who were not killed or disabled, having made their escape in a most cowardly manner.

c THE admiral next proceeded to the attack of *Gloria Castle*, which he battered with his lower tier of guns with great effect. Next day, being the 22d, while the admiral and his officers were consulting about their future operations, the castle hung out a white flag, and sent a flag of truce in a boat to the admiral, who drew up the terms upon which he was willing to grant a capitulation, allowing the *Spaniards* only a few hours to take their resolution, and they agreed to them within the time, which were as follow.

d “ARTICLES of capitulation granted by *Edward Vernon*, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the *West-Indies*, and commodore *Brown*, to don *Francisco Marlines de Retez*, governor of *Porto Bello*, and don *Francisco de Aberao*, commandant of the guarda costas at the same place, the 22d of *November* 1739, O. S. Article 1. That the garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the king of *Great Britain*'s troops be put in possession of the *Glory-Castle* before four o'clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o'clock to-morrow morning: that the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects. 2. That the *Spanish* soldiers may have a guard if they think it necessary. 3. That they may carry off two cannon mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted. 4. The gates of the *Glory-Castle* must absolutely be in possession of the king our master's troops, by four o'clock, and the *Spanish* garrison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety. 5. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of his *Britannic* majesty, but that all the officers, soldiers, and crew, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their powerful effects; only one officer being admitted on board each ship e and vessel, to take possession for the king our master, and to see the article strictly complied with. 6. That provided the articles abovementioned are strictly complied with, and that possession be given of the castle of *St. Jeronimo*, in the same manner as is stipulated for the castle *Gloria*, then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties. And that all prisoners, already taken, shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.” Given under our hands on board his majesty's ship *Burford*, in *Porto Bello* harbour, this 22d day of *November*, 1739, O. S.

Articles of capitulation.

E. Vernon.

Cba. Brown.”

f THE *Spaniards* having signified their intentions to comply with those articles, the admiral sent captain *Newton*, who commanded the *Jamaica* detachment, with 120 of his soldiers, to take possession of *Gloria-Castle*. The *Spanish* commanders had pleaded earnestly for their retaining the ships in the harbour, which consisted of two men of war of twenty guns each, and a snow; but this was refused by the admiral, who well knew how active those ships had been in distressing the *British* trade, and he immediately took possession of the ships, the crews of which, like true freebooters, had been busied all the preceding night in plundering the defenceless inhabitants of the town. The admiral found more danger and difficulty in destroying, than he did in taking, the fortifications of *Porto Bello*. He rendered ufeless about fouricore iron cannon which he found upon them, and he took on board his own ship, of their great artillery, forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass field-pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass patteraroes. He reserved 122 barrels of powder to be employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications; but he distributed among the men 10,000 dollars of the *Spanish* government's money, which fell into his hands. In all other respects he most inviolably observed the capitulation, and dispersed among the squadron the following orders, “Punctually and religiously, inviolably to preserve to the *Spaniards* the con-

Wise conduct of admiral Vernon.

conditions of their capitulation, and the other humane concessions granted to them since, as agreeable to the inclinations of his royal master, and the nature of an *Englishman*." a

The Jamaicans
the chief gain-
ers by the war.

On the 27th, captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, joined the admiral at *Porto Bello*, as did on the 29th, captain *Berkley* in the *Windsor*, and captain *Reddish* in the *Anglesey*; nor are we to forget that captain, afterwards the famous admiral, *Boscawen*, acted in this expedition as a volunteer, his own ship the *Shoreham* being not fit for service; and was assisting as an engineer to captain *Knowles* in demolishing the *Iron-Castle*. The opposition at home found great fault with the ministry, because the admiral had carried out with him no land troops; but they excused themselves on account of the threatening state of affairs in *Great Britain* when the admiral sailed. The *Jamaicans*, as they had been greatly conducive to the success of the expedition against *Porto Bello*, reaped the chief benefit from it by the vast number of captures which their privateers made, and by a trade being opened for them to the very heart of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*. Before the admiral left *Porto Bello*, he sent a messenger with a letter to the governor of *Panama*, which lies but eighteen leagues distant on the southward of the isthmus of *Darien*, demanding that the servants and factors of the *English South Sea* company, who had been confined there on the commencement of hostilities, should be released, which was accordingly complied with. b

Great popula-
rity of Ver-
non.

THE news of *Vernon's* success was brought to *Great Britain* by captain *Renton*, who, in reward for his good services, was appointed to the command of the *Spanish* snow; and the same was received with unparalleled transports of joy by all ranks of people, who were now united in supporting the admiral to the utmost; for which purpose, six regiments of marines were proposed to be raised, as they afterwards actually were. The duke of *Newcastle*, who was then one of the principal secretaries of state, in a letter to admiral *Vernon*, dated *March* 26, 1740, took off both from his master and himself all suspicion of cramping the admiral's operations. He informed him, "That the king did not think proper to prescribe any particular service to be undertaken by him, but left it entirely to his direction to act against the *Spaniards* in such manner, and in such places, as should appear to him best to answer the ends proposed by his majesty's orders to him, which were, to distress and annoy the *Spaniards* in the most effectual manner, by taking their ships, and possessing himself of such of their places and settlements, as he should think practicable to attempt." c

BUT, by this time, the admiral had resolved upon his plan of operations, which terminated in the conquest of *Carthagena* itself, an object of still more importance than *Porto Bello*. For this purpose, the six regiments of marines we have mentioned, besides a considerable body of land troops, were raised with surprising expedition, and lord *Cathcart*, a nobleman of unexceptionable abilities, was appointed to the command of the land-troops. As *Vernon* had with him no force adequate to any attempt upon *Carthagena*, all he could do was to make such a disposition of his ships as to prevent any supplies that might be thrown into the place; and for that purpose, he ordered captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond*, to accompany his squadron from *Porto Bello* till their arrival as far to windward as *Carthagena*, and to cruize there for observing the galleons, as well as for intercepting any relief from *Europe*. On the 13th, he sailed with his squadron for *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, which he again appointed to be the rendezvous; and having some suspicion that the *Spanish* squadron from *Port Royal* might be in those seas, he issued out the strictest orders for all his ships to keep him company. A storm arose which dispersed them; but they at last arrived safe at *Jamaica*. d

He returns to
Jamaica with
his fleet.

Resolutions of
the British
council.

Here *Vernon* wrote over to *England* the most bitter complaints of the government's conduct in not supporting him, either by sending over a body of land forces, which he insisted should be under his own direction, or by giving him the command of those that were already raised, or might be raised, in *America*. The government thought fit to disagree to this proposal, and great doubts were entertained as to the propriety of attacking *Carthagena*, there being a strong party in the council of opinion, that the conquest of the *Havannah* itself ought first to be attempted, and the rather, as it was well known, that the *Spaniards* had a large fleet ready to sail from *Ferrol*; that it was to be joined by a *French* squadron; and that the *Dutch* themselves seemed inclined to enter into very unnatural connexions with those two powers, to favour the safe arrival of the galleons in the ports of *Spain*. Several cabinet councils were held on this subject; but it being deemed too dangerous, and indeed, impolitic, to attempt the conquest of a place like the *Havannah*, which, according to the evidences that were examined, was impregnable by sea, and which, if taken by land, must make the greatest powers in *Europe* enemies to *Great Britain*, it was judged proper, by consent of the lord *Cathcart* himself, not to name in his instructions any particular destination for the great armament that was fitting out, but that a consultation should be held at *Jamaica*, where his lordship, admiral *Vernon*, and governor *Trelawney*, with other proper officers, were to determine upon the object of the operations. e

IT is but doing justice to *Vernon* to acknowledge, that while he lay at *Jamaica*, he lost no time in refitting his ships and preparing for a fresh expedition against the enemy. He left f

- a left the *Hampton-Court*, the *Worcester*, the *Diamond*, and *Torrington*, under commodore *Brown*, for the defence of the island. He ordered the *Burford* to be repaired, and to follow himself; and, on the 25th of *February*, he sailed from *Port-Royal* in the *Stafford*, with the *Princess Louisa*, *Windsor*, *Norwich*, *Falmouth*, and *Greenwich* men of, the *Succeſs*, *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, *Alderney*, *Terrible* brig, *Pompey* and *Goadly* frigates, fireſhips, bombs, and tenders. On the 3d of *March*, he anchored in an open bay, called *Playa Grande*, before *Carthagena* in the evening, and next morning he began a brisk bombardment againſt the town, which did it great damage; whiſt his own fleet received little from the enemy. But this was all he could do: his force was unequal to any farther attempt; and on the 9th he drew off his bomb-ketches and ſmall craft, coaſting along the ſhore of *Boca Chica*,
b from whence he received no damage, and marking the proper places for a future deſcent. Having intelligence of a large *Spaniſh* man of war, expected at *Carthagena*, he left captain *Berkley* in the *Windsor*, and captain *Windham* in the *Greenwich*, to cruize for twenty days off that port, and principally to watch the motions of the galleons. The admiral then bore away towards *Porto Bello*, but ſent captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, to reconnoitre the fort at the mouth of the *Chagre*. *Knowles* was followed by the *Succeſs* and the *Eleanor*, with orders to cruize off the mouth of the river *Chagre* for ſeven days, or till the ſquadron ſhould ſooner appear off there, for preventing the *Spaniſh* privateer ſloops from putting to ſea from thence, or intercepting any thing that might be coming or going there. An accident happening to his own ſhip, which retarded their progreſs, he ordered
c captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, to make all the ſail he could, and enter the harbour of *Chagre* before him, with the bomb-ketches, and all the fireſhips and tenders, under his orders, and captain *Knowles*, as engineer, on board the bomb-ketches, for placing them to play on the caſtle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the mouth of the river *Chagre*; and to cover them with his own ſhip and the reſt.

Vernon bombards Carthagena.

- MR. *Knowles* began the cannonading the ſame day he got to anchor, and it continued till the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a flag of truce, which was answered by the admiral, who was now come up in the *Stafford*. The capitulation was ſoon ſettled. The garrifon of the fort were at liberty to retire to the caſtle of *Chagre*, where all the inhabitants and clergy were to enjoy full ſecurity for themſelves and effects; but the fort of *Chagre*, with
d the guard ſloops, and the king of *Spain's* cuſtom-houſe, were to be delivered up to the admiral. Captain *Knowles* was made governor of fort *St. Lorenzo*, where the cuſtom houſe was found full of very valuable goods; but having no land forces with him to garrifon the place, it was totally demolished; and, by the firſt of *April*, his ſhips off *Carthagena* having rejoined him at the mouth of the harbour of *Porto Bello*, he returned to *Jamaica*, having in vain endeavoured to intercept two *Spaniſh* men of war, who got ſafe to *Carthagena*, with 600 ſoldiers on board. The demolition of fort *St. Lorenzo*, upon the river *Chagre*, was thought at that time to be an important ſervice, as the *Spaniards* could carry goods up that river within fifteen miles of *Panama*. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Jamaica*.

Fort Lorenzo bombarded and taken.

- e THE eſtabliſhment of the *South-Sea* company, and the aſſiento contract, gave a ſevere blow to the proſperity of that iſland, which in a great meaſure conſiſted in the trade carried on by the inhabitants with the *Spaniards*, and which therefore being incompatible with the intereſts of that company, was diſcouraged at home. But this was not the worſt part of the evil, for the company complained in ſuch terms to the court of *Spain*, of the illicit trade carried on by the *Jamaicans*, that the *Spaniards*, under pretext of ſuppreſſing it, had by their guarda coſtas committed all the depredations which gave riſe to the war. When it was known that the *French* ſquadrons were ſailed to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in bringing home their treaſure from *America*, and after the court of *Versailles* had declared, that they would not ſuffer the *British* armaments to make any conqueſts in the *West-Indies*, the plan of
f operations, under lord *Cathcart*, was entirely altered, and it was reſolved to encreaſe both the ſea and land-forces under him, ſo as that, when joined with thoſe already in the *West-Indies*, they might be equal to the conqueſt of all the *French* and *Spaniſh* *America*. This could not be done without greatly hurting the trade of *Jamaica*, by the vaſt number of hands that were preſſed in *England* for manning ſo large a fleet; ſo that the ſeamen's wages upon that iſland aroſe to the extravagant rate of twenty guineas a man, beſides other advantages, for the run home; and few were to be got even at that rate, becauſe of the dread they were under of being preſſed in *England*. This ſcarcity of hands was the more fatal to *Jamaica*, as the inhabitants there were both able and ready to have fitted out ſquadrons of privateers for making attempts and ſettlements upon *Cuba*, and other parts of the *Spaniſh* dominions, which muſt have turned out greatly to the advantage of the adventurers, and have ſaved vaſt ſums to the public. That the iſland might be as free as poſſible from all domeſtic commotions, while it was engaged in a foreign war, ſome of the principal inhabitants put the governor in mind of the rebellious negroes, who ſtill continued in the mountains,

Affairs of Jamaica.

and were more numerous than ever, and that it would be proper to make sure of them by a treaty, since it would be highly impolitic to attempt, at that time, to reduce them by force. This advice seemed to be the better grounded, as those rebels had formed themselves into an independent society, under certain regulations, which carried in them no marks of barbarism.

Pacification of the negroes.

THEY had chosen to themselves five captains, *Cudjoe*, *Acompong*, *Jobny*, *Cuffee*, and *Quacow*; and letters patent were granted to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Esqrs. with full powers to negotiate a peace with *Cudjoe*, and the other captains, with their adherents. Articles were accordingly drawn up, but they are of such a kind, as nothing but the particular situation the island was in at the time, could vindicate; and the reader in the note (D) will meet with the whole of the treaty. By its sixth article, *Cudjoe*, who appears in fact to have been the king of one set of the rebels, obliged himself to be assistant to the *English*, in subduing all the other rebels on the island, who did not accept of the same capitulation.

(D) By order of *Edward Trelawney*, Esq; governor of the said island. At the camp near *Trelawney*, March 1, 1738-9.

In the name of God, Amen.

Whereas captain *Cudjoe*, captain *Acompong*, captain *Jobny*, captain *Cuffee*, and captain *Quacow*, and several other negroes, their defendants and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility for several years past, against our sovereign the king, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man. And whereas his majesty, *George* the second, king of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Jamaica*, lord, has by his letters-patent, Feb. the 24th, 1738, in the 12th year of his reign, granted full power and authority to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Esqrs. to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid captain *Cudjoe*, the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles.

I. That hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever.

II. That the said captain *Cudjoe*, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by or fled to them within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to captain *Cudjoe*, and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty.

III. That they shall enjoy and possess for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between *Trelawney Town* and the *Cockpits*, to the amount of 1500 acres, bearing north-west from the said *Trelawney Town*.

IV. That they shall have liberty to plant the said land with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a licence to vend the same.

V. That captain *Cudjoe*, and all the captains, adherents, and people, now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of *Trelawney Town*, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or penn; provided always, that in case the hunters of captain *Cudjoe*, and those of other settlements, meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.

VI. That the said captain *Cudjoe* and his successors do use their endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the governor, or commander in chief for the time being, all rebels, wheresoever they be, throughout

this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation, granted to captain *Cudjoe*, and his successors.

VII. That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said captain *Cudjoe* and his successors, herein after-named, or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given immediately, repair to any place the governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the commander in chief on that occasion.

VIII. That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to captain *Cudjoe*, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; and in case captain *Cudjoe*, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver such offenders to justice.

IX. That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into captain *Cudjoe's* hands, they shall be immediately sent back to the chief magistrates of the next parish, where they are taken, and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.

X. That all negroes, taken since the raising of this party by captain *Cudjoe's* people, shall immediately be returned.

XI. That captain *Cudjoe* and his successors shall wait on his excellency, or the commanders in chief for the time being, once every year, if required.

XII. That captain *Cudjoe*, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper, for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted, in which case, if the captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before a justice of peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of free negroes.

XIII. That captain *Cudjoe* with his people shall cut, cleave, and keep open, large and convenient roads, from *Trelawney Town* to *Westmoreland* and *St. James*, and, if possible, to *St. Elizabeth's*.

XIV. That two white men, to be nominated by his excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with captain *Cudjoe* and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

XV. That captain *Cudjoe*, during his life, shall be chief commander in *Trelawney Town*, after his decease the command to devolve on his brother *Acompong*; and in case of his decease, on his next brother captain *Jobny*; and failing him, captain *Cuffee* shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by captain *Quacow*; and after all their demises, the governor or commander in chief for the time being, shall appoint from that time whom he shall think fit for that command.

In testimony of the above presents, they hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and date abovementioned.

This

a This article was so far well judged, as another part of the negroes, distinct from that of *Cudjoe*, subsisted in another part of the island; but being now destitute of *Cudjoe's* assistance, they accepted of his capitulation; but were allowed another town to settle in, under another chief.

b We have already been pretty full in our account of the *Musquito Indians*, and have hinted at a proposal that had been laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, for employing them against the *Spaniards* in *Guatemala*. This project being laid before the governor of *Jamaica*, he took it into very serious consideration, and he employed proper agents to examine it. Upon farther enquiry, it was discovered that the *Creole Spaniard* and *Indian* inhabitants near *La Vera Paz*, on the borders of *Honduras*, had, about four years ago, to the number of 30,000, endeavoured to throw off the *Spanish* yoke, and that they had been unsuccessful, only because they were unsupported, and destitute of arms. The governor, at the same time, sounded the *Musquito Indians*, whom he found ready for any enterprize against the *Spaniards*; and in *October*, 1740, he sent thither lieutenant *Hodgson*, with arms and ammunition for 500 of them, who immediately put themselves under his command. This expedition, however, seems to have been improperly conducted, because it reached no farther than the arming the *Musquitoes*, who, as we have before observed, are extremely fond of their own country. *Hodgson*, with his 500 *Musquitoes*, proceeded to a *Spanish* settlement at *Carpenter's River*, 120 leagues west of *Porto Belio*, where the *Spaniards* lived in such security, that he easily carried off a large booty in silver and cocoa. This success encouraged *Hodgson* to propose proceeding, but the *Indians* flatly refused to attend him; upon which, *Hodgson* was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, after alarming the *Spaniards* in those parts, and putting them more upon their guard than they had been before.

Scheme for arming the Musquito Indians against the Spaniards revived.

Its success.

c ADMIRAL *Vernon*, all this while, was extremely vigilant in his station at *America*, where he was in hopes of intercepting some of the *French* and *Spanish* ships who had sailed from *Europe*; but the former were very ill victualled, and otherwise ill provided, through the precautions taken by the *English* government in laying an embargo upon all provisions at *Corke*. *Vernon*, at the same time, was chagrined at receiving none of the supplies which he expected from *England*. The two ships he had left cruizing off *Cuba*, had taken a valuable prize, and two *Dutch* ships trading for the *Spaniards*; and he had disposed of his squadron to great advantage for watching the arrival of the *Spanish* ships, and the motions of the galleons. On the 5th of *September*, the storeships from *England* arrived at *Jamaica*, under convoy of the *Defiance* and *Tilbury* men of war. On the 3d of *October*, he sailed with his squadron from *Port-Royal*, to cruize off the coast of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of meeting with the grand fleet from *England*, under the command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; but he received intelligence at sea, that it was detained by contrary winds at *Spithead*; that the *Ferret* squadron, under *de Torres*, arrived at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *September*, and that they sailed from thence on the 25th for *Carthagena*. On the 20th, while he was cruizing off cape *Donna Maria*, he was joined by eight transport ships, under the convoy of the *Wolf*, having on board part of the land troops, commanded by colonel *Gooch*, that had been ordered to be raised in *North America*. With those, the admiral proceeded to *Jamaica*, where he found the other *Americans* already mentioned.

Vernon joined by the Americans.

d UPON the admiral's return to *Jamaica*, matters wore a melancholy aspect for that island. Besides *de Torres* arrival at *Carthagena* with a strong squadron, undoubted intelligence came that the *Brest* and *Toulon* squadrons under the marquis *d'Antin* had taken in 1100 men at *Martinico*, who were lying to the windward of *Jamaica*, a disposition which left the admiral and governor *Trelawney* no room to doubt that they intended to make a descent upon *Jamaica*, as soon as the *British* fleet should sail from thence upon any expedition against the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the admiral and the governor exerted themselves in disposing of their force in such a manner, as that any attempts against that island might be repelled; and for that purpose, having no opinion of the natural strength of *Port-Royal*, they applied themselves to secure the harbour of *Kingston*; and in the mean while, the *Jamaican* privateers, being properly protected by the fleet, made great havoc of the *Spanish* trade, and brought many valuable prizes into the island.

returns to Jamaica.

e THE addition of the armament by land and sea under the lord *Cathcart* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, was far from compensating for the delay in not supporting *Vernon* in time. Lord *Cathcart* had been at great pains, by letters, to keep *Vernon* in good humour: but it was the 31st of *October* before the grand fleet could sail; a season so advanced, that it made many prognosticate what afterwards happened. Without entering into particulars, the whole fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, bomb-ketches, tenders, storeships, and transports. The land-forces consisted of some detachments from old corps, who were destined to be incorporated with the three raw *American* battalions, then at *Jamaica*, and six regiments of marines of 1000 men each, and nothing was wanting on the part of the government to supply both land and sea-forces with what-

The grand fleet sails from England.

Dated June
22, 1740.

ever could contribute to render the expedition successful, which was done at a most immense expence. The ardour both of soldiers and sailors to come to blows was incredible : and lord Cathcart wrote to *Vernon* on the following terms : “ In the corps of troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good-will, which, when properly conducted, will, I hope, produce what the nation expects from us, and will make us the glorious instruments for finishing the war with all the advantages to the public that we can promise, from the happy beginning of it ; and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those effects have been owing to a perfect agreement between the land and sea officers.”

Lord Cath-
cart's mani-
festo.

THE chief officers under lord Cathcart were the brigadiers *Wentworth*, *Guise*, and *Blake-ney*, and the majors of brigade *Harman* and *Rufane* ; and the inferior officers were the most experienced of any that could be, at that time, found in *England*. Sir *Charles Wager*, who kept up a close correspondence with *Vernon*, among other apologies which he urged for the late failing of this armament, said, that the *French* having sailed sooner, by two months, than the *Spanish* treasures were ready to be taken on board, they must suffer considerably through the inclemency of the climate ; and in this he was not mistaken, for above 3000 of *d'Antin's* Squadron died soon after its arrival in the *West-Indies*. No war was as yet declared between *Great Britain* and *France*, and therefore *Vernon* was at liberty to keep up a correspondence with the *French* governors in *America*, from whom he could learn nothing, not even that *d'Antin* was arrived in those seas, notwithstanding the notoriety of the thing. But lord Cathcart carried from *England* a declaration which sufficiently evinced, that the real design of the *British* court was to shake the very foundations of the *Spanish* government in *America*. He was instructed to disperse it upon his landing on any part of the *Spanish West-Indies*. It promised indemnity and protection in all their effects and possessions, and the free exercise of their religion, to all the *Spaniards*, who should quietly submit to the *English* government, as if they were the natural-born subjects of *England* ; and that they should be free from all the taxes and oppressions of the *Spanish* government. The *Indians* in particular, continued the declaration, (which was greatly calculated to conciliate the affections of the natives) shall be exempted from the royal tributes and services which they are subjected to ; they shall have the privilege and right of trading directly with *Great Britain*, and all the *British* colonies in *America* ; and, in fine, upon all occasions, and in all respects, they shall be considered, assisted, favoured, and treated as the natives of *Great Britain*.

Death of lord
Cathcart.

THIS manifesto, as might have been reasonably foreseen, drew from the court of *France*, a declaration, accusing that of *Great Britain* with a breach of public faith, particularly, in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by making any attempt against the *Spanish West-Indies*. The fleet which sailed with Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, consisted of no fewer than 170 sail, and after meeting with very bad weather, they arrived at *Dominica*, where the commander in chief, lord Cathcart, died of a bloody-flux, to the inexpressible grief, as well as loss, of the public. The ministry was severely reflected upon, and indeed, not without justice, in not having provided him a successor in any degree adequate to the importance of the expedition. His command fell upon brigadier-general *Wentworth*, an officer without experience, a man without abilities, but artful and plausible ; having nothing in common with *Vernon* but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the other had for the land-service. *Ogle* arrived at *St. Christopher's*, the place of general rendezvous, where his ships that had been scattered joined him ; but so much time had been lost, that sixteen sail of *Spanish* men of war had arrived at *Porto Bello*, and were then protecting the inhabitants in repairing their fortifications. In proceeding to *Jamaica*, four of Sir *Chaloner's* Squadron fell in with as many *French* men of war off cape *Tiberon* in the dark, and a blind engagement followed, which lasted till day-light, when both sides ridiculously departed, with mutual compliments and condolences upon what had passed, there being, at that time, no declared war between *Great Britain* and *France*.

Engagement
between the
English and
French.

A council of
war held on
January the
10th.

Soon after the arrival of *Ogle* at *Jamaica*, a council of war was held at *Port-Royal*, concerning their future operations. It was composed of admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*. *Vernon*, upon the arrival of *Ogle*, had received discretionary powers to act offensively against the *French*, if they should continue in those seas. But this, in fact, was needless. Their fleet, which consisted of about twenty ships of the line, was lying at *Port Lewis*, but in such distress for want of provisions, that above half of their ships crews were dead, and the survivors were reduced to three ounces of bread a day each man, and that half worms and dirt ; nor was the *Spanish* fleet at *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello* in a much better condition. All this having been foreseen, and foretold, by Sir *Charles Wager*, and the best heads in *England*, as well as the opposition, the government were in hopes that advantage would be taken of the distressful condition of both fleets to attack the *Havannah*. But *Vernon* had an antipathy against the *French*, whom he considered as being far more powerful than they really were, and he was,

a at that time, in such credit both with the ministry and the people, that the other members of the council did not venture to controul him; and therefore, it was unanimously resolved, that the whole fleet should proceed to windward, to observe the motions of the Squadron under the command of the marquis *d'Antin*, which had been for some time at *Hispaniola*, and that captain *Dandridge* should be sent before in the *Welf* sloop to get intelligence.

The fleet being thirty sail of the line, a third division was found necessary, and captain *Lestock*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command it. The dispatch employed in refitting the ships that had been damaged in their passage to *Jamaica*, as well as in watering and victualling them, was incredible; and every means was made use of for preserving the health of the sailors and the soldiers; the numbers of the former amounting to 15,000, and those of the latter to 12,000, including the *American* battalions, and a body of negroes, that had been fitted out and furnished by the zeal of the inhabitants of *Jamaica*. When this mighty armament, the greatest by far that *America* had ever beheld, rendezvoused off *Cape Tiberon* on the 8th of *February*, they were rejoined by captain *Dandridge*, who reported that having looked into *Port Louis*, he had seen there nineteen sail of large ships, one having a flag at the main-top-mast-head, and another a broad pendant flying. This was a false alarm, for before this time the marquis *d'Antin* had sailed for *France* with the miserable remains of his Squadron, after the most ruinous and ill concerted expedition that the *French* ever undertook. *Dandridge's* report, however, was believed, and in a council of war, it was immediately resolved to steer to the isle of *Vache*, the admiral being resolved to act offensively. Soon after, it was discovered, to his great disappointment, that captain *Dandridge* had been deceived by the haziness of the weather, and that the ships he had seen in *Port Lewis* were only merchantment unrigged, excepting one frigate of forty guns. For the more certainty, however, the captains *Boscawen* and *Knowles* were sent to desire leave of the governor of *Fort Lewis* to wood and water in the bay; and upon their return, with a very polite answer, the departure of *d'Antin* for *Europe* was confirmed, and that above 3000 of his men had died while he lay at *Port Lewis*. Another council of war being assembled on the 16th of *February*, it was unanimously resolved, that the fleet, after having taken in wood and water at *Iros*, *Tiberon*, and *Donna Maria Bays*, should thence proceed directly to *Carthagera*. On the 23d following, captain, afterwards admiral, *Warren*, having joined the fleet, it was resolved next day by the four principal commanders of the fleet and army, vigorously to attack *Carthagera* by land and sea. On the 4th of *March*, in the evening, the whole fleet, which now consisted of 124 ships, anchored in the *Playa Grande*, to windward of the town of *Carthagera*, which stands on the *Spanish* continent, almost directly south of *Jamaica*, and about 110 leagues north-east of *Panama*.

Expedition against Carthagera.

By this time, *Vernon* was soured with the disappointment of his favourite passion to attack the *French* fleet. In all the councils of war, he had rather dictated to, than consulted with, the other members; and though he was generally right in his measures, yet the manner in which he carried them through, was extremely disgusting. *Wentworth*, considering himself as general of the land forces, thought he had a right to direct them in their operations; but *Vernon* treated this with such an air of superiority, as determined *Wentworth* to assert it to the utmost whenever an opportunity should present. Each had too soon an occasion to gratify his resentment, to the irreparable damage of his country. As no care had been taken since the commencement of hostilities between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to conceal that *Carthagera* would be the main object of the former in the *West-Indies*, the *Spaniards* there, under *de Torres* and *don Blas de Lese*, had omitted nothing that could render it impregnable, having 4000 regular troops in garrison, besides armed negroes and *Indians*, so that *Carthagera* was, at this time, supposed to be the strongest, as well as the most important town the *Spaniards* had upon their continent of *America*. Its riches, at the same time, were immense, by the conveniency of its port for the reception of the *Spanish* fleets, and by the confluence of the great rivers *St. Martha* and *Megdalen*, which brought down to it immense quantities of treasures and rich merchandizes.

Dissention between Vernon and Wentworth.

We shall not, in this place, amuse our readers with any particular description of *Carthagera*, farther than is necessary for their understanding the operations of the siege now undertaken. It is sufficient to say, that though the walls of the town were washed by the sea, yet it was unassailable on that side, on account of a vast surf and ridge of rocks; so that it was necessary to force the entrance of *Boca Chica*, which opened into the harbour, and which was so strongly fortified, that it was deemed to be impregnable; a range of redoubts, castles, and batteries, lining it on each side, besides a strong bomb, which ran across, within which were moored four *Spanish* men of war, one of seventy, and three of sixty guns, at the mouth of the harbour, which formed a kind of lake, the town of *Carthagera* itself lying about three miles farther up. Admiral *Vernon* had exact intelligence from his officers of all those particulars, and of the new works that were running up by the *Spaniards*. The demolition of the forts and batteries was committed to *Sir Chaloner Ogle*, who was directed

Instructions to Sir Chaloner Ogle.

“ to proceed with his whole division of ships of the line of battle for demolishing the said a forts and batteries, and scouring all the country between them; so as to secure a descent for the forces in the most convenient parts of it between fort *St. Philip* and *Chamba* battery, which might divide the *Spaniards*, the better to make a descent at both places at once, and expose them the more to the fire of the ships; he was also particularly directed, not to suffer any imprudent or hasty firing from the ships, and to endeavour to convince the men, that such folly only serves to embolden an enemy instead of discouraging them. And the rear-admiral was likewise, in his orders in writing, to assign to each particular captain the post he was to take, and the orders he was to execute; and also to order his respective captains, to acquaint their respective ships companies, that the whole of all booty to be made by land, was graciously granted by his *Britannic* majesty to be distributed among his sea b and land-forces, as should be agreed on by a council of war of sea and land-officers, which had accordingly met, and regulated the distribution thereof, and had allotted a double share to any non-commission or warrant-officer, or private man, that might happen to be wounded in the service; and the rear-admiral was further directed to assure of a further reward from the vice-admiral, out of his share, all who should eminently distinguish themselves by any extraordinary actions of prudence and bravery, besides a secured advancement proportionable to the zeal and resolution exerted on so signal an occasion, for the honour of the crown, and future prosperity of their country.”

Operations
against Car-
thagea.

OGLE, who was a very brave officer, punctually observed his orders. He fell down next morning with his division to the mouth of the harbour, and sent three eighty-gun ships, c the *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Russel*, to batter the forts of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*, while the *Princess Amelia* was to play against the fascine battery, and the *Litchfield* upon the battery of *Chamba*. The attack began on the 9th of *February* by Sir *Chaloner*, who was seconded by *Vernon* and the transports, commodore *Lestock* being left with his division at anchor. The enemy was driven from the forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, which colonel *Cochran* immediately took possession of with 500 grenadiers, while general *Wentworth*, brigadier *Guise*, and col. *Wolfe*, without opposition, landed the regiments of *Harrison* and *Wentworth*, and soon after were landed all the artillery, tents, stores, and baggage. The fort of *Chamba* was deserted on the first fire, and the fascine battery was found to be without artillery. All this was performed with very little loss to the *English*, excepting what happened on board the *Shrew- d sbury*, captain *Townshend*, which was exposed to a most dreadful fire from *Boca Chica*; but the antipathy between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*, began now to break forth with the most fatal effects. *Vernon* and *Ogle* pressed *Wentworth* to lose no time, but to advance and take post on the upper grounds, and to go across to the inside of the harbour: *Wentworth* despised this advice, because perhaps he did not understand its importance. He remained inactive and indolent for three days, slowly forming their encampment; but numbers of the soldiers either dropped down dead, or fell sick through the intenseness of the heat, and the inclemency of the night-dews; misfortunes which exertion and labour would have prevented. To complete the misery of the *British* armament, it was discovered that its engineers had neither activity nor abilities, and were so far from being of any assistance in annoying the enemy, that *Wentworth* himself complained to the admiral of a fascine battery on the barra- dera side of the harbour, which greatly annoyed his men.

ADMIRAL *Vernon* applied himself to remove this nuisance (if it may be so called) and in a council of war held on the 17th, it was resolved to attack it with 300 sailors and 200 soldiers, detached from those remaining on board the fleet; the sailors to be commanded by captain *Boscawen*, and the soldiers by the captains *Washington* and *Murray*. This service was performed with an intrepidity that *British* forces alone could have exerted, notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties attending it. The battery was carried and destroyed with very little loss, and thereby the engineers under *Wentworth* were left at liberty to proceed in their grand battery against *Boca Chica*. This went so heavily on, notwithstanding the im- f portant service performed from the soldiers and seamen from on board the ships, besides eight days having been consumed upon it, that *Vernon* could no longer bridle his indignation, but gave loose to it in a torrent of invectives against the general and engineers, whom he accused of knowing nothing of their business. This produced recriminations, and the whole contributed to retard the service. The battery itself was constructed in a wood, to conceal it from the enemy, and 500 seamen with 200 blacks, assisted the engineers and soldiers in raising it, but all to no purpose, the castle of *Boca Chica* still continuing to fire upon the besiegers on the 20th. At last, on the 22d, the grand battery, after clearing the wood from before it, began to play upon the castle, and the fire was hotly returned, both from that and the barradera battery, which the enemy had repaired. In a council of war g on board the fleet, it had been resolved to make a general attack upon all the forts and batteries, to be put in execution as soon as the wind would permit the ships to move to their proper stations. Accordingly, on the 23d, commodore *Lestock* in the *Boyne*, with the *Prince Frederic*, *Hampton-Court*, *Suffolk*, and *Tilbury*, went in to batter *Boca Chica* castle, and

a the ships were posted under it to great advantage, *Lestock* being supported by Sir *Chaloner Ogle's* division. This service proved to be very hot, the *Spaniards* keeping up a most dreadful fire; but at last, with the loss of many brave men, particularly the lord *Aubrey Beauclerc*, captain of the *Prince Frederic*, a breach was made in the castle, and the seamen landing again, demolished the barradera-battery.

It now fell to general *Wentworth* to storm the breach that had been made, in which he was assisted by the shipping; and the *British* soldiers, supplying by courage the want of experience, drove the *Spanish* garrison out of that fort and that of *St. Joseph*, which captain *Knowles* took possession of. Don *Blas*, the *Spanish* admiral, was at that time on board the *Galicia*, under *Boca Chica*, and gave orders for sinking all the *Spanish* ships there, but could not prevent the *Galicia* from falling into the hands of the *English*, with the captain, and about sixty of the *Spaniards*, don *Blas* himself escaping. The taking of this castle, the strength of which was much greater than the *English* themselves apprehended, cost the latter 400 of their best men, among whom were the colonels *Douglas* and *Watson*, lieutenant colonel *Sandford*, and Mr. *Moor*, the chief and best engineer the *English* had, which rendered the loss irreparable. Though the firing from the castle and the *Spanish* shipping had now ceased, the mouth of the harbour was so very narrow, that it was with the utmost difficulty the *English* ships could enter it, so as to keep themselves clear of a *Spanish* ship which continued burning; and it was on all hands agreed, that had the castle and harbour been but tolerably well defended, they must have been impregnable to the *English* fleet. All difficulties at last were surmounted, the enemies batteries were silenced, nailed up, or abandoned, and captain *Knowles*, without opposition, took possession of *Castillo Grande*, where a vigorous resistance was expected, and by the taking of which, the troops were landed within a league of the town.

Boca Chica castle, and

Castillo Grande, taken.

THE *English*, after surmounting such incredible difficulties, thought that little remained but to take possession of *Cartagena*, of which they thought themselves so well assured, that captain *Lawes* was sent express to *London* with dispatches, importing, that the taking *Boca Chica*, and the other castles and batteries, was the same as the taking *Cartagena* itself; and rejoicings were made accordingly, not only at *Jamaica*, but all over the *West-Indies*. On the 30th, in a council of war, held by the vice-admiral and naval-officers, it was resolved to use all possible expedition to cut off the communication of the town on the land-side, and to make a descent at the most convenient place nearest the city. Proper dispositions were made, in consequence of this resolution, by the shipping; but the cutting off the communication between the city and the country, belonging properly to the land troops, the latter took possession of *La Popa*, a convent, situated on a hill, and overlooking the city and the neighbouring country, and encamped within a short mile of fort *St. Lazare*, the taking of which was indispensable for their future progress; and here the irretrievable oversights, which ruined the expedition, seem to have been committed.

EVERY day had added to the now declared animosity between the admiral and the general. The brave seamen had cleared their way through seven ships, that had been sunk by the *Spaniards*, across the mouth of the upper harbour, above *Castillo Grande*; and they had succeeded even beyond their hopes in all their other operations; while the army, ever since the attack of *Boca Chica* castle, had done little or nothing. *Vernon* was always putting *Wentworth* in mind, that the communication between the city and the country ought immediately to be cut off, and fort *St. Lazare* attacked. Resolutions in a council of war, consisting of land-officers, were taken for that purpose; but nothing was done in consequence of them, and a most unaccountable languor seems to have possessed the troops. The general threw the blame upon the admiral, for not landing their tents, stores, and artillery; though it is probable, that if he had immediately attacked the *Spaniards*, who were at work upon some fortifications at the foot of the hill, where fort *St. Lazare* stood, before their panic was over, the *English* must have become masters of the place; but the unaccountable delays of the army gave them time to recover their spirits, and to complete a very strong fortification; and to take other precautions for their defence. All this while, the army was working on a bomb-battery, for making a breach in the castle of *St. Lazare*; but, at last, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered much stronger than it was, if the besiegers would wait for the arrival of the artillery; and that cutting through the woods for perfecting the grand battery, would take up a great deal of time. The admiral, in the mean time, was incessantly pressing the general, but without any effect, to cut off the communication, by which the city was supplied with all kinds of necessaries from the country, and immediately to fort *St. Lazare*; and for that purpose, he sent ashore a detachment of lord *James Cavendish* and colonel *Bland*, who joined the general on the 8th of *April*, together with all the *Americans* that were fit for service. Upon receiving this reinforcement, it was resolved in a council of war, held that same evening by the general and his field-officers, to attack the castle and trenches of *St. Lazare*, without waiting

Errors committed by general Wentworth.

waiting for the raising of a battery to make a breach. This has been generally looked upon as a most unsoldierlike resolution, and indeed, two of the best field-officers dissented from it; nor could it admit of any excuse, but the dismal situation of the troops, among whom contagious diseases began now to make great havoc.

Fort St. Lazare attacked,

BUT unpromising as this resolution appeared, it might have been successful, had the execution of it been managed with common prudence. Three deserters offered to serve as guides to the troops in mounting the hill to the attack, which was to be made on two quarters. But the general lost the opportunity; for, instead of having every thing ready to surprise the enemy by night, it was almost daylight next morning before the 1200 men, under the command of brigadier *Guise*, began to mount the hill; and to complete their misfortune, the scaling-ladders and woolpacks were left in the rear, with all the grenado shells. Notwithstanding this, the troops mounted the ascent with the utmost intrepidity, but one of their guides being killed, one of the divisions, which was commanded by colonel *Grant*, was misled from a plain, practicable, road, by which they were to have ascended, to a steep difficult part of the hill, which the colonel, the most forward of them, actually gained, and they were pushing on towards the enemy's entrenchments, when the colonel and some of his officers were killed; and the rest of the division not being able to come up in time, the enemy securely finished the destruction of that brave handful; for it being now broad daylight, a mere carnage ensued, without the *English* having the satisfaction of making the least effort towards annoying their enemy; and they discovered, that had they not been opposed, they could not, for want of scaling-ladders, have mounted the entrenchments. The more rational part of the officers, at last, seeing above 600 of their best men cut off by the grape-shot, musketry, and grenadoes, with which they were incessantly plied, persuaded the troops to retreat; leaving in the hands of their enemies their useless scaling-ladders, woolpacks, and shovels.

with great loss to the English;

and without success.

VARIOUS opinions were formed concerning this unsuccessful attempt; nor is the public yet agreed, whether its miscarriage was chiefly owing to the malice of the admiral, or the inexperience of the general. The former, it is certain, behaved with so much caution, that no legal advantage could be taken of his conduct. He blamed the general for not apprising him of his intention to storm the fort, that he might have sent a body of sailors to his assistance, and, at the same time, he most ungenerously blamed the officers for desisting from the attack; while, to save appearances, after the carnage was over, and the attempt had miscarried, he sent a number of men, well armed, in boats, to the general's assistance. The officers of the land-forces knew not whether to accuse their general or the admiral; but foreseeing that all farther attempts for reducing the place must be ineffectual, they marched with their men into their camp, where they were visited by more dreadful enemies than the *Spaniards*, contagious diseases, which swept them off in such numbers, that in a few days, a sufficiency of able men did not remain to do the duties of the camp.

THE operations by sea, though less fatal, were not more successful. *Vernon* had again and again represented, that it was impossible for his shipping to succeed against *Cartagena*, unless fort *St. Lazare* was taken. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, maintained, that the place might be battered from the harbour; and *Vernon*, to preserve his conduct irreproachable, had fitted up the *Galicia* as a floating battery, and given the command of her to captain *Hore*, to play upon the town. Upon trial, it was found, that she could not approach so near the walls, as to make any impression upon them; but her shot, and the bombs from the tenders, did considerable damage to the houses and churches; and it was with difficulty that the *Spaniards* prevented their principal powder-magazine from being blown up by a bomb, which fell into a church, where it was lodged. Many conjectures, very unfavourable to the memory of *Vernon*, were formed, upon the reasons that could determine him to desist, as he did, from this kind of bombardment, which in the end might have rendered the city untenable by the inhabitants. But what still created greater speculation in his prejudice, was, that many sea-officers, under his own command, affirmed, that the *Galicia* did not lie in the proper station for battering the walls of *Cartagena*, the water there being too shallow for her approaching near enough; but that a little towards the left there was a depth of water sufficient for four or five of his largest ships to have lain with their broadsides against the town, within pistol-shot of the walls. Whatever truth may be in those allegations, it is certain, that the admiral ordered the *Galicia*, after she had continued her cannonading for some time, to be drawn off; and on the 23d and 24th, it was resolved in a general council of war, to return to *Jamaica*, on account of the sickness in the army. Before this resolution was put in execution, the demolition of *Castillo Grande* was completed by captain *Knowles*, with great difficulty, on account of the vast thickness of its walls. *Beccabica*, fort *St. Joseph*, and the other *Spanish* forts, the *English* had taken, were likewise demolished, under the direction of captain *Boycarwen*, and other officers, as were likewise all

Siege of Cartanena abandoned.

a the lime-kilns ; and proper dispositions being made for cruizing upon the enemy, and preventing supplies coming by sea to *Carthagera*, the whole fleet returned safe to *Port Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, on the 19th of May.

This momentous expedition was far more ruinous to the *British* forces, by the diseases that attacked them, than by the power or resistance of the enemy ; about 2500 land-forces died before the walls of the city, among whom were two colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, four majors, the chief engineer, twenty-nine captains, fifty-one first and second lieutenants, five ensigns, and *Martin*, the chief physician. The loss of the *Spaniards*, by the demolition of their forts, castles, and guns, together with their men of war, galleons, and other vessels, were estimated at a million of money. But all those were secondary considerations, compared to the vast disappointment which attended the ill success of the expedition, which was the most expensive that ever had been fitted out by *England*. It had filled not only the *Spaniards*, but the *French* with such apprehensions, that they ordered their minister at the *Hague* to preach up a kind of crusade on all the *European* powers against *England*, whose progress in the *West-Indies*, he said, was incompatible with their interests or safety. On the other hand, the people of *Great Britain*, the more they had been elevated by the former glorious accounts of the expedition, were the more dejected by a miscarriage that was so unexpected and so fatal. Before the return of the fleet to *Jamaica*, the epidemical sickness, that had been so ruinous to the troops, got into the ships, and carried off great numbers of the seamen whom Sir *Chaloner Ogle* brought with him from *England*.

The English fleet returns to Jamaica.

c It was thought by the impartial part of the public, that the misfortunes which the *British* armament met with, might have been prevented, and that *Carthagera*, with all its province, might have been reduced, if *Vernon* could have overlooked, or made up, his differences with *Wentworth*. But, after taking care to secure his own conduct from all impeachment, he seemed to enjoy, with a malicious pleasure, all the blunders that his antagonist's inexperience made him commit, while the other was too proud to ask either for his advice or assistance. *Vernon's* disgust at the management of the war not being entirely left to himself, seems to have been invincible ; for even when he dispatched *Lawes* with the news of his success at *Boca Chica*, he intimated in a letter to the duke of *Newcastle*, then secretary of state, his desire to be recalled from that service ; which drew from his grace, who had a very high opinion of his courage and zeal for the public service, the following answer. " May I wish, for the honour of my country, for the success of his majesty's arms, and for the perfecting the great work you have so gloriously begun, of reducing the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, that you would not think of coming home, and leaving your command there ; which, without the least imputation upon any body, cannot be supplied by any one, on whom his majesty, the nation, and all the king's friends and servants, can have an equal dependence."

Reflections.

Dated May 24, 1741.

d THE misfortunes of the *British* fleet and army did not terminate in their abandoning the siege of *Carthagera*. Their infectious distempers acquired new strength every day, and great numbers were swept off even after their arrival at *Jamaica*. It is but doing justice to *Vernon's* memory to acknowledge, that this mortality must have been far greater, had he not exerted himself in the preservation of the health of his crews, by distributing among them wholesome, proper provisions, and diluting their spirituous liquors, so as to prevent the distempers that attend the too free use of them in that hot climate. His pride was hurt by the miscarriage at *Carthagera*, though he and his friends threw the whole blame of it upon *Wentworth* and the land-troops ; and therefore he resolved to continue some time longer in the *West-Indies*, that he might have an opportunity, by some signal expedition, to retrieve his popularity. By this time, the greatest part of the *Spanish* and *French* ships of war had returned to *Europe*, and the large unsheathed *English* ships were exposed to great danger, by lying at *Jamaica*, where a numerous fleet of merchantmen was likewise lying, waiting for a convoy to *England*. Commodore *Lestock* therefore took under his command seven of the eighty gun ships, the *Princess Carolina*, *Russel*, *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Princess Amelia*, *Torbay*, and *Chichester*, together with the *Hampton-Court*, *Burford*, *Windfor*, and *Falmouth* ; the *Success*, *Eleanor*, *Cumberland*, *Terrible*, and *Goodley* frigates, which were all unsheathed, with the fleet of merchantmen, and all the officers and soldiers that were sick or disabled.

e Don *Roderigo de Torres*, the *Spanish* admiral, while *Vernon* remained at *Jamaica*, was lying with a powerful squadron at the *Havannah*, for the protection of that important harbour ; and Mons. *Roqueville* was stationed with a *French* squadron at *Hispaniola* : but neither of them thought proper to act offensively ; though the squadron under *de Torres* was equal to that under *Vernon*, after commodore *Lestock's* departure for *England*. The instructions that had been sent to *Vernon*, left it optional to him, and the council of war, to attack the *Havannah*, *la Vera Cruz*, *Mexico*, *Carthagera*, or *Panama*. Even after the miscarriage before *Carthagera* was known in *England*, the government was so intent upon striking some important blow in the *West-Indies*, that 2000 fresh troops were sent to *Jamaica*, together

Expedition against St. Jago de-Cuba proposed.

ther with additional stores and ammunition. But the force under *Vernon* and *Wentworth* a was quite unequal to an attempt upon any of the places mentioned in his instructions, and Sir *Charles Wager* had always been of opinion, that an attempt ought to be made against *St. Jago de Cuba*, which, if successful, might have been attended with the conquest of the *Havannab* itself upon the same island. In all events, an *English* settlement upon *Cuba* must alarm the *Spaniards* so much, that they would speedily sue for peace without the intervention of *France*. Not only Sir *Charles Wager*, but the *British* ministry in general, thought that such an attempt was practicable, but the making it, in a great measure, was left to *Vernon's* discretion. The people of *Jamaica* were much bent upon some signal expedition against the *Spaniards*, and the council there had voted, that the admiral should receive a supply of a thousand of the most serviceable blacks upon the island; but it is probable, b that when this vote passed, they did not foresee that the storm was to fall upon *St. Jago*. In the mean while, *Vernon* was most indefatigably employed in refitting his ships, and in every measure for recovering the health of his seamen, in which he was very successful.

And resolved
on in a council
of war.

EVERY thing being now ready for sailing, a council of war was held at *St. Jago de la Vega*, on the 26th of *May*, 1741, at which were present, vice-admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*; when the following resolution was agreed to. "The council, after maturely deliberating upon their instructions, orders, letters, intercepted intelligences, and advices; and having regard to the great reduction of their forces, were of opinion, That in regard to the diminution of the forces, the security of *Jamaica*, the *British* trade, and of all supplies coming to them; and also the c preserving a communication with *Jamaica* for their supplies; the only expedition that could be thought adviseable to be undertaken, was against *St. Jago de Cuba*, a port of great importance to the security of the *British* trade, and cutting off the baneful correspondence between the *Spaniards* and *Hispaniola*. And though in regard to the general sickness, that spreads itself through fleet and army, they were not in very good condition for undertaking any new expedition: yet, on the assurance given the council by governor *Trelawney*, that they might rely on a supply from *Jamaica* of 1000 of the most serviceable blacks they could raise in the island, to be all chosen men, and to have proper officers; and through a sincere zeal for doing the utmost in their power, to answer the expectations of their royal master from the great expence of this expedition; it was the resolution of the council to d undertake this expedition against *St. Jago*, and to push it forward with all the dispatch the situation of their affairs would admit of."

Opposed by
Trelawney.

THOUGH the two admirals and the two generals signed this resolution, yet it was dissented from by governor *Trelawney*, whose opinion was, "That since the forces had been so reduced by sickness, the remaining number ought not to be hazarded, but on a service, that, if it succeeded, might be of great benefit and importance to *Great Britain*. He could not think *St. Jago de Cuba* of consequence, while the *English* were masters at sea; and took it for an inviolable maxim to be superiors, as they might be, at sea in the *West-Indies*; or else, possessions there would be a detriment, instead of a benefit, to *Great-Britain*; and no e possessions, but such as are useful in commerce, are for the benefit of *England*. *Panama* is of that nature, as it would command the isthmus of *Darien*; and therefore, if there was force enough, with the help of the *Musqueto Indians*, and negroes, under proper officers from *Jamaica*, an attempt upon that place would be, in his opinion, most adviseable." It is thought, that the governor was not a little influenced in this opposition, not only by personal resentment, but the apprehensions he was under, lest a settlement upon *Cuba*, if effected, might reduce the importance of his own government; but this was far from being the opinion of the people of *Jamaica* in general, who most ardently wished that *St. Jago* might be reduced. The question being carried in the council of war, all measures were put in execution for sailing, but with a force disproportioned to the enterprize, the land- f troops being now reduced from 12,000 to 3000. Such was the zeal of the *Jamaicans* for the success of this expedition, that instead of 1000, they offered 5000 negroes to serve in it; but the smaller number was judged sufficient. On the 28th of *June*, a strong squadron being left under commodore *Davers* to protect the island of *Jamaica*, the armament sailed, and on the 18th of *July*, the whole fleet got into *Walthenam* harbour, one of the finest and most capacious in all the *West-Indies*; and the admiral gave it the name of *Cumberland* harbour, in honour of his royal highness the duke.

The fleet sails.

St. Jago is the capital of the island of *Cuba*, though far inferior in populousness, strength, and riches to the *Havannab*, where the *Spanish* squadron, under *de Torres*, still continued to lie. The knowledge of the island of *Cuba* itself, especially in its inland parts, had been so carefully concealed by the *Spaniards*, that the accounts of it are various, and sometimes g contradictory. But, upon the whole, it is unequal as to its soil and produce; some spots of it being as rich and delightful as any in the world, and others bleak and barren. *St. Jago* city was far from being strong towards the land, but it lay conveniently for privateers,

a teers, which did infinite damage to the *Jamaica* trade. An *English* mariner, who said he had resided there for thirteen years, represented the march from *Cumberland* harbour to *St. Jago*, as being very practicable, by means of a fresh-water river, which could carry boats a considerable way up the country. Other mariners, who had been prisoners there, and worked upon the fortifications, gave accounts of the strength of the place; but it was judged on all hands impracticable to attack it by sea; and therefore, though *Cumberland* harbour was at a considerable distance, it was resolved to march the troops by land, especially, as it was judged the *Spaniards* would be unprovided to receive them, and the roads very passable. On the 20th of *July*, was held a council of war, composed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Blakeney*, col. *Lowther*, col. *Cochran*,

Council of war held.

b captain *Mayne*, and captain *Cotterel*. Here captain *Watson*, and lieut. *Lowther*, who had been sent to reconnoitre as far as the approaches to a village called *Catalina*, where there was a battery, reported, that they had found every thing exactly to agree with the information of *Drake*, the mariner abovementioned, while captain *Renton* gave his opinion, that it was impracticable to attack the harbour of *St. Jago* immediately by sea; but it was found, that before they could possess themselves of the harbour of *St. Jago*, they must become masters of the strong castle of *Moro*, and the batteries erected for its defence.

UPON the whole, it was unanimously resolved, "Immediately to set about doing every thing in their power, to comply with the principal view of his majesty's instructions, that of possessing themselves of the island of *Cuba*; and for advancing to attempt to surprize and take the batteries above the *Moro* castle, if the approaches to them were found practicable for the forces; to get up to the village of *Catalina* with the utmost expedition, and, at all events, to secure that, and a communication with *Walshenam* harbour, as a probable foundation to acquire a footing in the island of *Cuba*, and waiting for further succours, to enable them to complete the reduction of it. And resolved, that the general be desired to acquaint the respective governors of the northern colonies, with their resolution to establish themselves on *Cuba*, and wait for his majesty's further instructions, and desire them to send what recruits they could raise; and to assure the inhabitants of their respective colonies that were willing to endeavour to settle themselves in *Cuba*, that they should be sure to meet with all possible encouragement; unanimously resolving, to do all jointly in their power, to secure a footing in this island, till they received his majesty's further instructions."

Its resolutions.

THE forces being landed without any difficulty, a fine camp was formed on the side of a fresh-water river, in a most wholesome situation, which afforded every thing that could contribute to the health and refreshment of the troops, and about three leagues from the mouth of the harbour. It is uncertain what the event might have been, if the forces, instead of enjoying this delightful spot, had immediately marched to the object of their destination. But while they lay encamped, the *Spaniards* took the alarm, and sent out flying parties to observe the *English*. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, thought it was unsoldier-like to enter upon a march, in an unknown country, before the ground was reconnoitred, and sent out a considerable detachment for that purpose. They discovered some of the flying parties of the *Spaniards*, who retired before them, and having advanced a good way up the country, major *Dunster*, who commanded the detachment, thought proper to return to a village called *Guantanamo*, where he found the colonels *Cochran* and *Whitford*, with 250 soldiers, and 100 negroes; but upon consultation, though the whole detachment was now 500 strong, they resolved to return to the camp, where they made such a report of the country as determined general *Wentworth* against the enterprize.

The English reconnoitre Cuba.

THE state of this expedition was now pretty much the same with that of the fatal attempt upon *Carthagera*. The admiral had made an excellent disposition of his ships to prevent any surprize from *de Torres*, and was every hour representing by messages to the general, the necessity of putting the troops in motion. In answer to those admonitions, the general, on the 5th of *August*, informed the admiral by a letter, that being diffident of the success of the enterprize against *St. Jago*, and finding it impossible for the troops to subsist much longer where they were, he intended to call a council of war to come to a final resolution. It appeared by this letter, and by others sent from the camp, that the general, and his principal officers, were determined against attacking *St. Jago*; and this opinion was confirmed by a council of war of the land-service, which assembled on the 9th, where it was resolved, "That they could not march any body of their troops further into the country, without exposing them to certain ruin; and that they were firmly of opinion, that their advancing with the army to *St. Jago*, in their present circumstances, was impracticable." It would be hard to express the indignation of *Vernon*, when he received those accounts. He had offered to cruize off the mouth of the harbour of *St. Jago* to favour the attempts of the army. The country between the camp and the city was entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and it was said, upon the strength of intercepted letters, (which, however, might have

Wentworth declines the attack of St. Jago.

have been written with design) that the governor, and the principal officers in *St. Jago*, gave the place up for lost, and were ready to abandon it, and that the city itself was in great want of ammunition. The general, on the other hand, represented that he could not be answerable to march without artillery for attacking the place, which it was impossible to bring up; and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used, he was still destitute of information as to the country through which he was to march; and that he had no reason to lay any stress on what was reported concerning the despondency and inability of the *Spaniards*. The truth is, that *Vernon*, and the sea-officers, had always proposed that the land troops should attempt to surprise the batteries without heavy artillery; a method of proceeding which *Wentworth*, and the land-officers, considered as being contrary to all the rules of war.

Resolutions
of the council
of war against
the attack.

In the meanwhile, the unhealthy season now began, by which the troops suffered more than, perhaps, they would have done by an unsuccessful attack; and animosities between the admiral and general had risen to such a height, that it was plain each would have rather fought the other than the enemy; nor were those differences confined to them, for they grew general between the land and sea-service. The soldiers were dissatisfied at seeing the rich prizes which were every day brought in by the sailors, without their having any share in them; and some quarrels had happened between the *European* and *American* troops employed in the expedition. As the last tentative, another council of war was held, consisting of the officers of the navy and army, in which the latter plainly declared, that it was impracticable to march farther up the country. *Vernon*, having no power over the land-service, could do nothing but remonstrate verbally against this opinion; and laying before the general, and his officers, copies of all the evidence he had procured, he exhorted them to act in the manner they could think most conducive to the honour and interest of their country; but all was to no purpose, for the council broke up without coming to any new resolution.

Vernon recon-
noitres the har-
bour of *St. Ja-
go*.

VERNON appeared enraged at the cowardice and treachery (as he called it) of the general and his officers, and declared, though inconsistently enough with the information he had received, that he would sail in person to view the harbour of *St. Jago*, whether it was practicable to enter it with the shipping. He accordingly sailed thither on the 4th of *September*, with the *Orford* and the *Montague*: and soon was confirmed as to the truth of his intelligence, that it was impossible for a squadron to enter that harbour, which was unsafe even for friendly ships. But *Vernon* seems, at this time, to have been sensible that *Wentworth* had as little power over the operations of the fleet, as he had over those of the army, which was now in a most lamentable condition, 200 of its officers having died, besides common men, during their inactive encampment; and *Wentworth* declared, that if they continued where they were, he must soon be without men to do camp-duty. *Vernon*, on his return from reconnoitring the harbour of *St. Jago*, produced a letter from Sir *Charles Wager*, intimating, that 2000 troops had been sent to reinforce him, and he insisted upon the army remaining in the advantageous post it possessed till the arrival of those troops, which would enable them to reduce, at least, the eastern part of the island.

The expedition
laid aside.

THOUGH this proposal was agreed to in a council of war held on the 28th of *October*, yet it certainly was a most ruinous scheme, considering the growing mortality of the army, which obliged the general to summon a new council of war, consisting of the land officers only, which met the 7th of *November* following, and declared their opinion, "That no time ought to be lost in embarking the troops on board their transports; and that it might be done with the utmost expedition, they thought all the assistance which could be had from the fleet was necessary, for which end proper application was without delay to be made to vice-admiral *Vernon*." The necessity of this resolution was so apparent, that on the 20th of *November*, the re-embarkation was effected on board the transports, without the least difficulty. On the 25th, a general council of war was held, in which the land officers came to a resolution of proceeding directly for *Jamaica*, while the admiral declared his intention to cruise till he was joined by the reinforcement he expected. It was the 28th, before the transports sailed for *Jamaica*, where they arrived safe, while the admiral on the 6th of *December*, with eight ships of the line, continued to cruise off *Hispaniola*, to meet the reinforcement from *England*.

It is hard to pronounce whether the reputation of the admiral or the general suffered most from the miscarriage of this expedition. The former it is true, had the populace on his side, but their opinions were but short-lived, while the more thinking part of the nation thought that he gave too much way to his hatred of the land-service, and that he had sacrificed the interests of his country to the great desire he had to render *Wentworth* and his officers contemptible and ridiculous. The forbidding manner he assumed on all occasions, his imperious behaviour and disregard for all, even in the sea-service, who differed from him in opinion, evinced, that he was not formed to command with an associate; and though

- a he had the precaution to screen his own conduct from reproach, yet it was easy to perceive, that the national service was a consideration secondary to the gratification of his resentment, and (as some said) his avarice. The conduct of the land-service was equally indefensible. The general's inexperience and irresolution were attended with all the effects of cowardice and treachery; and through the long peace that had preceded the war with *Spain*, very few of the land-officers were acquainted with service. They considered the *West Indies* as being little better than their graves, and an universal notion prevailed among the regulars, that all the labours they underwent, were, in order to obtain for the *Americans* an establishment on the *Spanish* settlements; and this prepossession (which was not entirely groundless) rendered them languid and backward in all their operations. To many of them, life or death
- b seemed to be indifferent, and though few had perished by the enemy, yet it was computed on a moderate calculation, that before they reached *Jamaica*, at least 20,000 *English* subjects had died since their first attack upon *Carthagena*.

- NOTWITHSTANDING the immense national loss sustained by the two expeditions against *Carthagena* and *Cuba*, the people of *Jamaica* were very considerable gainers by the prizes taken from the *Spaniards* that were carried into their island; and this consideration rendered them exceedingly alert in promoting any expedition from *Great Britain* that could give a diversion to the *Spaniards*. The reinforcement sent to *Vernon* embarked from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and after rendezvousing at *Cork*, they arrived at *Jamaica* on the 15th of *January* in fifty five transports, which carried near 3000 land-forces, under the convoy of the *Greenwich*, *St. Albans*, and *Fowey* men of war, with four bomb-ketches. A general council of war was held on their arrival, where a letter from his grace the duke of *Newcastle* was read, informing admiral *Vernon*, "That his majesty had commanded his grace to acquaint him, and general *Wentworth*, that he saw, with great concern, the heats and animosities that had arisen between his officers by sea and land, contrary to his orders; whereby the service could not but greatly suffer; ordering his grace to recommend it to them, in the strongest manner, carefully to avoid the like for the future; and that, in case of any differences of opinion, all acrimony, and warmth of expression, to be laid aside."

A reinforcement sent to Jamaica.

Dated 31st of Oct. 1741.

- A COUNCIL of war was held upon this letter, which obliquely glanced at the too free expressions which *Vernon* had made use of against *Wentworth's* person; and it was composed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, brigadier-general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*. Here a scheme which had been encouraged by Sir *Charles Wager*, who had recommended the same to admiral *Vernon*, was submitted to their consideration. It had been suggested to Sir *Charles* by one captain *Lee*, who had been in the service of the *South Sea* company as a ship-master, and was well acquainted with *Guatemala*, and all the coasts of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*. Sir *Charles Wager* had so good an opinion of *Lee*, that though he never had been in the government's service, he was made commander of the *Bonetta* sloop, and sent to *Jamaica*, to lay his project before the council of war; and Sir *Charles*, though otherwise an able seaman, was of opinion, that it might create a very favourable revolution in *Peru* and *Mexico*, and other dominions of the *Spaniards* in *South America*. The substance of it was, to attack the *Spanish* fortifications upon the river *Dulie* and the lake of *Micarague*, where the *English* might, from that rich continent, open a gainful communication with the *Spanish* natives there, who had almost forgot their own original and the *Indians*, both of them being so great enemies to the government of *Old Spain*, that, but a few years before, they had revolted, to the number of 30,000 men, and were not reduced even at the time when this project was communicated. To carry it into execution, *Lee* required that no more than one ship of war and sloops should be employed, with 1000 land-troops on board commanded by proper officers, and a supply of arms for the use of the insurgents.

Schemes of operations proposed.

- ANOTHER plan was proposed, formed by one lieutenant *Lowther*, that as the trade with *Porto Bello* still continued open, a man of war should go along with the traders, and that the *Musquito Indians*, who were acquainted with the river *Chagre*, should be employed in carrying up the artillery to *Cruses*, from whence there was an open road to *Panama*, which might be attacked. *Lowther* offered, upon proper terms, (to enable him to hire guides and procure intelligence,) to engage the *Musquito* men in this expedition, which, he said, would require 3000 regulars, and 500 negroes, to execute. The council of war, before which those plans were laid, happened to consist chiefly of land-officers, and the majority of voices approved of *Lowther's* scheme preferably to that of *Lee*. This resolution was attended with a vast number of unseemly altercations, and contradictory resolutions, which evinced that the members were more actuated by a spirit of discord than a regard for their country: but as all parties were sensible that great matters were expected from them at home, it was resolved to lose no time in carrying *Lowther's* scheme into execution; and about the 8th of *February*, *Vernon* made all the proper dispositions for that purpose, and most earnestly pressed *Wentworth* to give orders for the embarkation of the troops. About this time, intelligence

telligence came, that six *Spanish* men of war, with 4000 troops, were arrived at *Laguaira*, a designed for reinforcing the garrison of *Cartagena*; and this proved a fresh obstacle to *Wentworth's* giving orders for the embarkation of the troops. *Vernon* undertook to cruise off *Cartagena*, to intercept the *Spanish* reinforcement, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to forward the embarkation of the land-troops under *Wentworth*, and to proceed to sea with the transports and storeships under his convoy.

Expedition undertaken against Panama.

As an expedition to *Panama* was the favourite scheme of governor *Trelawney*, he voluntarily embarked in this as a colonel; while *Vernon*, who saw only one unrigged ship at *Cartagena*, blocked up that harbour; and it was the 25th of *March* before he was joined by the armament under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*. The whole of the *British* fleet then consisted of two eighty-gun ships, two of seventy, and four of sixty; three fireships, two hospital-ships, with forty sail of transports, having on board about 3000 land-troops, and 500 negroes, commanded by governor *Trelawney*. By this time, lieutenant *Lowther* had been dispatched as a private trader, with thirteen men, to gain intelligence as to the probability of success; but before he could return, *Vernon* acquainted the general, that he must proceed directly to *Porto Bello* with his fleet, where he would call a council of war, and accordingly he arrived there on the 28th of *March*. This measure seems to have baulked the expedition. It had not been foreseen by *Lowther*, that the moment the *British* fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, the *Spanish* governor there, with his garrison, which was pretty numerous, would make the best of his way to *Panama*; and therefore his advice was, that 500 *British* troops should be landed at *Nombre de Dios*, to intercept them, but this measure was neglected.

which might carry.

WHEN *Vernon* appeared off *Porto Bello* on the 28th of *March*, he found the inhabitants ready to abandon the place, which being by no means for the interest of the *British* traders, an officer and an interpreter were sent ashore to promise them protection; but it must be observed, that by this time, the governor of *Porto Bello*, who was an officer of merit and experience, and his garrison, had retired towards *Panama*. The inhabitants being thus left defenceless, sent a deputation to the admiral and the general, to settle the terms of their protection; and it was agreed, in a council of war, that it should be granted, if they did nothing to forfeit it; and that the council expected the town to furnish mules for common prices, and cattle for the sick; and to return an account the next morning, what number of mules they could provide when required. A council of war was likewise held the day the fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, in which it was agreed, that it would be most for the service, to have a detachment sent up the river *Cascabel* the next day, for cutting off the communication between *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and to take possession of the custom-house, and to place a guard there. But this measure was entirely neglected, and *Vernon* threw the blame upon *Wentworth*; while fourscore soldiers were sent to take possession of the custom-house, which the *British* officers pretended was not included in the protection granted to the inhabitants of *Porto Bello*.

through what means.

WHILE those frivolous operations were carrying on, *Lowther* returned to the fleet, and gave it as his opinion, that the *Spaniards* having been alarmed, the expedition he had proposed against *Panama* was impracticable for that year. This coincided with *Wentworth's* intelligence, which not only informed him of the arrival of the governor and garrison of *Porto Bello* at *Panama*, but of a strong reinforcement that it had received from *Lima*, and that fortifications had been thrown up for the defence of the place by land. This revived the altercations between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*; and, indeed, the former seems to have been indefensible in not landing the 500 men, according to *Lowther's* advice, at *Nombre de Dios*; while *Vernon* laid the blame upon *Wentworth's* having neglected to send a detachment up the river *Cascabel*, which would have equally intercepted the *Spanish* governor and his garrison. Upon the whole, it was resolved in a council of war, held by the land-officers, to lay aside the expedition against *Panama*, because their force was insufficient for carrying it into execution, and the troops, being reembarked, returned to *Jamaica* on the 15th of *May*. It was generally thought that this shameful event of so promising an expedition, would have brought either the admiral or the general both to a trial. But *Vernon* was protected by his popularity, and his strict adherence to his instructions, and the rules of his profession, in which no man excelled him. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, sheltered himself behind the opinions of the councils of war, in which the land-officers had always a majority.

The island of Rattan settled.

UPON the return of the armament to *Jamaica*, captain *Lee's* scheme, which we have already mentioned, was in part resumed; and it was resolved, that lieutenant *Hodgson*, properly attended, should once more repair to the *Musqueto* coast, to consult with the *Indians* there, and the log-wood cutters in the bay, about settling the island of *Rattan*, in the gulph of *Honduras*; a measure which promised great advantage to the people of *Jamaica*. This island lies about 150 leagues south-west from *Jamaica*, and 14 to the north-west of *Truxillo bay*, on the *Spanish Main*, and is about 30 miles long, and 13 broad, being healthy, and

- a and well watered. Besides the logwood-trade, the *Jamaicans* promised themselves an opening for a commerce with the *Spaniards* at *Guatimala*. *Vernon* was a great friend to this undertaking, and *Hadzson* carried out a captain's commission to one *Pitts*, an eminent *English* logwood-cutter, who having been long settled in those parts, had great interest with the *Absqueto Indians*, and undertook for their assistance in the intended project. This being known at *Jamaica*, by admiral *Vernon's* advice, 200 of the *American* regiment, with 50 marines, were sent under the convoy of the *Litchfield* man of war and the *Bonetta* sloop, to *Rattan*, with an engineer, arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and some cannon, for a fortification, besides six months provisions. The settlement was effected with great success; a town, and fortifications for its defence, were raised, and the government of the
- b whole was confirmed upon Mr. *Pitts*. After this, on the 23d of *September*, admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth* were ordered home to *England*, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to remain at *Jamaica* with the fleet, and as many marines as were necessary for its service; and the eight independent companies, for the security of *Jamaica*, were completed from the regulars.

Vernon and Wentworth return to England.

- WHEN *Vernon* and *Wentworth* arrived in *England*, both of them were most graciously received at court; and notwithstanding the mutual recriminations that passed between them, both of them were preferred. *Wentworth* found more friends than his antagonist, for he had all the officers of the land-service to back him; while *Vernon* was hated by many of his own profession, for his haughty, unamiable disposition. The spirit of discord which had
- c possessed them, seems to have entered into Sir *Chaloner Ogle* and the governor of *Jamaica*; and even swords were drawn in their quarrels. *Ogle* though brave, was excessively ignorant of every thing that did not immediately relate to his own profession; and *Trelawney*, though a man of some sense, was of a hasty, unforgiving temper; nor could he by any means be brought to a reconciliation with *Ogle*, which proved of infinite detriment to *Jamaica*. Little occurs with regard to the history of that island, during the remaining part of the war.

- MR. *Trelawney* was succeeded in his government of *Jamaica* by *Charles Knowles*, Esq; whose services, as a sea-officer, we have often had occasion to mention. Under him the
- d island enjoyed a tolerable share of tranquility; but the seat of war being transported elsewhere, the inhabitants no longer partook of the benefits which their situation threw in their way, and several heart-burnings arose between them and their governor; but we shall not venture to pronounce as to the merits of the dispute. It is certain, that the administration at home was daily troubled with complaints against the planters of *Jamaica* by the sugar-refiners and grocers of *London*, *Westminster*, and *Bristol*, on account of the high price of sugars imported from *Jamaica*. The affair at last came before the parliament, where the cause of the *Jamaicans* was vigorously supported by one of their countrymen, an alderman of *London*. A petition was presented to the house of commons from the said sugar-refiners and grocers, praying, that the proprietors of land in *Jamaica* might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of sugar-cane grounds, in order to reduce the price of that, almost universal, commodity, or that the petitioners might be at liberty to import muscovado sugars
- e from other countries, when those imported from *Jamaica* should exceed a certain rate. On the 19th of *February*, 1753, an address was ordered to be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there should be laid before that house, the printed acts of assembly, passed in the island of *Jamaica*, from 1651 to 1737 inclusive. This address was occasioned by the complaints of grievances, sent over from time to time from the assembly of *Jamaica*, in answer to the several representations that had been made against them on the subject of sugar, and several other heads; in which they represented, that the imposts they paid, and the restrictions they lay under, rendered them unable to answer the expectations of their mother-country, by subjecting them to the greatest inconveniencies and hardships. So great a regard was paid by the house to those representations
- f that they served as a foundation for an address to his majesty, concerning the present state of the island of *Jamaica*, and for copies of the several accounts relating to the trade of the said island. This address was referred to the commissioners of trade and plantations, who drew up a report accordingly, which was presented on the 23d of *February*, by Mr. *John Pitt*, one of the said commissioners, together with several acts passed in that island, for encouraging white people to come over and settle there, and likewise the printed acts. Those papers were not thought sufficient by the friends of the *Jamaicans* for their vindication; and when the report and papers were referred to a committee of the whole house, on the 27th, Mr. *Beckford* moved for an address to his majesty, that he would give directions for laying before the house, a copy of the address to his majesty, from the council and assembly of the island of *Jamaica*, representing to his majesty the state of the said island; in which motion he was seconded by Sir *Francis Dashwood*; but the same being objected to by the lord *Dupplin*, *Charles Townshend*, Esq; Sir *William Fonge*, *Robert Nugent*, Esq; *Edward Elliot*, Esq; and *Henry Pelham*, Esq; the question was carried in the negative.

Knowles governor.

Proceedings in the British parliament relating to Jamaica.

Resolutions
agreed to.

tive. On the 8th of *March* following, Mr. *John Pitt* reported the resolutions of the said committee of the whole house, and the same were agreed to, as follows : 1 That the peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, is the most proper measure for the security of that island, and for encreasing the trade and navigation between that island and *Great Britain*, as well as to and from other parts of his majesty's dominions. That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of the island of *Jamaica*, to encrease the number of white inhabitants, and to enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner which may conduce best to the security and defence of that island, have not been effectual for these purposes. Mr. *Pitt* then moved, by direction from the committee, for leave to bring in a bill for the better peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, for encouraging the cultivation of lands, at present uncultivated in that island, and for making a proper distribution of such lands. A bill was accordingly ordered in, and was read a first time, the 9th of *May*. During the course of the debates on this affair, many severe reflections were thrown out against the planters of *Jamaica*, for not complying with the terms of the original grants from the crown, in cultivating a certain proportion of the lands so granted. But the representatives of the council and assembly at *Jamaica*, had so much weight in them, that it was thought proper not to proceed upon the bill till the house received farther information concerning the state of the island.

WHILE those affairs were transacting in *England*, the people of *Jamaica* were pestered with *Spanish* depredations, and had, in vain, sent repeated complaints on that head to *England*, there being, at that time, peace between the two crowns. Either the ministry of *England* did not believe that the complaints were well founded, or they thought them not of sufficient importance to embroil the nation with *Spain*, and therefore the government of *Jamaica* was given to understand, that they might proceed by their own admiralty-powers against the delinquents ; the chief of whom were two *Spaniards*, *Simon de Cuena*, and *Domingo de Cuena*, who, after committing the most flagrant acts of piracy against the island, had the impudence to come upon it to trade ; but were apprehended and brought to their trials. They had no other defence to offer, than that they acted under a commission from his Catholic majesty ; but as this plea was ridiculous in time of peace, and as they could not produce even the pretended commission, sentence of death passed upon them. The execution, however, was respited till his majesty's pleasure should be known ; but though the *Spanish* ambassador interested himself greatly in their favour, orders were sent from *England* for their execution. During the time that Mr. *Knowles* was governor of *Jamaica*, many differences happened between him and the inhabitants ; and this variance was one of the reasons why the house of commons addressed his majesty for several papers relating to the disputes between his excellency and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of *Jamaica*.

Pirates executed.

Disputes between the governor and the assembly of *Jamaica*,

about transferring the seat of government.

WE are here to observe, that even in the island itself, there was a difference of interests between the landholders or planters, and the merchants ; and admiral *Knowles* seems very properly to have favoured the latter, upon the following occasion. The seat of government, from a mistake, which seems to have subsisted since the island was reduced by the *English*, was at *Spanish Town*, which we have already mentioned, under the name of *St. Jago de la Vega*. As the island encreased in commerce and populousness, this situation being in an inland part of the island, was found to be extremely inconvenient for the merchants, who generally resided at *Kingston*, which was the center of all commerce upon the island. They complained of the expence attending their taking out clearances at *Spanish-Town*, and the great trouble they were put to in going thither to attend the assembly and the courts of law, and therefore applied to the governor, that the seat of government might be removed to *Kingston*, to which he agreed. This raised him a vast number of enemies among the planters, whose estates and properties lay near *Spanish Town* ; and nineteen members of the assembly sent over representations against him to his majesty, while his enemies in *England* painted him in the most frightful colours. But a dispute of a still more important nature sprung up between them.

It had always been the custom at *Jamaica*, as we have seen, in the preceding part of this history, that the laws passed there were to be in force till they got his majesty's royal assent ; but, if that was refused, they were no longer binding. The government of *England* had sometimes found very bad effects, arising from the execution of those laws in the intermediate time between the passing them at *Jamaica*, and their being examined in *England* ; and therefore an article was inserted, " requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such a bill, until his majesty's pleasure should be known ; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the

a subjects in *Jamaica*." The governor, in adhering to those instructions, embroiled himself with the assembly, who pretended, that they had a right to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council; and on the 29th of *October*, 1753, a resolution was passed by the assembly for that purpose. The ancient practice abovementioned was brought to justify this resolution. It was farther alledged, that if it was not in the power of the assembly to execute their own votes; if they were to be tied up to wait for an answer from *England*, nor in case of invasion to raise either men or money for the defence of the island, it might thereby be ruined and reduced in the intermediate time. For these and a variety of other reasons, some other votes were passed by the assembly, which were highly derogatory to the royal prerogative.

b AFTER this, the altercations between the governor and the assembly arose to great indecencies: he was accused of arbitrary proceedings, and several malversations in his government; but he was strenuously vindicated, especially, in removing the seat of government from *Spanish Town* to *Port-Royal*, by the principal merchants of *London* and *Liverpool*. Matters at last, came to such an extremity, that he was obliged to dissolve the assembly, upon allegations against the members, which fell little short of a charge of high-treason. He accused them of invading the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the people; of attempting to alter the established constitution of their country, of their having entered into a combination to govern independently, by having formed a wicked, but secret association, that was destructive of the rights of the inhabitants; and in short, that they were endeavouring to subvert the government, and to wrest it out of the hands of the sovereign. From those general charges, he proceeded to others that were more particular; such as their having squandered for years past, upwards of 90,000*l.* of the public money, in donations and gratifications to particular favourites, and in making jobs for their fortifications, and their other public buildings, to the great grievance of the public, who ought to have another opportunity of chusing more faithful representatives, as the whole power of the assembly centered in a decemvirate.

Mutual recriminations between the governor and the people of Jamaica.

THOSE charges, though, perhaps, some of them were overstrained, were not without foundation; for it is certain, that there was upon the island a very powerful faction, which had entered into measures not a little inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother country, and that they had actually formed the association mentioned by the governor. This association, under the plausible pretext of preserving the tranquility of the island, obliged the members to be determined in all their proceedings by three fourths of their own number; they were to support the governor in carrying on his administration as long as he appeared to them to have at heart the public service; but, if they thought otherwise, they were to join in opposing him, but first giving notice to the other members. Besides this association, which was signed by ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen of the island, an extraordinary paper, as it was called, was drawn up, distributing the several partitions of business to be allotted to the subscribers, all which engagements were undoubtedly unconstitutional and disrespectful to the government. The next assembly, however, did not prove more agreeable in its complexion, and was, in like manner, dissolved. It had met together with great professions of duty, which the governor acknowledged; but, said he, in his speech, in which they were dissolved, "However well I may be satisfied with you in other respects, my duty to the best of kings, in the office I have the honour to hold, leaves me not at liberty to act in concert with you, whilst you suffer a man, who was convicted of disaffection, and treasonable expressions against his majesty's royal person and government, to sit among you, and who was publicly punished for it, and is still under a recognizance for his good behaviour. I do, therefore, in his majesty's name, by, and with the advice of his council, dissolve the assembly, and you are hereby dissolved accordingly." The person alluded to here is said to have been a young gentleman, who had been

The governor justified.

f tried and punished for an inconsiderate frolic, which bore the face of disaffection, committed by him at *Oxford* a year or two before; but we shall not take upon us to determine, as he had suffered the penalty of the law, how far the governor could except to his sitting in the assembly-house, on account of his being still under a recognizance for his good behaviour. Upon the whole, the *British* parliament, by their resolutions, condemned those of the government of *Jamaica*, concerning the raising and application of money without consent of parliament, and justified the governor in the several checks he had given to their proceedings, but forebore to pronounce any thing concerning the propriety of his removing the seat of government from *Spanish Town* to *Kingston*. We have little more historical matter to record of it, and that he attended general *Hopson* in his expedition against *Guadaloupe*, but died before he entered upon the exercise of his government. *William Littleton* Esq; who had been governor of *South Carolina*, was afterwards appointed governor of *Jamaica*.

Haldane governor.

Littleton, governor.

BUT though the intestine divisions of that island seem to be now entirely at an end, yet
MOD. HIST. VOL. XV. 4 P enemies

*Insurrection
of the negroes,*

enemies broke out in its bowels, which threatened it with destruction. These were the negroes, who, since the last treaty with them in Mr. *Trelawney's* government, not having been sufficiently watched, had become so numerous and strong, that they now meditated no less than the extirpation of all the white men upon the island. Two *Coromantee* negroes, called *Tacky* and *Jamaica*, were the projectors of this conspiracy. At first they seemed to be very cautious, because great numbers of the original negroes who had been comprized in the late treaty, continued faithful to the *English* government. They were, therefore, obliged to invite to their assistance all the negroes on the island, and it is next to incredible, with what secrecy their consultations were conducted. Being assembled on *Easter-Monday*, the day appointed for their rising, to the number of ninety, they marched to *Port Maria*, where they killed the centinel of the fort, took from thence four barrels of powder, a keg of musquet-balls, all the small-arms in the fort, forty of which they found to be serviceable, and then they proceeded to plunder all the plantations in the neighbourhood; but the chief booty they valued was fire-arms. Such of the conspirators as belonged to captain *Forest's* estate, suddenly butchered the overseer as he was at supper, and all the company that was with him. One Mr. *Bayly*, a considerable planter, endeavouring to approach them, that he might persuade them to lay down their arms, together with a friend who was with him, narrowly escaped with his life; and being intoxicated with the liquors they had seized, they murdered all the defenceless white men who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Mr. *Bayly*, after his escape, had collected together about 130 whites and blacks, and while the insurgents were regaling themselves at a place called *Ballard's Valley*, he drove them into the woods, where they rendezvoused, after losing about twelve of their number.

*which is quell-
ed, and*

As the rebels were far from being reduced by this check, and as intelligence came that their numbers were hourly encreasing; the governor, as is usual in those cases, ordered martial law to be proclaimed all over the island, and a total stop was put to all business but those of arms. On the 10th of *April*, the governor, to save as much as possible the white inhabitants, set a price upon the heads of the rebels, and employed against them the free negroes of *Crawford Town*, who attacked the rebels, but being inferior in number they were defeated. Till greater numbers of the free negroes could be assembled, the militia of the island had daily skirmishes with the insurgents, who never could be brought to stand their ground, but seldom failed to do some execution by their bush-fighting. The free negroes being at last reinforced, and commanded by white officers, on the 12th came up with the rebels, who were posted in a rocky gully, between two steep hills within a wood. Here they were attacked by one captain *Hynes*, and driven, but with very little loss, from their post into the wood. By this time, some regular troops had come up with supplies of arms and ammunition for the free negroes, and the wood, where the rebels were posted, was surrounded, so as to prevent their escaping. While the free negroes, headed by one Mr. *Sweigle*, attacked them so furiously, that the rebels were entirely defeated, their two leaders, *Tacky* and *Jamaica* killed, and all their baggage, stores, and ammunition taken, and so many of them made prisoners, that it was thought not above eleven of that party escaped. It appears, however, that several parties of them, still more numerous, remained in the woods, where, being distressed for provisions, they were guilty of the greatest cruelties upon one another, by killing all who were sick or wounded, and many of them put themselves to death.

*breaks out
again,*

It is reasonable to suppose, that the negroes were encouraged in this insurrection, by the hopes that the free negroes would join them; but the *Jamaicans* were deceived in thinking that they were subdued by their late defeat. In *June* their rebellion broke out in *Westmoreland* and *Hanover* parishes, with more fury than ever. Their numbers, in men, women, and children, consisted of about 700, and they proceeded as formerly, to murder all the whites they could master. The regular troops and the militia again ran to arms, and were headed by colonel *Sprag*, being joined by a body of sailors. Great numbers of the rebels were killed or taken; but the survivors, as before, found shelter in the woods and mountains, and such of them as were taken prisoners, and found guilty, were put to the most excruciating deaths. It was evident from what had passed, that the insurrections of the negroes were owing, in a great measure, to the indolence, rather than the indulgence, of their masters, who had given them too many opportunities of associating themselves to concert their operations. It was known, that numbers of them still were lurking in the woods and mountains, from whence mere necessity, had they no other motive, obliged them to make irruptions that were attended with robberies and murders of the whites, and it was very justly apprehended, that without the greatest precautions on the part of the planters, they might form a new conspiracy, and debauch even the negroes who remained in their duty, but who were not to be trusted with such liberties as they had been indulged in heretofore. The justices of the island, in whom the executive power for the preservation

*and again
suppressed.*

- a of the peace is lodged, to prevent such consequences, established in their sessions certain regulations. These imported, that no negroe should be found out of his own plantation, without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave, on pain of being severely punished. That every negroe playing at any kind of game should be publicly whipped; and that every publican, suffering such gaming in his house, should pay a fine of forty shillings. That every proprietor of negroes, who should suffer any of them to beat a drum, or blow a horn, or to make any extraordinary noise in his plantation, and that every overseer suffering such irregularities, should forfeit 5*l.* the same to be demanded or distrained for by any officer civil or military. It was further ordered, that every free negroe, or mulatto, should, on pain of being imprisoned, wear upon his right shoulder a blue cross, as a badge; and that
- b every mulatto, *Indian*, or negroe, hawking or selling any thing but fresh fish, or milk, should be publicly whipped and that a penalty of twenty shillings should be imposed upon the owners of rum, or punch houses, who did not shut them up on *Sundays*, during divine service, and that all who had petty licenses should shut up their houses every night at nine.

Regulations concerning negroes.

- THOUGH those regulations were the best that could be devised, yet they were far from bringing internal security to the island. The government thought it unsafe to trust the free negroes too far, and the rebels still continued in fastnesses that were inaccessible to the regular troops and militia; so that the planters were obliged to be incessantly on their guard against the negroes, while rear admiral *Holmes*, who was stationed at *Jamaica*, made such
- c dispositions of his Squadron, as secured them from all attacks from abroad. Five *French* frigates, which sailed from *Cape François*, in the island of *Hispaniola*, with some merchant-ships under their convoy, were attacked by his captains, *Norbury*, *Uvedale*, and *Maitland*, in the *Hampshire*, *Lively* and *Boreas*, and the two largest were taken; while the three others were destroyed; and every day brought in numbers of rich prizes to *Jamaica*. Thus that island, under the prudent government of Mr. *Littleton*, remained in a more flourishing condition during the latter end of the war, than it had known for almost a century before, in times of the profoundest peace. The definitive treaty of 1763, was greatly in favour of this island, as it left it in all the possession it had ever enjoyed in the sugar-trade, without the rivalship of *Guadalupe* or *Martinico*; nor had it a grievance to complain of, but the two
- d great fondness of its rich planters to spend their wealth in *England*. Their magazines, fortifications, troops, and militia, were in excellent condition, and their trade was secured by ships of war stationed there for its protection. The vast acquisitions of territory that fell to *Great Britain* by the peace, opened new markets for all their commodities, and the stipulations obtained from *Spain* in favour of the logwood-trade, secured to them the most important advantages, without their being longer exposed to precarious situations.

State of Jamaica at the end of the war.

- AN accident that happened soon after the conclusion of the peace, somewhat allayed this desirable situation. The powder magazine of *Augusta*, the best fortress in *Jamaica*, or in the *West-Indies*, built by admiral *Knowles*, blew up by lightning. The explosion was so dreadful, that not a single stone of the foundation could be observed on the place where
- e the magazine stood, which was so blown up as to form a large pond of upwards of twenty feet deep, fifty in breadth, and at least one hundred in length, from whence many springs of water issue, most of the guns, 24 pounders, on a bastion contiguous, were dismounted, part almost buried in the rubbish, and one of them carried more than an hundred yards from its place. Within the fort, every thing was terribly shattered, the commandant's house, the officers barracks, a fine brick building, and all the small houses in and about the garrison were shattered to pieces; a great number of men, women, and children, were killed and wounded within the works, and two soldiers far up the bay were killed, and some wounded within the distance of a mile. Captain *Talbot*, and lieutenant *Dunbar* with his lady, and ensign *Keating* perished in the ruins; the lieutenants
- f *Dunn* and *Mansell* were much bruised; the latter died afterwards. Thirty whites, and eleven negroes were killed by the explosion. The loss sustained, exclusive of 2850 barrels of gunpowder, is supposed will amount to upwards of 15,000*l.* The concussion was felt ten miles round; but we are now to attend to the geographical and commercial description of this noble island.

Powder magazine blown up.

- THE island of *Jamaica* is divided from east to west by a ridge of hills, where several fine rivers stored with fish take their rise. Many of those rivers are navigable by canoes, which renders them extremely commodious to the inhabitants for carrying their goods to *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*. The tops of those mountains are crowned with different kinds of trees, cedar, *lignum vitæ*, mahogany, and the like, which render them equally pleasant and profitable
- g to the inhabitants. A lower ridge runs parallel to the greater, and the vallies are laid out in the most delightful manner. Notwithstanding those advantages, the island is not with-

Description of Jamaica.

out its inconveniences with regard to water, which, in some places, is very scarce, and in others so mixed with sand and sediment, that it is not fit for use till purified, for some days, in earthen jars, and many cattle, in some dry years, perish for want of water. Some medicinal salt springs, of which salt is made, are found in the island, as are several lakes. As to the soil, the east and west parts of it, containing large tracts of uncleared ground, are the most unwholesome; but the south and north parts are more agreeable and less subject to sudden storms. The soil in general is said to be more temperate, than it is in any country lying between the tropics; and Mr. *Blome* says, it has been observed by some who have lived in the island, that the mountains which run along through the midst of the isle, from one extreme point to the other, are much cooler than the other parts; insomuch, that sometimes in the morning early, there are small white frosts. It must be acknowledged, that the weather in *Jamaica* is extremely precarious, as incessant rains fall sometimes for a whole fortnight, and render the roads impassable: winter is to be distinguished from summer only by its rains and thunders; but the eastern breezes, which rise between eight and nine in the morning, is extremely agreeable to the inhabitants, as it enables them to work without inconveniency till five at night. Many other particulars are related concerning these and the land breezes, for which we must refer to Sir *Hans Sloane* and others who have written natural histories of the island.

Its soil.

The soil of *Jamaica* in general is excellent, especially in the northern parts, where it is blackish, and in several places mixed with potter's earth, in others it is reddish and sandy; but it is every where fertile, and answers to the culture of the inhabitants. We have already mentioned the complaints of the mother-country, on account of the scarcity of *Jamaica* sugars, and by the latest and best accounts they are not without grounds, though they admit of many alleviations. The plantations are laid out chiefly with a view to the conveniency of water-carriage; so that it is thought that not one fourth of the sugar ground upon the island is cultivated, and even the grounds lying near rivers and the sea, are in many places over-run with wood, insomuch, that it is said, that a planter who has patented 3 or 4000 acres, has seldom above 500 of them well cultivated. To this objection it is answered by the planters, that the heavy imposts they lie under, with the great improvements made by the *French*, and the *English* islands in the sugar-trade, disable them from cultivating more ground than they do, and that the expence of finding an additional number of hands, and of carrying their sugars from the mountains and inland parts, could never answer the expence of the culture. One acre, in some places, has been known to yield several hogsheds of sugar. The savannahs, while the natives and the *Spaniards* held the island, were very fruitful in producing maiz and corn, and for the pasture of horses, hogs, cows, and asses, of which incredible numbers were found in the island, and many still remain; the large level plains are now the most barren spots in *Jamaica*; but they might by culture be still rendered extremely fertile, as they produce such quantities of grass that the inhabitants are sometimes forced to burn it.

Products of Jamaica.

THE products of *Jamaica*, both from nature and cultivation are as numerous, as perhaps, those of any spot in the world of the like bigness. They consist of sugar, rum, ginger, cotton, coffee, indigo, pimento, commonly called *Jamaica* pepper, and cocoa. Besides those commodities, this island furnishes a great variety of woods and medicinal drugs, and some tobacco, which is of a coarse kind, and cultivated only for the sake of the negroes who are fond of it. *Jamaica* likewise produces *Indian* and *Guinea* corn, with peas of various kinds, but none resembling those of *Great Britain*, excepting such as are reared with great care and tenderness in gardens, together with cabbages, and a great variety of roots. *Seville* and china oranges grow here in great abundance, as do the common and sweet lemon, shaddocks, citrons, pomgranates, mamies, four-fops, papas, pine-apples, custard-apples, star-apples, prickly-pears, alicada-pears, melons, pompions, and guavas. The woods are stored with berries of various kinds, but apples, and those fruits, that are more peculiar to cold countries, thrive but poorly in *Jamaica*. Besides the productions we have mentioned, many others of the most valuable kinds may be found in the accounts of *Sloane*, *Brown*, and other naturalists, who have treated of this island.

Sugar.

AFTER all, the sugar-cane is both the glory and support of *Jamaica*. This plant is thought to have been known to the *Romans*, and to have been originally a native of the *Canary-Islands*, from whence the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, after they began to trade with *Africa*, carried it to their own countries. From thence they transplanted it to the *East* and *West-Indies*, and it is now become a most valuable branch of trade to *Great-Britain*. The cultivation of the sugar-cane is extremely curious, and has employed even volumes to describe it and its different branches, especially that of rum; but such descriptions do not fall within the compass of this work. The sugar of *Jamaica* is said to be excellent, and naturalists affirm, that in places, where the rain falls for months together, the sugar grows faster in ten days than it does in six months at *Barbados*. The sugars, imported from

a *Jamaica* to *Great Britain* in 1753, is said to have been worth in *England* 424,275 l. sterling; for which the *Jamaica* planters take *British* commodities. The *Jamaica* rum, which is a branch of the sugar-manufacture, is esteemed the best in the world, and is in greatest request in *England*; and it is said, *Jamaica* exports 4000 puncheons of it a year. Their molasses, they mostly, send to the northern colonies, where they are distilled; but it is impossible to say any thing with precision, concerning the annual returns of the *Jamaica* sugar-trade, which depend upon the nature of the season, and a variety of other accidents.

b THE tree which carries the pimento, or *Jamaica* pepper, rises to the height of thirty feet at least, is strait, and covered with a grey, smooth, shining bark. Its leaves, of which it puts out great plenty, resemble those of the bay-tree. The pepper itself is taken green from the stalks of the tree; the grains are larger than juniper-berries, and like them, they become black and smooth. The cocoa and indigo commerce, though peculiarly adapted to *Jamaica*, have been of late much disused, as not being sufficiently profitable. Of cotton, trees, there are three sorts, one which creeps on the ground like a vine; the second is a bushy dwarf-tree, about the size of a peach-tree; and the third grows to the tallness of an oak. The down, which is the cotton, grows in pods, which crack when they are ripe, and if the cotton is not gathered, it would be useless. The ginger-plant grows in *Jamaica*, but the roots of it alone are useful. Some salt-petre has been found on the island; and the *Jamaica* maltic-tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are all hard woods, and very fit for coach-wheels and mill-work. The savannah-woods of *Jamaica* produce the wild cinnamon-tree, the trunk of which is about the bigness of that of the pimento tree; and its bark is esteemed a sovereign medicine for expelling wind, and assisting digestion. Some of the *Jamaica* cabbage-trees are said to be about 100 feet high, and some naturalists suppose them to be only the palm-tree. It is agreed, however, that what they call the cabbage part of it, is excellent food. The manchinel-tree has a most beautiful apple, which, if eaten, is a deadly poison. The excellent qualities of manchinel-wood, and that of mahogany, are well known to cabinet-makers and joiners. Fustic, red-wood, and logwood, all of them useful in dying, grow in *Jamaica*, which likewise furnishes guiacum, sassa-parilla, china, cassia, and tamarinds, with great variety of other medicinal roots and herbs.

c In short, as large volumes have been written concerning the natural produce of *Jamaica*, it is not to be expected that we can be more particular here.

Pimento.

Cocoa.

Indigo.

Cotton-tree.

Ginger.

Salt petre.

Wild-cinnamon.

Cabbage-tree.

Manchinel-tree.

Fustic.

Red-wood.

Logwood.

Guaiacum.

Sassa-parilla.

China.

Cassia.

Tamarinds.

THE vast attention which is paid by the *Jamaicans* to their staple commodities, makes them neglect many advantages, which the soil of their island affords. Their horses, asses, and mules, are plentiful; and, it is said by *Blome*, that when the *English* first came to the possession of *Jamaica*, there was greater plenty of cattle in the island, than in most of the *English* plantations in *America*. Oxen and cows in *Jamaica* are large, but the breed is neglected by the planters. Their mutton is excellent, the wool being good for nothing; but the pork exceeds that of *England*, or any other nation in *Europe*. No deer or hares are to be found in *Jamaica*, but it abounds with goats and rabbits. Wild-fowl is incredibly plentiful in this island, particularly ducks, teal, widgeon, geese, turkies, pigeons, *Guiney* hens, plover, flamingos, snipes, parrots, parachetos^x, and pelicans, a bird as big as a goose, and of a very particular nature, living on the small fish it picks out of the sea. The cotton and orange-trees on this island harbour vast numbers of those beautiful animals the humming-bird, and a kind of cantharides, or flying glow-worms, are frequent in the woods.

THE turtle, or sea-tortoise, which is found in the bays, roads, and rivers of *Jamaica*, is now too well known in *Europe*, to require any description here. When *Blome* wrote, numbers of ships from the *Caribbee Islands* resorted thither, to victual and load therewith; but the deliciousness of it, is now too well known to *Europeans*, for the tortoise to be any longer so cheap. The alligator, a most terrible monster, living upon animal-flesh, and preying upon men, when he can devour them, infests the rivers and ponds of *Jamaica*. The reader needs not to be acquainted that it is of the crocodile kind, and that it would be the most dreadful of all animals, were it not for their slowness in making a circular motion, and a particular strong musky smell, which attends and discovers them, even to the brutes who approach them. The negroes of *Jamaica* have a particular dexterity in killing them, either by attacking them sideways with truncheons, or by thrusting into their jaws a sharp-pointed iron, that disables them from biting, and then they are easily killed. The mountains, fens, and marshes, of *Jamaica*, breed multitudes of adders and animals, which in other countries, are venomous, but are not so there. The chegoes are likewise plentiful here, and extremely troublesome, not only to the negroes, but sometimes to the white men.

Alligator.

^x BLOME, C. I. p. 21.

Description of
Port-Royal.

THE island of *Jamaica* is divided into nineteen parishes. *Port Morant*, a safe and commodious bay, lies in that of *St. Bernard's*, which is well cultivated, and sends two members to the assembly, and has within it a small fort. The parish of *Port-Royal* contained the town of that name, formerly one of the finest cities in *America*, from the commodiousness of its harbour, which can safely contain a thousand sail of ships. Its entrance is defended by *Fort Charles*, which is esteemed one of the strongest belonging to the *English* islands. A line of battery, of sixty pieces of cannon, and a garrison of regulars, maintained by the crown. The harbour itself is about three leagues deep. The chief town upon this harbour now, is *Kingston*, after which it is sometimes called. Into the bay, which forms the harbour, runs the river upon which *Spanish-Town* stands. We have already mentioned the destruction of *Port-Royal* by an earthquake, at which time, it is said to have contained 2000 handsome houses, the rents of which went as high as those of *London*. The secretary of *Jamaica*, or his deputy, keeps his office in the fort, and every person leaving the island, is obliged to set up his name, and to signify such intention twenty-one days beforehand: the receiver-general and the naval-officer, who receive the reports of all trading vessels, likewise reside here. But excepting the harbour, there could be no temptation for the inhabitants to live at *Port-Royal*, there being no wood, fresh water, stones, nor grass near, and the town itself standing on a hot, dry sand. Notwithstanding those inconveniencies, and the prohibition of the assembly, that *Port-Royal* never should be rebuilt, the harbour was so tempting, that great numbers of people resorted to their former situation; but no building is suffered within thirty feet of high-water-mark. Few towns have been more unfortunate than this; for, besides the calamities which we have already mentioned, it received prodigious damage *October* 20th, 1744, by a storm, which stranded, wrecked, and foundered, eight of his majesty's ships, and ninety-six merchant-ships, in the harbour; and the town itself must have been overflowed, had it not been for the wall. These hurricanes are observed generally to happen about a day or two before the full, or new, moon, next the autumnal equinox, and are preceded by an uncommon smell of the sea.

Kingston.

THE town of *Kingston*, which was built on the opposite side of the harbour, to supply the loss of *Port-Royal*, from which it is distant five miles by water, and fifteen by land, is now a parish by itself. It stands commodiously for fresh water, and all other conveniences of life; and the plan of it was laid by colonel *Christian Lilly*, who was the chief engineer of the island at the time of *Lillinston's* expedition. The streets are wide, and regular, and cross each other in right angles, at equal distances. The town contains about 1200 houses, many of them handsomely built, with porticos, but low, on account of the hurricanes and earthquakes, to which the island is subject, the whole being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. In the bay there are seldom fewer than two or three hundred vessels; and it is thought, that in a short time, it will be equal in populousness and riches, to what *Port-Royal* formerly was; though the peninsula that covers the ships in the harbour from the sea, is too low and narrow to secure them entirely from storms. *Port-Royal* can muster about 1100 men, ten companies of foot, and two troops of horse. It sends three members to the assembly, and contains one church, two Jewish synagogues, and a quakers-meeting. During admiral *Knowles's* government, the harbour of *Port-Royal* received such additional fortifications, as render it now very strong.

Spanish.
Town.

SAINTE JAGO DE LA VEGA, or *Spanish Town*, stands on the river *Cobre*, in a fine pleasant valley, and in 1708 it was thought to have been as populous as it was in its most flourishing condition under the *Spaniards*, though it had then only one church and a chapel, instead of sixteen churches and chapels, which it contained before the time of its conquest by the *English*. Though it is a place of no trade, it is the resort of all the chief merchants who have acquired estates sufficient to enable them to live a pleasurable life; and the number of coaches and chariots belonging to it, are equal to those of many reputable cities in *Europe*, which it seems to rival, in the polite diversions of balls, plays, and assemblies. Before the governor's house, some part of which was rebuilt by the duke of *Portland*, and consisted of two stories, (an unusual thing in this island,) is an exchange, to which merchants, factors, civil and military officers, and gentlemen of fortune, repair to do business. The houses, though but one story high, consist of several commodious apartments, all of them well furnished and finished with mahogany. The jails are comfortable and convenient for the prisoners; and a savannah lies before the town, in which the chief inhabitants take the pleasure of airing, and here the parties for gaming, dancing, and other diversions, formerly too frequent in this island, were generally formed. A patrol attends every night for the safety of the inhabitants, and consists of four horse and seven foot soldiers. *Spanish Town* sends three representatives to the assembly.

St Catharine's
and other pa-
rishes.

SAINTE CATHARINE's parish contains *Passage-Fort*, which is mounted with ten or twelve guns, and is so called, because it is the greatest thorough fare in the island. A great number

- a number of strangers live here, but most of the houses belong to publicans, The other parts of the topography of *Jamaica* are comprised in the number of parishes it contains, which are, by the latest accounts as follow. 1. *Kingston*; 2. *Port-Royal*; 3. *St. Catharine's*; 4. *St. Dorothy's*; 5. *Clarendon*; 6. *Vere's*; 7. *St. Elizabeth*; 8. *Hanover*; 9. *Westmoreland*; 10. *St. George's*; 11. *St. James's*; 12. *St. Anne's*; 13. *St. Mary's*; 14. *Portland*; 15. *St. Thomas* in the East; 16. *St. David's*; 17. *St. Andrew's*; 18. *St. John's*; 19. *St. Thomas's* in the Vale. In a supplement to the account of this island in the *System of Geography*, it is said, that the following parishes, viz. *St. Catharine's*, *Port-Royal*, *Kingston*, *St. Dorothy's*, *Clarendon*, *Vere*, *St. Elizabeth's*, *Westmoreland*, *St. Anne's*, *St. Thomas* in the East, *St. Andrew's*, *St. John's*, and *St. Thomas* in the Vale, have each 2 parochial church; b *St. Catharine's*, *Clarendon*, and *St. Anne's* parishes, have also each a chapel of ease; but the parishes of *Hanover*, *St. George*, *St. James*, *St. Mary's*, and *Portland*, have neither church nor chapel.

POINT NEGRIL, in *St. Elizabeth's* parish, is the land's-end of *Jamaica*, and has a good, safe, harbour, where our ships may lie very conveniently during a war with *Spain*, for intercepting the fleets to and from the *Havannah*. *St. John's* parish is one of the most pleasurable, in all respects, in the whole island; and *Port Antonio*, in *St. Thomas's* parish, were it not for the difficulty of entering it, would be the best harbour in *Jamaica*. It is defended by a regular fort, with a small garrison. In the neighbourhood of *St. Thomas's*, lies *Titchfield*, which has the appearance of becoming a thriving place. In *St. David's* parish, on the south-east part of the island, lies the bay of *Port Morant*, where is likewise a fort in time of war, together with excellent plantations of sugar and cotton, and a salt-work.

C U B A.

- WE have had so many opportunities in the course of this work, to mention this island, and its history, that we shall be as concise as possible in our account of it, that we may avoid repetitions. *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, as well as *Jamaica*, form the great *Antilles Islands*. *Cuba*, which begins on the east-side, at latitude 20 deg. 20 min. touches on the north at the tropic of Cancer, and extends from longitude 74 to 85 deg. 15 min. about 11 degrees from east to west, or six hundred and sixty miles from *Cape St. Antonio*, on the west, to *Cape Maize*, on the east; but is very narrow in proportion, being in some parts not above twelve or fourteen leagues in breadth, and at most but one hundred and twenty miles in length. It lies 60 miles to the west of *Hispaniola*, 25 leagues to the north of *Jamaica*, 100 miles to the east of *Yucatan*, and as many to the south of *Cape Florida*, and commands the entrance of both the gulph of *Mexico* and *Florida*, and the *Windward Passage*. By this situation of *Cuba*, it may be justly called the key of the *West-Indies*. The discovery of *Cuba* by *Columbus* has been more than once mentioned. When he landed on this island, he gave it the name of *Ferdinando*², in honour of king *Ferdinand* his master; but it soon recovered its ancient name of *Cuba*. The natives, at the time of his landing, did not regard him with a very favourable eye, and the weather proving tempestuous, he soon left that island, and sailed to *Hayta*, now called *Hispaniola*, where he was better received. The relation of the cruelties which were committed by the *Spaniards*, before they became absolute possessors of this island, would stain the page of history. By their own accounts, some millions of the inhabitants were cut off; and though this island was discovered in the year 1492, it was not completely conquered till the year 1511. The reader may form some idea of the monstrous cruelties of the *Spaniards*, from what we are told by the bishop of *Chiapa*, who relates, that when an *Indian* casique or priest, was to be put to death, he chose to go to hell rather than heaven, where, he was told, the *Spaniards* went to. f

WE are to presume, that the innocent, yet free, inhabitants of *Cuba*, made a brave resistance; for, in the year 1507, the *Spaniards* were uncertain whether *Cuba* was an island or not; and therefore, *Obando*, the governor of *Hispaniola*, sent *Sebastian de Ocampo* to discover it. Sailing along the north-side of *Cuba*, he touched at several places and careened his ships at the now well-known port of the *Havannah*, which he therefore called *de Carenos*. He then sailed to the westernmost part of the island, and arrived at *Cabo de St. Anton*. Then turning to the eastward, along the south-east coast of that island, he arrived at the gulph of *Xagua*, where he found a very fine port. Here the natives received him with abundance of hospitality, and finding he was not to continue long among them, they supplied him with excellent fish and partridges; and, in a few days, he returned to *Hispaniola*, with the certainty of *Cuba* being an island¹. We may presume, from this time, that the *Spaniards* being fully apprized of the excellent situation of *Cuba*, were daily afflicting it with the slaughter of

Situation and discovery of Cuba.

Barbarity of the Spaniards.

¹ Vol. II. p. 713.

² BENZONI, apud DE BRY, p. 30.

³ HERRERA, decad. 1. book 4.

its inhabitants, till it was so thinned, that in the abovementioned year 1711, the admiral *a* *James Columbus* ventured to send *James Velasquez*, with about 300 men, from *Hispaniola*, to plant *Cuba*. Several rebellions (as the *Spaniards* termed them) of the *Indians* followed, which were still attended with horrible massacres of the natives. In the year 1517, *Hernandez de Cordova*, by order of *Velasquez*, governor of *Hispaniola*, sailed from the *Havannah* with two ships and a brigantine, to make discoveries to the westward; but *Hernandez* lost most of his men in this voyage, and he himself died of his wounds when he returned to *Cuba*. The report of his discoveries, however, encouraged *James Velasquez*, who was now governor of *Cuba*, as well as *Hispaniola*, to fit out three ships and a brigantine, with 250 men, the command of whom he gave to *John de Grijalva*, who, on the 8th of *April*, 1518, sailed from *Cuba*, and was fortunate enough to make some very important discoveries upon the coast of *New Spain*, almost as far as *Florida*, and then he returned to *Cuba*. *b* As *Grijalva* had discovered that the coasts of *New Spain* afforded abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immensely rich, and governed by *Montezuma*, his avarice and ambition led him to form a scheme for subduing that great monarchy; and he communicated the same to the famous *Ferdinando Cortez*, whose history is so well known.

*Expedition of
Cortez.*

In 1519, *Cortez* sailed with eleven ships, all fitted out at the expence of *Velasquez*, from *St. Jago de Cuba*; and, after taking in some reinforcements at the *Havannah*, he proceeded to the place of his destination. *Velasquez* was equally inconstant as he was ambitious. He dreaded the great popularity of *Cortez*, his enterprising spirit, and heroic disposition, which he imagined must be attended with a proportionable share of ambition; and therefore sent *c* after him an order to resign his command. *Cortez* consulted his soldiers, who had built all the hopes of their future fortunes on the success of their enterprize, and the vast opinion they had of their commander's abilities; who determined to obey him, without paying any regard to the orders of *Velasquez*. The event of the *Mexican* expedition does not fall into this part of our history. *Velasquez*, finding he had been outwitted by *Cortez*, fitted out eighteen ships, on board of which he put 800 foot, and 200 horse, a number double to that which *Cortez* commanded, and gave the command of it to *Narvaez*, who had orders to strip *Cortez* of his command, and to send him to *Cuba* in irons as a rebel. *Cortez*, on receiving this intelligence, ordered *Sandoval*, his governor of *Vera Cruz*, to join him with his small garrison; and, under the mask of treating with *Narvaez*, who was then at *Vera* *d* *Cruz*, he advanced against him with such secrecy and rapidity, that he routed his army, took his artillery, and made himself prisoner, while most of his men declared for *Cortez*. *Velasquez*, who remained still at *Cuba*, was ignorant of this revolution, and sent out another ship to reinforce *Narvaez*; but the crew of this ship likewise joined *Cortez*, who, about this time, narrowly escaped being cut off by a conspiracy, he being looked upon by the party of *Velasquez*, as no better than a successful rebel. *Narvaez* was at last obliged to resign his command; but we know of no benefit the governor of *Cuba* ever received from the expedition.

*Miseries of
the Cubanese.*

In 1527, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* arrived from *New Spain* at *Cuba*, with five ships and 700 *e* men. He wintered there, and in the spring he undertook the expedition against *Florida*, we have already mentioned. All this while, the court of *Spain* was so sensible of the importance of *Cuba*, that orders were sent not only to fortify it, but to exterminate the few remains of its original natives, which was accordingly executed with barbarous punctuality; so that the history of *Cuba*, at this time, is no other than a relation of the most horrible massacres, which were industriously concealed by the *Spaniards*. But the possession of *Cuba* was far from answering the sanguine hopes of the *Spanish* adventurers, whose chief aim was gold. Those monsters, finding gold upon the island, concluded, that it must come from mines, and tortured vast numbers of the inhabitants, but without any effect, to make them discover where those mines lay. In short, the miseries the natives suffered were such, that they resolved almost unanimously to put an end to their own lives, but were prevented by *f* one of the *Spanish* tyrants, called *Vasco Porcallos*, who threatened to hang himself along with them, that he might have the pleasure of tormenting them in the next world, worse than in this; and his threatening is said to have diverted the natives from their resolution; so that they returned quietly to their slavery. By the best accounts, no fewer than six hundred thousand of the natives were put to death in the year of *Velasquez's* arrival. While he remained governor of *Cuba*, he built the city and port of the *Havannah*, by the assistance of *Bartolomew de las Casas*, afterwards bishop of *Chiapa*, and the author of the history of the *Spanish* cruelties in the *West-Indies*, of which he was an eye-witness. But the houses, at first, were of no better materials than wood, and the town itself was so inconsiderable in 1536, that the crew of a *French* pirate- *g* ship took it, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 700 ducats to save it from being burnt.

- a The very day after the pirates departure from *Cuba*, three *Spanish* ships from *Mexico* arrived at the *Havannah*, and having unloaded their cargoes, they sailed in pursuit of the pirate-ship; but such was the cowardice of the *Spanish* officers, that the pirate took all their three ships; and returning to the *Havannah*, obliged the inhabitants to pay them 700 ducats more.

- THE inhabitants of the *Havannah*, to prevent the like accidents in time to come, then built their houses of stone, and ran up a fort at the mouth of their harbour. But as the town was still open on the land-side, the *English* cruizers paid the inhabitants several unwelcome visits, and more than once drove the *Spanish* inhabitants into the woods, while they plundered the place. In the reign of *Henry II.* of *France*, while he was at war with *Spain*, a *Dutch* ship, with no more than ninety men, plundered *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba*, and afterwards attacked the *Havannah*; but the *Spaniards* had been so often used to those visits, that they retired to the woods, so that the *French* found no inhabitants in the place. After remaining there for some time, searching for plunder in vain, two *Spaniards* came to them, seemingly to treat about ransoming the town, but in reality to observe their numbers. The *French* demanded 6000 ducats for ransom money, which was more, according to the two deputies, than the inhabitants could raise; and took their leave. Upon their return to their countrymen, the majority came to a resolution to surprize the *French* sword in hand, which 150 of them accordingly did, in the night time, by stealth. The *French*, after losing four of their number, stood to their arms, and soon put to flight the *Spaniards*.
- c After this, they dedaubed the windows and doors of the houses with combustibles, of which they found great plenty on the island, and set fire to the town, even pulling down the walls and the fort, which the flames did not consume. It is said, that when the *Spaniards* desired the invaders to spare the churches, the *French* answered them, that a people who had no honesty had no occasion for churches, and they were consumed with the rest of the town. The taking of the *Havannah* by the *English* buccaneers in 1669, under *Morgan*, has been already mentioned, as have several other attempts made during the courses of the wars in which *Spain* was involved with the *English*, or other *European* powers.

- It is certain that the importance of the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards* was never thoroughly understood, till after the succession of the house of *Bourbon* to the throne of *Spain*, and then nothing was wanting that could contribute to render it impregnable. But, perhaps, the chief strength of the *Havannah* lay in the jealousy which all the powers in *Europe* entertained of each other, on account of the importance of the conquest, which must have rendered the masters of the *Havannah*, masters, at the same time, of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*. This would have been an accession too considerable either for the *French* or the *English*; but when the latter were at war with both the *French* and *Spaniards*, that consideration vanished. Under king *William*, even before the *Havannah* was fortified, as it has been since, no attempt was made against it by the *English*, because that prince's politics were diametrically opposite to all attempts for weakening *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, as may be seen in the history of the *Scotch* colony at *Darien*. Under queen *Anne*, the same timid policy was continued; for though we had then war with *France*, yet the pretender to the crown of *Spain*, afterwards the emperor *Charles VI.* was our ally, and the dismemberment of *Cuba* from the *Spanish* monarchy was too bold a stroke to risk, as he was possessed of no means to indemnify the expence that must have attended such an attempt, and the loss of the *Havannah* was considered as being the same with that of the *Spanish* empire in *America*. Some projects, however, were formed for the reduction of this important place, but none of them was carried into execution, though it was well known that the *French* king derived from the *Spanish America* all the treasure by which he was enabled to carry on his wars, during the last ten or twelve years of his life. We have, in our history of *Jamaica*, given an account of the various expeditions against *Cuba* by the *English* arms, during the reign of *George II.* nor shall we resume it here, farther than to observe; that the whole plan of that war against *Spain* was defective; because, our strength was not immediately aimed against the *Havannah*, the taking of which must either have shortened the war, or have put *Great Britain* in possession of the *Spanish* treasures, as all other places of consequence must have fallen of course.

- WHEN the vast successes of *Great Britain* united the three branches of the house of *Bourbon*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*, in what was called the Family Compact, the mistakes of the former plans of war against *Spain* were observed, and it was resolved to begin the operations by the attack of the *Havannah*. This plan was of itself so momentous, and depended so entirely upon military knowledge, that his majesty referred, in a great measure, the execution of it to his uncle the duke of *Cumberland*, whose long experience in the army rendered him, undoubtedly, the best judge of the abilities of the officers who were to be employed in the execution of it. The chief command was given to the earl of *Albemarle*,

the disciple of his royal highness in the art of war; and some of his brothers had very considerable commands, both by land and sea, in the same expedition. Admiral *Pocock*, who had acquitted himself so much to the honour and interest of his country in the *East-Indies*, had the command of the fleet, and Sir *James Douglas* was ordered to reinforce him with his squadron from *Martinico*. The main fleet sailed on the 5th of *March*, the very day on which the *Grenada* islands surrendered to the *English*, from *Portsmouth*, and the junction between the admiral and Sir *James Douglas* was happily effected on the 27th of *May*, at *Cape Nicola*, off the north-west point of *Hispaniola*; the whole armament consisting then of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports, with 10,000 regular troops on board, which were to be joined about the time the operations were to commence by 4000 troops more, who were ordered from *North America*.

AFTER this junction, time was so precious, that instead of keeping to the south of *Cuba*, and falling in the tract of the galleons, which was by far the safest navigation, the admiral resolved to run along the northern shore of the island, through the old straits of *Bahama*, which form a narrow passage, bounded on the right and left by dangerous sands and shoals, and about 900 miles in length. This navigation had been always esteemed too hazardous even for single ships, excepting those who were daily conversant in those seas, to undertake it. But the approach of the hurricane season rendered it, in some measure, necessary for the fleet; and the admiral having procured from lord *Anson* an excellent chart of those straits, he made the most proper dispositions that the wisdom and skill of man could concert to render the passage safe. A vessel was sent before to reconnoitre the channel, and to take the lead, while small sloops were posted on each side to give notice of the shallows by signals; and then the grand fleet moved in seven divisions, with a course so fortunate and judicious, that though they entered the straits so late as the 27th of *May*, they got clear of all danger by the 5th of *June*, and next day the fleet came in sight of two small forts to the eastward of the *Havannah*, situated upon two rivers, at the distance of three miles from one another.

Siege and

FOURTEEN *Spanish* men of war, besides smaller ships, were then lying in the basin of the harbour, which had been sent from *Old Spain* for the protection of the place, as soon as a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, appeared probable; but the *Spanish* commanders, trusting to the tediousness of the navigation, and their own intelligence, if the *English* had sailed by the common tract, were, at this time, unprovided for a defence; while the admiral, with twelve sail of the line, some frigates, and all the store-ships, bore away for the mouth of the harbour to block them up, and to make a diversion on the one side, while the landing was effected on the other. The *Spaniards*, by this time, could be at no loss to know the intention of the *British* armament, and their fleet was but little inferior to that under Sir *George Pocock*; yet they made no efforts to fight him, though an engagement, even supposing them to be worsted, might have disabled the *British* fleet from undertaking the siege. Commodore *Keppel*, brother to the earl of *Albemarle*, with seven sail of the line, and some frigates, covered the landing, which was effected between the two forts *Barcarans* and *Coxemar*, the first of which was taken possession of by the *Mercury* man of war, and the other by the *Dragon*; their garrison, which consisted of armed peasants and negroes, flying to the woods. In the mean while, the earl of *Albemarle*, favoured by the fire of the *Dragon*, passed the *Coxemar-River* on the 7th, and the army lay under arms along the shore, with the piquets advanced into the woods; but before the operations of this siege can be fully understood, it is necessary to give the reader some idea of the strength of the place and harbour.

Description of
the Havanna-
nah.

THE city of *Havannah* stands on the west side of the harbour, in a beautiful and pleasant vale, with the sea on its front, but backwards surrounded by the river *Lagida*. The harbour itself is by many accounted to be the best in the world, not only on account of its strength, but because it is capable of containing commodiously 1000 ships, without either cable or anchor, there being generally six fathom water in the bay. The entrance into the harbour is by a narrow channel, very difficult of access, and fortified strongly with platforms, works, and artillery, for half a mile, which is the length of the passage. The mouth of this channel is secured by two strong castles, one on the east-side is called the *Moro-fort*, which is built in the form of a triangle, fortified with bastions, and, at the time it surrendered to the *English*, it is said to have mounted forty pieces of cannon almost level with the water, and each carrying a thirty-six pound ball, besides other artillery. On the opposite side of the channel, lies another strong fort, called the *Puntal*, joining to the town, which is situated to the westward of the entrance of the harbour, and is surrounded by ramparts, bastions, and ditches. Besides these fortifications, there are many other forts and platforms, all of them furnished with cannon, even to profusion; and upon the whole, it may be said with great truth, that the *Spanish* treasures and engineers had been employed

a For sixty years before in rendering the *Havannah* impregnable. The reader, perhaps, needs not to be informed, that in the harbour of the *Havannah*, the *Spanish* galleons and flota, containing all their *American* treasures, assemble, and sail from thence to *Europe*, and that the *Havannah* itself, is, consequently, the most populous and richest town that the *Spaniards* have upon their *West-Indian* islands, and it had been always the chief care of the court of *Spain* to provide it with a strong garrison, commanded by the ablest officers they had in their service.

Continuation
of the page.

On the 8th of *June*, lord *Albemarle* marched to *Guanamacoa*, about six miles from the landing-place, and saw the enemy, to the number of 6000, drawn up very advantageously, as if they intended to dispute his passage to that village; but they were soon dispersed; and next day his lordship formed the army into two bodies, the one was commanded by general *Eliot*, and lay towards the south-east of the harbour, extending considerably into the country, not only to cover the siege, but to secure the foraging parties who were sent out for provisions. The other division encamped in the woods, between *Coxen-River*, and the *Moro-Castle*, which was to be the grand object of the *British* operations under general *Keppel*, another of his lordship's brothers; while colonel *New* was posted with a detachment, so as to cut off the communication between the town and the country. In the mean while, the *Spaniards* were unrigging their ships in the harbour; at the mouth of which they sunk three vessels, and drew a strong boom across it. A post upon the *Moro* hill, called the *Cavanos*, was attacked and taken by the assistance of the shipping, (which gave a diversion) by colonel *Carleton* with very little loss. A post being established here, his lordship gave orders for again reconnoitring the *Moro Fort*, which was the more difficult, on account of the bushes and wood that surrounded it. Enough, however, was discovered to make it advisable to erect a battery against it as near as the cover of the woods would admit. This proved a work of infinite labour, and the hardships which the *British* troops had to surmount are almost incredible. Earth was so thin on the surface of the ground, that it was with difficulty they could cover their approaches, while, in that dry parched season and country, they were obliged to bring their water a great way, and at last to be supplied by the ships. The artillery and stores were all this while landing, but the labour of bringing them up to the works was inexpressible. The cannon and carriages were to be dragged up, for a vast way, from a rough rocky shore, and many of the men in this painful operation, and in cutting out communications through thick woods, dropped down dead with heat, fatigue, and thirst.

It would be equally uninformative, and unentertaining, to lead the reader through all the particulars of this laborious siege. The loss of men, though beyond what could have been expected, as the season that year was uncommonly favourable, seemed only to give the greater spirit to the survivors, so that the batteries by the 29th of *June* were ready to be opened, and were so disposed, all along the hill, as to play upon the enemy's ships, to oblige them to retire so far up the harbour, as not to be capable of interrupting the operations of the siege. Those were works of incredible labour, but cheerfully submitted to both by the soldiers and sailors, who imagined that the spoils of the place would reward all their fatigues. On the 29th, the enemy in the fort, who kept up a communication with the town, landed two detachments of 500 men each, of grenadiers, and chosen men, and a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes for each corps, to attack the works of the *English* on the right and left, but they were defeated with the loss of above 200 men, and a great number wounded, who escaped to the woods. All this while, the fire continued with equal fury on both sides; but 500 blacks, who had been purchased by the earl of *Albemarle* at *Martinico* and *Antigua*, were extremely serviceable to the soldiers, in assisting them to bring up ammunition and necessaries to two new batteries, which were opened upon the first of *July*. To give the greater effect to those batteries, the admiral, in concert with the general, ordered the *Dragon*, *Marlborough*, and *Cambridge*, to lay their broadsides against the north-east part of the *Moro*, under the direction of captain *Harvey*, who made excellent dispositions for the attack. A most dreadful cannonading ensued for seven hours, and the fire was kept up with equal steadiness on both parts; but the situation and strength of the castle gave it vast advantages over the ships. The *Cambridge* of 80 guns, and the *Dragon* of 74, were terribly shattered; and some failure having happened in the conduct of the *Stirling-Castle*, which was to have led in the ships, and then to have made sail off, the attack on that side was discontinued. The *Cambridge* was first ordered off, and afterwards the other two; captain *Goofrey* of the *Cambridge* being killed, with a great number of men, and the ships themselves disabled from continuing the attack, without apparent danger of being sunk. It was, however, on all hands agreed, that never was a desperate service performed with more courage and coolness than both officers and men discovered, and though it was unsuccessful on the side they attacked, yet, by diverting the enemy's fire from the

Attack of the
ships upon the
Moro-Castle

land

land side, the batteries from the army obtained a vast superiority, and displaced many of the enemy's guns, which, on the 2d of *July*, were reduced to two, and those fired but seldom. It was now thought that a speedy period would be put to the immense labours of the besiegers; but an unforeseen accident soon defeated that prospect. The enemy found means to replace their fire, which obliged the *English* to continue theirs in so furious a manner, that their grand battery on the 3d of *July* unfortunately took fire; the timber and fascines, of which it was constructed, having been reduced almost to tinder, by no rain falling in that dry climate for fourteen days. At first, the besiegers thought they had mastered the fire, but it broke out again so furiously, that all endeavours to stop it proved ineffectual; the battery was almost consumed, and in it the labour of 600 men for seventeen days; so that the besiegers, at the very time when they expected to be at the end of their fatigue, perceived they were to begin it anew, without having in it even a reasonable prospect of success.

THE hardships of the siege, the increase of the sickness, the badness of provisions, and the scarcity of water, with the heat of the climate, had killed, or rendered useless, two thirds of the army, and the seamen were in very little better condition; while the growing distempers of the season, and the exposed situation of the ships, threatened destruction both to the fleet and the army. Notwithstanding all those discouraging circumstances, under which any but *British* troops and sailors would have thought it worse than madness to have persevered, the officers, and common men applied themselves with as much spirit and assiduity as they had shewn at the beginning of the siege, while the fire of the enemy increased, especially from the *Puntal Castle*, and the batteries on that side. After inexpressible toils, the works of the besiegers again took fire, and now they had nothing to trust to but the arrival of their reinforcements from *North-America*; because, whatever losses the *Spaniards* sustained in the day-time, they were replaced in the night, by the communication which was still kept up between the castle and the town. Even this did not damp the ardour of the besiegers, who proceeded with as much perseverance as if success had been within their reach, and though they were obliged to work all above ground, under the covering of gabions, junk, blinds, or mantelets, and bales of cotton, which served as woolpacks, they replaced all their batteries, and renewed their fire so furiously, that by the 19th of *July* they were in possession of a covered way, and made a lodgment, and continued their operations so successfully, that two days after, had not the enemy been alarmed, the place must have been taken by surprise; and the arrival of the *Jamaica* fleet, which furnished them with several useful necessaries for the siege, inspired the troops with fresh hopes. On the 22d, a vigorous sally of 1500 men, divided into three parties, was made from the town, to interrupt the operations against the castle; but they were repulsed with the loss of 400 men, while that of the besiegers did not amount to more than fifty men. This loss was far from damping the *Spaniards*, who defended themselves so well, that the success of the siege began to be again doubtful; when on the 27th of *July*, brigadier *Burton* arrived with the first division of the troops from *North America*.

Moro-Castle
taken.

By this time, the miners of the besiegers had conquered what appeared an almost insuperable difficulty, by passing a small ridge of rock, which, towards the sea, covered a prodigious ditch, most of it cut in the rock, and about seventy feet deep, and forty wide; so that it would have been impracticable to have passed it, had not the ridge, abovementioned, led the miners to the foot of the wall. After this, and the repulse of the sally, the *Spaniards* made no efforts from the town to save the castle, which, however, still held out. On the 30th, the enemy sent two boats and a floating battery out of the harbour to fire grape shot and small-arms into the ditch, where the miners were at work; but the party which covered the latter plied the *Spaniards* so briskly, that they were obliged to retire. This was the enemy's last effort for saving the castle, for by two in the afternoon that same day, a mine was sprung, which threw a part of the wall into the ditch, and left a breach, which, though small, the general and chief officers judged to be practicable, and the troops were ordered to storm it. The garrison of the *Spaniards*, within the castle, was still considerable, and the brave defence they had made left the besiegers no room to doubt of the resolution and courage of their commanders. But danger itself seemed trivial to our troops, when it was to finish the dreadful toils they had undergone. The soldiers prepared themselves for the storm, under major-general *Keppel*, with the greatest alacrity, mounting the breach, and entering the fort with such amazing intrepidity and order, that the *Spaniards*, who had been regularly drawn up to resist them, lost all the spirit they had before exerted. Four hundred of them were cut in pieces, or perished in the water; four hundred threw down their arms and received quarter. The marquis *de Gonzales*, who was second in command, was killed, in endeavouring to stop the shameful flight of his men; and don *Lewis de Velasco*, the governor, with about 100 of the garrison, bravely defended his colours, till he

was

a was killed, to the extreme regret of his generous conquerors, who even mourned over his body. The dastardly behaviour of the *Spaniards*, when the place was stormed, evinced that the obstinate defence it had made, was owing to those two gallant noblemen. This glorious conquest happened on the 30th of July.

b THE *Spaniards* in the town and the *Puntal-Castle*, perceiving the *Moro Castle* to be in possession of the *English* forces, after a siege of forty-four days, directed all their fire against their new acquisition, while the *English* were busied in erecting batteries upon the *Cavannos*, and dislodging a seventy-four gun ship, which had been sent down to fire upon the *Moro* likewise. The arrival of the rest of the provincial troops did great service, by diminishing some part of the infinite fatigues the others had undergone; but the materials for the works, batteries, and platforms, became now to be so scarce, that the admiral was obliged to supply them from the fleet. The besiegers still were greatly retarded for want of tools. Even this inconveniency was at last conquered, though the sickness then raged like a pestilence; and by the 10th of *August*, the *English* batteries, erected along the *Cavannos*, and to the westward of the town, were ready to play upon it with about sixty pieces of cannon. To prevent any unnecessary carnage or destruction, lord *Albemarle* sent a flag of truce by his aid de camp, to summon the governor to surrender, and to lay before him the unavoidable ruin that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor detained the messenger for some hours, but without suffering him to approach his works, and declared his resolution to defend his trust to the last extremity. Next morning, lord *Albemarle*, to convince the *Spaniards* that it was in his power to perform all he had threatened, battered both the *Puntal* and the town, from forty-three pieces of cannon and eight mortars, with such execution, that flags of truce appeared in all quarters of the *Havannah*, and a messenger was sent to the *British* camp to settle the capitulation. Some difficulties occurred in this, which made the troops apprehensive that hostilities would be renewed. The *Spaniards* struggled hard to preserve their men of war in the harbour, but were made to understand, that unless they were immediately given up, there was an end of capitulating. They likewise endeavoured to procure a neutrality for the fort, but this condition being likewise rejected, the capitulation was signed; and, on the 14th of *August*, general *Keppel* took possession of the *Puntal-Fort* gate and bastion, while brigadier *Howe*, much about the same time, took possession of the land-gate with two battalions of grenadiers, and the *British* colours were hoisted at both places; and thus a prophecy, which had been long current with the *Spaniards* of those parts, was fulfilled, viz. that the *English* should one day, as masters, walk through the streets of the *Havannah*.

Siege and capitulation of the town,

c By this capitulation, the officers of the garrison, with their effects, equipages, and money, were to be put on board his *Britannic* majesty's ships, which were to transport the garrison to the nearest port of *Old Spain*, and the same liberty was to be granted to the marines and ships crews in the harbour; but the ships themselves, with the money and effects belonging to his Catholic majesty, were to be delivered up to the admiral and the general, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and naval stores, without reserve. The late viceroy of *Peru*, and the late governor of *Carthagena*, who happened to be then at the *Havannah*, were to be conveyed to *Old Spain*, with all their effects, money, and attendants. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was secured. The inhabitants were to be allowed to continue in their offices of property, as long as they behaved well; they were likewise at liberty to dispose of, or remove, their effects to any part of his Catholic majesty's dominions in ships, at their own expence. All the *Spaniards*, who served in the militia, were to be safe in their rights, properties, and privileges; but all public papers were to be inspected by the secretaries of the admiral and the general, and returned, if not found necessary for the government of the island. The sick in the hospitals were to be taken care of at the expence of his Catholic majesty. Safeguards were given for the security of the churches, convents, and other places.

Articles of the capitulation.

d THE reader may perceive, from the nature of the capitulation, (which must be acknowledged to have been favourable to the *Spaniards*) that the *British* commanders were too sensible of the value of their conquest for the nation, to risk it by any unseasonable disputes, that might have rendered the enemy desperate. It was owing to this judicious consideration that the prize and plunder-money of this important place was far from answering the expectations of the captors, or, perhaps, of the public. The terms of the capitulation, undoubtedly gave the *Spaniards* (besides securing their own effects) great opportunities of secreting those of their king; and yet, after all the plunder and prize-money of the place, which fell into the hands of our troops and sailors, without violating the terms of the capitulation, amounted to an immense value, though, perhaps, those who rated it at three millions sterling, have exceeded the truth. They had sunk three of their largest ships, as we have already mentioned, in the mouth of the harbour; but nine of the finest ships in the world, with four frigates, fell into the hands of the *English*, who destroyed

Reflections on the taking and restitution

ed two more that were in forwardness on the stocks. Upon the whole, we may venture to say, that the reduction of the *Havannah*, which was attended by the cession of a district of 180 miles westward, was if not the most important, the most difficult conquest, that ever was made by the *British* arms. But though the conquerors had lost but few men by the enemy, the acquisition cost them dear, on account of the disability they were under to improve its consequences. The *British* troops, who survived the capitulation, were scarcely sufficient for keeping possession of the place; nor had their ships of war a number of hands sufficient to carry the fleet to *Europe*. Thus, without a reinforcement, there was an end of all hopes of improving this conquest, on the side of *America*; while intermediate events in *Europe* rendered it absolutely necessary to restore it.

of the Havan-
nah.

THE Family Compact, which we have already-mentioned, produced joint efforts of the *French* and *Spanish* arms against *Portugal*, the capital ally of *Great Britain* in *Europe*. The re-union of that crown with that of *Spain* could not have been compensated to this nation, by keeping possession of the *Havannah*, and the waste of men, which the war, though successful through all parts of the globe, had occasioned, rendered it impossible for us to carry our arms into the dominions of *Spain* in *America*. It is true, the valour of the *British* troops saved *Portugal* from being reduced in one campaign; but this was done at a vast expence, which his Most Faithful majesty was in no condition to reimburse. Besides those events, many others, foreign to this part of our history, contributed towards making peace desirable, which could not be obtained, without the restitution of the *Havannah*, as the *French* and *Spaniards*, and indeed, all the rest of *Europe*, looked upon the *English* possession of it as a locking-up the resource of all their treasures, which one day or other they might finally lose. So many important considerations, but above all, the vast depopulation of *British* subjects, by the war, at last determined our ministry to give ear to a treaty, in which the restoration of the *Havannah* to the crown of *Spain* was to be an article. The evacuating *Portugal* was not thought to be a sufficient equivalent for this mighty concession. His Catholic majesty gave up to the *British* subjects the long disputed right of their cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood in the bay of *Honduras*, and relinquished the claim which his subjects had to the *Newfoundland* fishery. He likewise ceded and guaranteed, in full right, to his *Britannic* majesty, *Florida*, with *Fort St. Augustine*, and the bay of *Pensacola*, as well as all that *Spain* possesses on the continent of *North America*, to the east, or to the south-east, of the river *Mississippi*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king, and the crown of *Spain*, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the most ample manner and form. Such were the indemnifications granted in *America*, besides the evacuation of *Portugal* by the *Spanish* and *French* troops, in consideration of the restitution of the *Havannah*, by the 19th article of the definitive treaty, which was as follows.

Article con-
cerning the re-
stitution of the
Havannah;

“THE king of *Great Britain* shall restore to *Spain* all the territory which he has conquered in the island of *Cuba*, with the fortress of the *Havannah*; and this fortress, as well as the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his *Britannic* majesty's arms; provided, that his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to *Spain* by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said island, restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. But, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his *Britannic* majesty and his Catholic majesty, that the number of *English* vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island, restored to *Spain*, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the *English*, being to be embarked at the same time; it has been further agreed, that his Catholic majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels: that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two *Spanish* clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said island, restored to *Spain*, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.”

a THE evacuation of the island was most punctually performed on the part of *England*; but the *British* merchants complained of some delays that were thrown in their way by the *Spaniards*, of which they were promised a ready redress, though the public is not yet informed as to the event. As to the town of the *Havannah* itself, distinct from the fortifications, it is about two miles in circuit, and contains about 26,000 souls, besides the garrison. Though *St. Jago* is the capital of the island, yet the *Havannah* is the residence of the bishop, and all the principal inhabitants of *Cuba*. Though its port is very secure within, yet the narrowness of its passage has rendered it so difficult of access, that the galleons have often been insulted and taken within sight of it, without receiving any assistance from the fortifications. In 1629, the *flota* was met with by a *Dutch* privateer, the commander of which was called *Pie de Pelo*, or Wooden Leg, whose crew ran the *Spanish* ships ashore, and made themselves masters of their treasures, which amounted to some millions of pieces of eight. The *Spanish* admiral, whose name was *Guzman de Torres*, then proceeded on his voyage to *Spain*, where he was imprisoned, and lost his head.

which is evacuated by the English.

THOUGH the churches of the *Havannah* are inconceivably magnificent and rich in plate and ornaments, yet the houses are ill-furnished, and the streets narrow, but clean and straight. The jurisdiction of the town extends to half the island, the other half belonging to the capital, *St. Jago*. While the galleons lie here, a fair is held, in which vast sums of money are spent, and every thing is excessively dear; but at all times, the price of every necessary of life at the *Havannah* is extravagant, bread particularly; neither have they any great variety of fresh meat, nor is what they have of the best kinds, excepting their pork. This is not owing to any defect in the soil of the island, but to the indolence of the *Spaniards* in all the arts of cultivation. The inhabitants of the *Havannah* are, in general, far more sociable and conversable, than those of the other *Spanish* dominions in *America*; and tho' the women seldom go abroad without veils, they behave in all other respects like the *French* ladies; and this difference in manners from the other *American Spaniards*, is imputed to the accession of the house of *Bourbon* to the crown of *Spain*; for though the other parts of the *Spanish* dominions in *America* are equally subjected, as *Cuba* is, to his Catholic majesty, they are more remote, and the inhabitants more attached to their ancient *Spanish* customs. At the same time, the *Havannah* was reduced, the *English* possessed themselves of the harbour of *Maribel*, which served as an excellent protection for their transports and some of their men of war, though the *Spaniards* endeavoured to ruin it, by sinking ships in its entrance. As to the *Spanish* commodore, and their other great officers, they were sent by the admiral to *Old Spain* in his majesty's ships the *Sutherland* and *Dover*, which were fitted up as flags of truce for their accommodation.

Description of the island.

THE other towns of this island, the whole of which is but thinly peopled, are *Santa Cruz*, which lies about sixty-three miles east of the *Havannah*, and has a tolerable good harbour at the bottom of *Matanza Bay*. *Porto del Principe* lies on the same coast, but about 300 miles south-east of the *Havannah*, and was formerly an opulent town, till plundered by the *English* buccaneers under *Morgan*. Near this place are bitumen pits, the substance of which is medicinal, and often applied to ships instead of pitch. *Baracoa*, which lies on the north east part of the island, has a convenient harbour for small ships; and *Cumberland Harbours* has been already mentioned. *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba* till the *Havannah* was built and fortified, was the residence of its government. It was founded by *Velasquez*, the first, but inhuman, governor of the island, who rendered it the shambles of the innocent natives; some hundred thousands of whom he sacrificed to his avarice and ambition. It stands at the bottom of a large bay, about two leagues from the sea, on the south-east side of the island; and we have already mentioned the unsuccessful effort made by the *English* under admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth*, to reduce it. It appeared, by accounts received from *Spain*, after this attempt failed, that, had our troops advanced, the place must have fallen into their hands almost without resistance; and no sooner were they re-embarked, than 400 men were employed in repairing its fortifications, so that it is said now to have regained some degree of its former lustre.

PERHAPS, no civilized people in the world, but the *Spaniards*, would suffer so fine an island as *Cuba*, to lie so uncultivated in its interior parts, that its product scarcely supports its inhabitants, which well accounts for its depopulated state. It has been often observed, that the island contains more churches than farms, more priests than planters, and more lazy bigots than useful labourers. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop of *St. Jago* is subject to the archbishop of *St. Domingo*, as the civil government is to the *Spanish* audience of the same island, and yet nature has provided *Cuba* with every thing that can render it rich and powerful. It is, like most islands in the *West-Indies*, subject to storms; but though there is here no winter, the air is rendered cool by rains and breezes. The soil is capable of producing, in the greatest plenty, every thing that we have mentioned to grow in other *American* islands; but the *Cuba*, commonly called the *Havannah*, tobacco, is thought to excel

Climate.

Products.

excel that of all the world. The pine-apples here are excellent, and their sugars would a equal their tobacco in goodness, had they hands to cultivate their canes. Some delicious fruits are found here, that are not to be met with upon other islands. The *Spaniards*, whose industry, in general, seems to be confined to mining, are said to have discovered some copper-mines on the island, which afford them metal sufficient for casting their artillery. It is uncertain, whether *Cuba* contains any mines of gold or silver, the hopes of which occasioned the butchery of all the ancient inhabitants, who were either unwilling or unable to discover any, though most probably the latter. The rivers and seas about *Cuba* are reported to abound with excellent fish of all kinds; and the inhabitants have good conveniences for making salt, but they avail themselves very little of those advantages. Perhaps they are discouraged by the great numbers of alligators that frequent their rivers and b coasts.

and trade.

CUBA has abundance of mules, horses, sheep, wild-boars, hogs, and fine black cattle; which, of themselves, are a valuable commodity. They run in large herds wild in the woods, and their hides and tallow fetch great prices in *Spain*, while their flesh being cured, victuals their ships. Those cattle are not only numerous, but so fat, that they often die through the burden of their grease; and such of them as are made use of, are killed by the negroes; the *Spaniards* themselves, though perhaps starving, being too lazy to take that trouble. After all, the exportations of this large fine island, till lately, never equalled in value those of the small *British* island of *Antigua*. The reason of this, next to the indolence of the *Spaniards*, is the vast facility with which the inhabitants make their money, by means c of the galleons and the flota, and the very great contraband trade that is here carried on, in defiance of their laws and regulations, and even with the connivance of the government of the island. Upon the whole, there is reason for believing that the ministers of *Old Spain* begin now to open their eyes with regard to the infinite advantages they might derive from this island; and of late, *St. Jago de Cuba*, and other places of the island, begin to carry on a very brisk trade with *Old* and *New Spain*, and above all, with the *Canaries*; so that it is hard to say, what the consequence may be, if the *Spaniards* should adopt other maxims of government and manners of living. We have only to add to our account of this island, that its government affects great secrecy as to every thing concerning it; and formerly, it is said, that no stranger was admitted into the *Havannah*, without being blindfolded; but it d appears, from the relations we have from *Charlevoix*, and other travellers, that this precaution is now disused. The *Spanish* galleons, flota, and merchant-ships, that resort to the *Havannah*, for the conveniency of returning to *Spain* in a body, as well as to take in provisions and water, are commonly between fifty and sixty. They arrive in *September*, and depart about the end of the same month; but no person belonging to the fleet is suffered, under pain of death, to remain all night in the town.

HISPANIOLA, or ST. DOMINGO, TRINIDADO, MARGARITA, PORTO-RICO, and the other Spanish islands in America.

Discovery,

Situation,

THE antient name of this island was *Hayti*; but when it was discovered in 1492, by *Christopher Columbus*, he gave it the name of *Hispaniola*, or *Little Spain*; and its chief city being dedicated to *St. Dominic*, or *Domingo*, that name, in process of time, communicated itself to the whole island. It lies in the middle between *Cuba* and *Jamaica* on the northwest and southwest, and *Porto Rico* on the east, and is separated from the last by only a narrow channel. It extends from long. 67 deg. 35 min. to long. 74 deg. 15 min. and from lat. 17 deg. 37 min. to lat. 20. being near 400 miles from west to east, and almost 120 where broadest from north to south, and by some reckoned 400 leagues in circumference, exclusive of its bays and creeks, which it is thought would make 200 more. *Columbus*, as we have already seen, sailed from *Cuba* to *Hayti*, at a time when he began to suspect that some combinations were forming against him by the two brothers, *Martin* and *Francisco Pinzoni*, the masters of two sloops in his squadron. When he arrived off *Hayti*, he had scarce cast anchor, when his capital ship was wrecked upon the rocks; but all his men and cargo were saved by the sloops. *Oviedo*, a *Spanish* author, says, that many people imagined, that this shipwreck was privately contrived by *Columbus*, that he might have an excuse for leaving some of his people upon the island.

and possession
of Hispaniola
by the Spaniards.

WHILE the wrecks of his ship were floating about, the natives of the island were standing on the shore, struck with admiration at what they saw; but no sooner did they perceive the *Spaniards* landing, than they ran off, and it was with difficulty that one of their women g was taken and carried before *Columbus*, who not only behaved to her with vast civility, but

- a gave her some handsome apparel, and sent her on shore, making her understand, as well as he could, by signs, that the other natives might, without any danger, repair to his ships. It appears from what happened immediately after, that she made an excellent report of her benefactor to her country-people, who soon thronged round, and came on board the *Spanish* ships in their canoes. The *Spaniards*, with great pleasure, beheld thole natives loaded with gold and silver bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; of which they were very liberal to all the sailors who asked for them. *Columbus*, finding the natives in so good a disposition, went ashore properly attended, and had an interview with one *Guacamarilla*, one of the caciques, or petty princes of the island, who gave him a most hospitable and generous reception. Mutual civilities passed between them. *Columbus* presented the cacique with
- b linen-drawers, caps, knives, looking-glasses, bells, and other toys; while the cacique bestowed on him, in return, a large quantity of gold, and ordered his subjects to go in their canoes and recover as much as they could of the wrecks of the *Spanish* ship, which they did as carefully as if it had been their own property. *Columbus* was still at a loss for an interpreter; but he made a shift, by signs, to enquire where the natives got their gold; and they gave him to understand, that it was washed down by their inland rivers from their mountains. In the mean while, prodigious multitudes of the savages were daily crowding to see *Columbus* and his companions, being struck with wonder at their appearance, and apeing their gestures in whatever they saw them do. The *Spaniards* took advantage of their curiosity to teach them their prayers, and to give them some knowledge of their language, while they, in return, furnished them plentifully with gold, and foods of all kind.

- c *COLUMBUS* imagining, that he had now succeeded in what he had been so long in quest of, was impatient to be himself the first messenger of good news to his master the king of *Spain*. Before he took his departure from *Hispaniola*, he built, with leave of the cacique, a house, according to my author^d, of bricks, and called it, "The Nativity," being the first that ever was built by *Europeans* in *America*. Here he left thirty-eight *Spaniards*, with orders to behave themselves during his absence, with the greatest caution and moderation; but that they should, during his absence, inform themselves of every thing relating to the island. He then put to sea, carrying along with him the rest of his crews, together with six of the natives, all the gold that had been presented to him by the cacique, some parrots, and cakes of maiz, or *Indian* corn, with other rarities, the produce of the island.
- d Two of the savages died in their passage to *Spain*; but *Columbus* presented the other four to their Catholic majesties, together with the gold, which convinced them of the reality of his discoveries; and they shewed very particular marks of respect to *Columbus*, whom they made high-admiral of the western world, with a tenth of the profits of his discovery; and his brother *Bartholomew* was appointed to the government of *Hispaniola*, the only place in *America* in which the *Spaniards* seem, as yet, to have obtained a footing.

- e *COLUMBUS*, on the other hand, gave their Catholic majesties entire satisfaction as to the value of his discoveries, and the prodigious matters they might expect from them; but desired, at the same time, that he might return with a force and appointment sufficient to complete them. A fleet of three ships of war, and fourteen caravels, carrying 1500 men, was accordingly fitted out, and plentifully furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, horses, and mares, tools to work in the mines, and commodities that were proper for trafficking with the natives. Among the men he carried out with him were a few gentlemen, but abundance of priests and monks, the others consisting chiefly of labourers and artizans. In his voyage to *Hispaniola*, he touched at *Gomera*, one of the *Canary-Islands*, where he wooded and watered, and took in an additional number of live stock, with some garden-seeds; and, on the 23d of *November*, after discovering many other islands, he arrived on the coast of *Hispaniola*. Here he found a dreadful revolution, all the *Spaniards* being dead whom he had left on the island. The admiral sent ashore a party to
- f know the reason of this catastrophe, and along with them the four natives whom he had brought back, and who had been baptized in *Spain*. They were directed to apply themselves to the cacique *Guacamarilla*, who shewed great expressions of concern at what had happened, but imputed all the misfortunes of the *Spaniards* to their own misconduct. He said, that after the departure of *Columbus*, those he had left behind him had violated the wives of the natives, and had bastinadoed the men, besides treating them ill otherwise, but that he (*Guacamarilla*) had no hand in their massacre; that another cacique, of more power than him, had come into his province, and seeing the bearded men proceeding to build houses and make settlements on the island, had given orders that they should be all massacred. *Guacamarilla*, at the same time, pretended that in taking part with the *Spaniards* he had received a wound in the leg, which he shewed all bound up to the messengers, who were
- g convinced that he himself had been the author of the massacre.

Columbus in Spain.

Returns to Hispaniola.

^d BENZONI, p. 35.

His conduct.

It is highly probable, that *Columbus* had foreseen and expected this catastrophe, which a he gave orders neither should be enquired into nor punished; all accounts agreeing, that the people he left upon the island were the most abandoned ruffians in the whole fleet, and, very possibly, the ringleaders of the mutineers who had brought him into so much disquiet and danger during his first voyage. But, as he was now in a condition to command his own terms, he landed with his people, and laid the foundations of a town, to which, in honour of her Catholic Majesty, he gave the name of *Isabella*. After this, he built a town, which he called *St. Thomas*, near the gold mines of *Hispaniola*, fortifying the same with a citadel strong enough to resist the attacks of the natives. Here the *Spaniards* opened so rich a gold mine, that such of them as were not present did not credit the reports spread of it, till they saw great quantities of pure gold which it contained; and which, according to *Oviedo*, the natives were not at pains to dig for, as all the gold they had in b their possession was found either upon the surface of the earth, or so near it, that it gave them very little trouble to come at it. This part of the *Spanish* history is well attested; but it would be difficult to account for the great scarcity of native gold that is now in *Hispaniola*, as we can scarcely imagine that the *Spaniards*, ravenous as they were for that metal, could have exhausted the prodigious mines of it, said to have been discovered at the time we now treat of. It has been pretended, indeed, that the *Spaniards*, finding themselves too weak to work those mines to their own profits, take care to conceal them. But avarice, and a desire of gain, form an irresistible argument against this allegation, as it would be impossible for them to conceal all knowledge of those mines from their govern- c ment, who would soon fall upon methods to work them, as well as those of *Peru* and *Mexico*.

His further discoveries.

THIS promising beginning of a colony being effected, *Christopher Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* in his charge of *Hispaniola*, put to sea with three ships, in which he completed his discovery on the south-side of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and other islands; and then returning to *Hispaniola*, he discovered a harbour which he called *Port Nicholas*, where he refitted his squadron, which had been greatly shattered by his cruise, and then he prepared to set out against the *Caribbeans*, who were the harmless natives of those and the adjacent islands and continent, intending not only to burn all their canoes, but, if possible, to exterminate the people. Though the humanity, moderation, and justice of *Columbus*, have d been greatly cried up by the *Spanish*, and other authors, yet we find that he possessed those virtues only comparatively, as he certainly was a better man than many of those monsters his contemporaries and successors, whose proceedings are so many apologies for the cruelties of other nations; but the virtues of *Columbus* were, perhaps, as much inferior to those of a truly humane conqueror, as those of the fiends we have mentioned, were to his. While he was meditating upon this expedition, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and confined to his new town of *Isabella*, where he had nothing before his eyes but the approaching ruin of his colony.

Distresses.

MANY circumstances confirmed the opinion, that the first *Spanish* adventurers to *America* were men, who, through their vices and crimes, could not live in *Europe*. During the e absence of *Columbus*, the colonists upon *Hispaniola* were guilty of the greatest excesses against the unsuspecting natives, whose resentments were as keen and vindictive as their affections had been sincere and generous. Perceiving that the *Spaniards* were proceeding to build houses, and forts, they began to suspect that their intention was to reduce them to slavery, and to take possession of their island; but they received no other answer than blows and ill treatment to any remonstrances they, or their caciques, urged on this head. The insolent colonists, at last, proceeded to murders, rapes, and robberies, and every quarter of the island presented some scenes of cruelty and injustice. The inhabitants, knowing themselves to be no match for their tyrants, formed the scheme of a most extraordinary re- f venge, which was that of intermitting the culture of their land for a whole season, and of supporting themselves instead of maiz, with a root, which our authors call jucca, the too frequent use of which produced a disease somewhat like the venereal, and then they retired into the innermost parts of the island; but great numbers of them took the desperate resolution of putting an end to their own lives. The *Spaniards*, while their provision lasted, paid no regard to this migration; but beginning to be pinched for want of maiz and *Indian* corn, they went a-foraging, and found nothing but desarts and empty cottages, while all around the fields and roads lay the dead bodies of the *Indians*, some murdered, and others starved or dead through the unwholsomeness of their food. The certainty of this calamity being reported at *Isabella*, the colonists quarrelled with their officers, and a mutiny against *Bartholomew Columbus* ensued, while many of them perished, like the *In- g dians*, through want of sustenance.

COLUMBUS at last recovered, and, after re-establishing his authority, he began to enquire into the authors of the late mutiny against his brother, and the cruelties com- mitted.

a mitted upon the inhabitants; and finding one *Gaspar Feriz* to be at the head of them, he ordered him, and the other ringleaders, to be hanged. He durst not, however, inflict the same punishment upon a *Benedictine* monk, one *Buil*, who resented the execution of the malefactors so highly, that he excommunicated *Columbus* and all who had a concern in their death; while *Columbus*, on the other hand, ordered, that nei her *Buil*, nor his brethren, should be supplied from any part of the ship's stores, which the colony was now obliged to subsist on. *Columbus* then sent out messengers to invite the caciques to a reconciliation, but without any great effect. To compleat the misfortune of the colony, one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in those parts attacked the island, with most dreadful peals of thunder, and such flashes of lightning, that the air seemed to be on fire. The new built houses of the *Spaniards* were blown down, and four of their best ships, with all their crews, were sunk in the harbour. The *Spaniards*, unacquainted with such visitations, were exposed to all the fury of the storm, by which many of them perished; while the *Indians*, who saw, from well known observations, it was approaching, avoided its effects by retiring into caves. It is remarkable, that among the other wrecks which this storm occasioned, that of the sugar-mills is particularly mentioned, which is a proof that the art of making sugar was more early in *America* than is commonly imagined.

He is excommunicated.

A hurricane.

But neither this, nor any other calamity, could allay the vindictive spirit of *Buil*, and the other priests, who had formed so strong a party against *Columbus*, that little regard was now paid to his authority. *Peter Margarita*, governor of *St. Thomas*, and some other leading *Spaniards*, endeavoured to make matters up; but the reconciliation, if any, was short-lived; for *Buil* and his brethren opposed *Columbus* in every exercise of his office, on pretence that he stood excommunicated; and an association was formed among the remaining conspirators for transmitting to *Spain* a charge of treason and tyranny against him. All that *Columbus* could oppose to this combination, was, to continue his prohibition against the priests receiving any provisions; but they were supported by their party: and, at last, ships arrived from *Spain* with plentiful supplies of all kinds. From the course of history, it appears, as if an intercourse had, all this time, been kept up between *Old Spain* and *Hispaniola*; for *Columbus* certainly came to the knowledge of the complaints that had been lodged against him with his Catholic majesty, and he knew the power of the church too well to neglect them. He had sent back great part of the fleet that came out with him, to *Spain*, under *Antony de Torres*, with some gold; and no sooner were his remaining ships refitted after the late storm, than he prepared to return to *Europe*; having, according to *Oviedo*, received an order from his Catholic Majesty for that purpose by a noble *Spaniard*, one *Juan Agnado*, who had a commission to carry his accusers, at the same time, to *Spain*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great partiality of the *Spanish* writers towards *Columbus*, it appears from *Oviedo*, one of their earliest and best informed authors, that that great man (for such he certainly was) was not without little failings. He had observed, that the *Indians* before they went to gather gold, went through a vast number of ceremonies, such as abstaining even from their wives, and undergoing a course of fasting: and *Columbus* ordered, that no *Spaniard* should go in search of gold, without preparing himself by the like penances, but be confessed and take the sacrament. The *Spaniards* objected to those orders, particularly to what regarded their fasting, of which they said they suffered too much against their will. The admiral, on the other hand, who, possibly, thought that this rigour might reclaim them, insisted upon the punctual observance of his orders, and severely punished all who ventured to transgress them; by which means, it is no wonder, if he became odious to the libertines he commanded; and some of them accused him of imposing those ridiculous ceremonies upon them, that he might the more securely engross the profits of the mines to himself. *Columbus* taking leave of *Hispaniola*, where he left things in great confusion, landed at *Cales* in *Old Spain*, from whence he repaired to court, where the gold and the rarities he presented to the king, with the narrative of his adventures and discoveries, soon effaced all the charges against him. It is said, that the quantity of gold he presented on this occasion was very great, and formed into ingots; and that he produced to his majesty, in a journal kept by himself, an account of all his transactions in *America*, which fully vindicated him from all imputations of misconduct or cruelty. His majesty seemed to be extremely well satisfied of his innocence; but, at the same time, he hinted to him, that he had been a little too severe upon those adventurers who had gone so far to enlarge the *Spanish* wealth and empire, and admonished him to be less rigorous for the future. At that time, he renewed his commission, and gave orders for fitting out a new fleet of twelve ships, with which he was to prosecute his discoveries. But we are now to return to what passed in *Hispaniola*; and we shall throw in what concerns the natives in the same narrative.

His failings.

Returns to Spain.

WHEN *Columbus* first arrived on that island it was governed by five caciques, viz. *Guarionex*, *Behechio*, *Guacanarilla*, *Caiaoa*, and *Caonabo*. The first possessed a territory, comprehending

History of
Hispaniola.

prehending a large plain of above seventy leagues in the middle of the island. *Bebeccio* a reigned over the western part of it, as *Guacamarilla*, whom we have already mentioned, did over the northern. *Caingoa* possessed the eastern part: this cacique died before the war between the islanders and the *Spaniards*, and was succeeded in his government by his wife, who turned christian, and was baptized by the name of *Agnes de Caingoa*. *Caonabo*, who was the most powerful prince among them, reigned in the highlands, and had under him a deputy-cacique, called *Usmatex*, an excellent soldier and a great disciplinarian. Those princes seldom had any disputes among themselves, except concerning their boundaries and their fisheries; but all quarrels ceased among them, when a descent, which often happened, was made upon their island by the *Caribbeans*, whom they considered as foreign invaders, and all of them united for their expulsion. b

THE mines of *Ciboa*, or (as the *Spaniards* then called them) *St. Thomas*, lay within the division that belonged to *Caonabo*, who could not bear the thought of the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*: but he endeavoured to stifle his resentment till *Columbus* was sailed for *Spain*. *Alphonso Ojeda* was then governor of *St. Thomas*, with a garrison of fifty *Spaniards*, and *Caonabo*, encouraged by the example of *Guacamarilla*, who had cut off the thirty-eight first colonists, got together 5 or 6000 natives, with whom he laid siege to *St. Thomas*, after destroying all the stragglers he met with, and burning the defenceless habitations of the *Spaniards*. The siege was so strait for a month, that the fort was quite blocked up from all access; but *Ojeda* resolved to wear out the courage of the besiegers by keeping within the walls, where he had, it seems, abundance of provisions. Perceiving their vigilance began c to abate, he harassed them with sallies, and found means, by some of the friendly natives, to insinuate to *Caonabo* and his army, that the admiral was daily expected with a powerful reinforcement, while *Ojeda* himself, seeming to be tired of the siege, offered terms to the cacique. Those stratagems had their effect; for *Caonabo* became not only more remiss in his discipline, but seemed inclinable to treat with the *Spaniards*, against the express opinion of his tributary caciques, who offered, if he would wait a little, to bring him reinforcements sufficient to exterminate those strangers from the island. Those remonstrances had no weight; and the incautious cacique, upon *Ojeda* plighting his faith for his safe return, went, with some of his chief officers into the fort, where the treacherous *Spaniard* immediately put him under arrest. d

CAONABO had a brother, a man of courage, and very popular among his countrymen; who, hearing of the *Spaniard's* treachery, renewed the siege of *St. Thomas* with 7000 men; but *Ojeda* had, by this time, taken the field, at the head of about 300 men, among whom were some cavalry, sent him by *Bartholomew Columbus*, and attacking the *Indians*, obtained an easy victory over those savages, who were struck with consternation at the execution made by the horse; animals they had never seen before; and the cacique's brother was taken prisoner. *Bartholomew Columbus* hearing of this victory, instead of generously resolving to make atonement for *Ojeda's* treachery, by setting the illustrious prisoners at liberty, resolved to send them to *Spain*, under pretence that the peace of the island must still be precarious, if they remained on the island, either in prison, or at freedom. This resolution e being communicated to the cacique and his brother, they were so affected with grief, that the former died about twelve days before he was to have been put on board, as the other did, in the voyage. The deceased cacique's wife put herself under the protection of her brother the cacique *Bebeccio*, who some time after was put to death, with forty of his tributary caciques, by the governor *Nicholas Ovando*, on pretence of a conspiracy against the Christians. By her flight, the *Spaniards* remained in quiet possession of her husband's dominions; but the island in general was far from being restored to a state of tranquillity.

WHILE the siege of *St. Thomas* was carrying on, the cacique *Guarionex* resolved to take that opportunity, before the return of the admiral from *Spain*, to attack *Bartholomew*, and by the assistance of other caciques, he assembled about 15,000 men, to rescue, as they gave f out, their liberties and religion from the oppression and losses of the *Spaniards*, and to drive those invaders from their island. Nothing could be a fairer opportunity for this purpose, than that which then presented itself. The *Spaniards* were not only reduced in their numbers, but the survivors were sickly and eaten up with diseases; nor could *Bartholomew* bring above 500 into the field, and those mostly diseased. He wisely, however, resolved not to wait till he was shut up in his fort of *Isabella*; but drawing out his men, he came up, by forced marches, with his enemy. Understanding that they kept no watch in their camp, he divided his party into two bodies, and taking the advantage of a tempestuous night, he broke into their camp, and obtained an easy victory. Some of the savages escaped, many of them were killed, but the greatest number of them, among whom were g *Guarionex*, and fourteen tributary caciques, were taken prisoners. Here the earliest accounts differ. Some affirm, that *Guarionex* himself was not present in the action, but that his wife, some time before, had been made prisoner by the *Spaniards*: some say that all this happened

Victory of the
Spaniards.

a happened in the absence of the admiral; others, that he was in the engagement, which is most probable. It is certain, that the conduct of the *Spaniards*, on this occasion, was the reverse of what it had been before; for the terms imposed upon *Guarionex* were very moderate, and all the chief prisoners were set at liberty. *Guarionex* himself, in gratitude, behaved with the greatest humanity and hospitality towards the *Spaniards* whom he found in his dominions.

BEFORE an end was put to this war, the admiral had left *Spain*, and intending to visit other places in his voyage to *Hispaniola*, he dispatched thither two of his ships with supplies to his brother *Bartholomew*. By this time, one *Roldan Ximenez*, whom the admiral had raised from a low condition, (though by all accounts he was a very worthless fellow) b to a considerable civil employment, taking advantage of the cloud under which *Columbus* was at court, had prevailed with a number of the malecontents to leave *Bartholomew*, and remove with him to the western part of the island, where he instituted a kind of a separate government, giving a loose to the most shameful excesses and oppressions of the natives, by which he and his companions had amassed very considerable treasures. The two ships sent by *Columbus* happening to land in the part of the island possessed by them, *Roldan* invited their commanders and crews to join with him and his companions. The sight of the vast riches they were possessed of, and the plausible stories they invented, at last determined the sailors to accept of the invitation; and landing their stores, they joined with *Roldan* in all the murders, robberies, and oppressions, that he and his people committed upon the natives. c

COLUMBUS was at this time upon the island of *Margarita*, then called *Cubagua*, famous for its pearl fishing; and from thence he sent letters to *Roldan*, exhorting him to return to his duty; but all his admonitions had no other effect than to make *Roldan* write over to his Catholic majesty a vindication of his conduct, and the reasons why he separated himself and his company from the governor of *Hispaniola*. In this vindication, he represented *Bartholomew* as a most tyrannical governor, and accused him of the most wanton exercises of cruelty upon the *Spaniards* themselves, and of putting them to death upon the most trivial occasions; and the admiral as a man of unbounded ambition, who only sought an opportunity to erect himself into a sovereign of all the islands and lands he d had discovered; praying his majesty, at the same time, to take the matter into his own cognizance. *Roldan*, to give the greater weight and probability to those charges, and many others against the admiral in *Hispaniola*, added, that *Columbus* having lately discovered *Cubagua*, where was the richest pearl fishery in the world, intended to secrete the same from his majesty, and to convert all the inestimable pearls he had got there, to his own use; and that both the divers in *Cubagua*, and the workmen in the mines of *Hispaniola*, with all the other officers appointed for the public service, were creatures of the admiral, and confederated with him in defrauding the royal revenue. He concluded, by offering to make his charge good in person to the admiral's face.

Differences among them.

FERDINAND, king of *Spain*, one of the most politic and powerful, was, at the same e time, one of the most avaricious and self-interested princes of his age. Many circumstances concurred to startle him on receiving this charge from *Roldan*. He had received as yet from *Columbus* no intimation of the discovery of *Cubagua*, or of the invaluable pearl fishery on its coasts. *Columbus* was neither born a *Spaniard*, nor one of his natural subjects; and it appeared by many incontestable proofs, that his government was disagreeable to the generality of the adventurers. In the mean while, several of the *Spaniards*, who had been at *Cubagua*, had returned to their own country, and carried to court some of the large pearls which that fishery afforded, and which being shewn to his majesty, seemed to give some credit to *Roldan's* charge against *Columbus*. The truth is, this admiral was entirely void of all blame, for he no sooner was assured of the value of the *Cubagua* pearl fishery, f than he sent a friend, one *Arroial*, to inform his Catholic majesty of the discovery, with some specimens of the largest pearls; but this messenger did not reach *Spain* time enough to prevent the bad impression which the king had received from those who had arrived sooner, in other vessels. It happened still more unfortunately for the admiral, that perceiving the vast plenty of pearls at *Cubagua*, and that his sailors could purchase them for the merest trifles, he was afraid that if they remained longer on that island, it would be impossible for him to arrive at *Hispaniola* time enough to prevent the bad consequences of his absence; and therefore he had used some rough methods to force them on board their ships.

THE admiral, on his arrival at *Hispaniola*, found, as we have already seen, his brother involved in a war with the caciques, which was soon ended to the satisfaction of both parties. Not to be wanting to himself, he no sooner understood that *Roldan* had accused him to his Catholic majesty, than he sent over a full vindication of his own conduct, laying open, at the same time, the treacherous inhuman proceedings of *Roldan*, which had oc-

Columbus returns to Hispaniola.

caſioned ſo much bloodſhed, and had hazarded the loſs of the iſland to the crown of *Spain*.^a As her Catholic majeſty was the profeſſed patroness of *Columbus*, this apology for his conduct might have gone far towards clearing him of all ſuſpicion ; but the courtiers, who were his enemies, becauſe he was a foreigner, had conceived ſuch high ideas of the *American* riches, that each aſpired to be a viceroy in the *New World*. *Columbus* and his brother being engaged in a war with the natives of *Hiſpaniola*, it was impoſſible for them to procure hands for working the mines ; and therefore they had, for ſome time, ſent no gold to *Spain*, which was a freſh matter of accuſation, for which the queen herſelf could make no apology : upon which the king came to a reſolution of ſending thither a commiſſary, to enquire into the ſtate of affairs. For this purpoſe, he pitched upon one *Francis Bombadilla*, an old courtier, and a knight of *Calatrava*, a man of a ſour tyrannical temper, and very ill-fitted for all but^b the ſevere part of his commiſſion. It is to this day uncertain, how far his inſtructions reached, becauſe *Ferdinand*, in ſome meaſure diſapproved of his proceedings. We are, however, to preſume, that they were diſcretionary ; but it is certain, that he had authority to ſettle the peace of the iſland, to enquire into the ſtate of the differences between *Columbus* and *Roldan*. It appears, however, that he ſet out on his commiſſion with a determined inveteracy againſt *Columbus* and his three brothers, for *Diego*, the youngeſt, had now arrived in *Hiſpaniola*.

Columbus
ſent in irons to
Spain.

BOMBADILLA ſailed from *Cales* in 1499, with four large, well-appointed ſhips, and he no ſooner came in ſight of the iſland, than the three brothers, who had been apprized of his coming, with a ſuitable retinue, came to receive him from on board his ſhip ; but *Bombadilla* no ſooner came on ſhore, than by his orders, they were all three put in irons, and hurried, as malefactors, on board three ſeparate ſhips, bound for *Spain*. We cannot ſuppoſe, that *Columbus* and his brothers, who commanded on the iſland, would have ſubmitted to this treatment, unleſs *Bombadilla* had produced his authority ; and therefore we muſt conclude it to have been more ample than it is repreſented by *Spaniſh* writers. Neither can we believe that he ventured to proceed in ſo ſummary a way againſt the three brothers, as is pretended, becauſe it appears that they were reſcued and underwent a trial, and that the copy of the proceedings againſt them was tranſmitted along with them to *Spain*. We can, however, have no doubt, that *Bombadilla* exceeded his commiſſion, by loading thoſe illuſtrious priſoners with irons, becauſe they no ſooner came to *Cales*, than their Catholic^c majeſties, hearing of their ignominious treatment, ſent orders not only that their irons ſhould be ſtruck off, but that they ſhould be brought to court with an honourable eſcort and equipages, every way ſuitable to their ſtations.^d

THEſE marks of reſpect were no other than preludes, intended by the politic prince to their removal from the poſts they then held ; and, indeed, impartially ſpeaking, though he is juſtly accuſed of ingratitude, he, perhaps, by this removal, conſulted his own intereſt, the only ſtandard of his conduct. He ſaw that the *Spaniards* never could bear with the ſevere diſcipline of *Columbus*, who uſed to whip them on very ſlight occaſions, and hang ſuch of them as male-treated any of the *Indians*. In ſhort, *Ferdinand*, though intirely convinced by the integrity and good intentions of *Columbus*, was apprehenſive, that if he^e was continued in his command, he ſhould reap little benefit from his new acquiſitions. When *Columbus* was admitted into the royal preſence, he effectually cleared himſelf from all charges of concealment, ambition, or avarice, brought againſt his conduct ; and their Catholic majeſties expreſſed themſelves with indignation againſt *Bombadilla*, confirming *Columbus* in all the dignities that had been conferred upon him (excepting the perſonal exerciſe of his government in *Hiſpaniola*,) and reſtoring him to all his appointments and revenues, which were to be accounted for to him from the day of his imprifonment. We are in the mean while to obſerve, that their majeſties had ſo great an opinion of the abilities of *Columbus*, that they afterwards employed him in other ſervices.

Conduct of his
enemies.

IN the mean while, *Bombadilla* and *Roldan* engroſſed to themſelves a deſpotic power over^f the wretched natives, whom their predecessors had ſubdued, and whom they now reduced to labour like brutes, both above ground and in the mines ; and, at the ſame time, they tyrannized over all the friends *Columbus* had left upon the iſland. They were ſenſible that complaints were lodged againſt them at the court ; but *Bombadilla* knew it too well, to fear any cenſure there, while he could make his peace with gold, of which he and *Roldan* had amaffed prodigious quantities. In this manner they continued till the year 1502, when their tyranny became ſo inſupportable, that being ordered home, they embarked with all their treaſures. Their ingots of gold are ſaid to have amounted to 100,000 pounds weight, beſides immense quantities of large pieces found in lumps. Before this time *Columbus*, who could not be inactive, and whom *Ferdinand* ſtill affected to treat with the great-^geſt marks of reſpect, had prevailed with that monarch to give him the command of four ſhips, for making new diſcoveries. He ſailed with them from *Cadiz* on the 29th of *May*, 1502, and came before *St. Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, while the fleet was lading that was to carry

a carry *Bombadilla* and his treasures, the whole consisting of thirty capital ships, manned with *Spaniards*. *Columbus*, sending his name on shore, received a message from *Bombadilla*, absolutely prohibiting him from landing. *Columbus*, by way of reply, said, that it was a matter of indifference to him where he landed, but that it was his duty to acquaint the governor, that he had observed great appearances of an approaching storm, and advised him by all means to defer his departure till the weather became more settled. *Bombadilla* rejected this salutary advice, and immediately put to sea, where he and *Roldan*, with the general of the island, above 500 *Spaniards*, and all their immense treasures, perished. *who perish.*

HISPANIOLA was as yet the only regular settlement the *Spaniards* had in *America*, if we except the small footing they had obtained in *Trinidad* and *Margarita*, commonly called the *Pearl Islands*. But the fame of those discoveries, and the prodigious riches they contained, had prevailed so much among the *Spaniards*, that his Catholic majesty was obliged to issue out an ordinance, making it highly penal for any master of a ship or pilot to approach nearer than fifty leagues to any of the discoveries made by *Columbus*, without his special permission. We have, in the history of *Jamaica*, related the farther adventures of that great man, and how he was obliged to send to *Hispaniola* for a ship to carry him from *Jamaica*. *Nicholas D'Ovando*, who had succeeded *Bombadilla*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and readily sent *Columbus* a ship, which brought him to *St. Domingo*; from whence, after refreshing himself for some days, he set sail for *Spain*, where he died, soon after his arrival. It is said, the purpose of his last voyage was to have discovered a passage to the *South-Sea*, which was afterwards found out by *Magellan*.

It appears, that the *Spaniards* were so intent upon acquiring the treasures of *America*, that very little regard was paid to the ordinance of the king, prohibiting his subjects from approaching to those coasts. All he could do, therefore, was to increase, both in *Hispaniola* and *Margarita*, the number of his collectors and tax gatherers, and to force the traders to pay the customs. Along with those, a great number of monks and missionaries had flocked to *Trinidad* and *Margarita*, where the *Spaniards*, as usual, had inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the natives, who had received them in the most generous, hospitable manner, by keeping them to intolerable labour, in diving for pearls. The barbarians, simple as they were, soon came to entertain the utmost abhorrence and contempt of the *Spaniards*, on account of their sordid, as they justly thought it, as well as cruel, behaviour; and therefore rising upon them of a sudden, they murdered all who fell into their hands, both clergy and laity; while the survivors escaped to *Hispaniola*, from whence the governor dispatched three hundred men, with *Diego Ocampo* at their head, to reduce the barbarians. *Ocampo*, on his arrival at *Margarita*, ordered his men to conceal themselves in their ship, and appeared himself with but a very few upon deck. The natives, rowing about his ship in their canoes, demanded from whence he came; and he answered, from *Old Spain*; upon which, some of them, though they suspected the truth, went on board *Ocampo's* ship, where seeing but a very few sailors, they concluded that the news of their revolt had not yet reached *Hispaniola*, and that their visitors came from *Europe*. They therefore, after exchanging with him some pearls, returned on shore, where they reported to the cacique, that the *Spaniards* on board were so few, that they could easily surprize their ship and cargo, and slaughter the crew. The cacique, upon this, ordered a great number of his people to go on board, which they did in such numbers, that *Ocampo's* ship was almost filled. He then gave a signal for his men to appear with their arms upon deck, where they massacred or hung on the yards of their ship, as a terror to their countrymen, all the savages, excepting a few, who jumped overboard, and gained the shore. *Ocampo* then landed his men at the mouth of the river *Cumana*, where he committed the most horrible massacres upon the natives, and forced them to assist him in building a village, which he called *Toledo*. The *Dominican* friars had by this time built two monasteries in those islands, where they were most hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. *Charles V.* was then king of *Spain*, and the famous *Bartholomew de Casas* was a kind of missionary in the *West-Indies*, where he saw the most horrible cruelties committed by the *Spaniards* upon the natives, who did not fail to make reprisals on every occasion. Motives of humanity prevailed with him to repair to *Spain*, where he laid before *Charles* all the misconduct and cruelties of his subjects, even to the extermination of the human race. According to my author, with whom *de Casas* is by no means a favourite, *Charles* bestowed upon him the government of *Cumana* and *Margarita*, then called *Cubagua*, and furnished him with 300 men, with particular distinctions and privileges, who were to be under his direction in the pearl fishery. Our author expressly says, that this commission was granted to *de Casas* at the intercession of count *Nassau*, father, as we apprehend, to the first prince of *Orange*. *De Casas*, at the same time, was provided with shipping, and every necessary for the discharge of his high office.

ARRIVING at *Cumana*, he produced his commission to *Ocampo*, who was by no means disposed to resign his government, and made a thousand pretexts for retaining it, till he could

Avarice of the Spaniards.

Massacre of the Spaniards by the natives

could subdue the rebels (for so he called the natives); and pleaded, at the same time, that a he could not leave the place without receiving his dismissal from the governor of *Hispaniola*, under whom he acted. Some high words followed on this occasion; but *Ocampo* still retained the command; upon which *de Casas* went to *Hispaniola*, where he complained to the governor of the treatment he had received from *Ocampo*, who, it seems, had debarr-ed him from entering his town of *Toledo*. Before his departure, he had run up some wooden barracks for the accommodation of the three hundred *Spaniards* he had brought along with him; and soon after, *Ocampo*, whose men were by this time excessively rich, and began to quarrel among themselves about dividing the plunder, left the island also. The natives were now free of all their tyrants, except the *Spaniards* left by *de Casas*, and some stragglers whom avarice had detained in the country. Thinking that a proper opportunity for recovering their liberties, they rose as one man, and put to death all the *Spaniards* but a few friars who escaped to *Cubagua*; and after that, they set fire to all their dwellings, temples, and monasteries; and in short, did every thing they could to abolish the very remembrance of their cruel invaders, even to the putting to death such of their countrymen as had turned Christians, and cursing their own native soil for giving support to so infernal a set of men as the *Spaniards* were. They even endeavoured to pass over from *Cumana* to *Cubagua*, to exterminate all the *Europeans* there; but they had not boats and canoes to carry them over, short as the passage is.

It is revenged.

THIS tragedy of the *Spaniards* was effected by *Ocampo*, who not bearing to be supplanted by *de Casas*, had left the new-comers to be sacrificed by the natives. As to *de Casas*, finding that there was a conspiracy of all the other *Spaniards* against him, and that they paid no manner of regard to his commission, he took refuge in a monastery in *Hispaniola*. The governor of that island, understanding how matters had gone in *Cumana*, immediately ordered a body of *Spaniards* to sail thither under an officer, one *Castellio*. He arrived at *Trinidad* in eight days, and the natives bravely defended themselves for forty, but were, at last, obliged to submit. He made a most cruel use of his advantage, for he hanged no fewer than seventy of the caciques, under the shameful pretext of their being rebels, and sent vast numbers of the natives to *Hispaniola*, where they were sold as slaves. He then applied himself to re-edify the town of *Toledo*, which had been demolished by the barbarians, and raise a town consisting of seventy brick houses, in *Cubagua*, calling it *New Cadiz*. Soon after the *Dominicans* erected a monastery upon *Cubagua*, which seems to have undergone a remarkable change of climate; for we are told, that in those days it was entirely barren, and without any trees, and so destitute of water, that its value was equal to that of wine. Later accounts informs us, that, notwithstanding the scarcity of fresh water, the soil is fertile, produces maiz and fruit, and that the island has upon it a great number of groves. Add to this, that the pearl-fishery, for which this island was formerly so famous, is now entirely exhausted.

Disobedience and opulence of the Spaniards.

SOON after, *Lampugnani*, a *Milanese* nobieman, arrived at *Cubagua*, with a commission from his Catholic Majesty to be governor of that island. He brought along with him four ships which had been fitted out by *Spanish* merchants to fish for pearls on that island; and an instrument somewhat of the nature of a harrow, which, when let down to the bottom of the sea, served as a kind of dragnet for bringing up the oysters that contained the pearls. When *Lampugnani* produced his commission, the *Spaniards* upon *Cubagua* treated him in the same manner as they had done *de Casas*, and flatly refused to give any regard to the royal mandate, which was to bestow upon a stranger the fruit of their labours. The truth is, the immense riches those *Spaniards* had acquired, had inspired them with strong notions of independency upon their *European* sovereign; and *Lampugnani*, perceiving they were unanimous in opposing him, and that no regard was paid to the royal mandate, fell into a frenzy through vexation of mind, being unable to return to *Europe* through the great debts he had contracted; and died on the island in the utmost misery and distraction. This disregard of his Catholic majesty's orders prevailed so greatly, that he found, at last, there was no other method of retaining his *American* subjects in their duty, but by ballancing one governor against another; in which case, the royal authority generally turned the scale. *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and was intent upon settling his colony of *Jamaica*. But, by this time, the greatest part of the *American* continent had been discovered, and his Catholic majesty had granted commissions to *Diego Ni-quesa*, and *Alphonso Hoida*, commonly called *Alonso de Ojeda*, the former to be governor of *Veragua*, and the other of *Cartagena*. *Ojeda* fitted out four ships, and hired 400 soldiers at his own expence; and both those governors arrived safe at *Hispaniola*. Their commissions were the most inhuman that can be conceived, as they were authorised to exterminate, by fire and sword, or by any other means they thought proper, all the *Indians* who did not become Christians, or more properly speaking, slaves to the *Spaniards*; in which case, they promised them his Catholic majesty's protection. The *Indians*, in a few words replied,

Discoveries of Ojeda.

a ed, that they knew nothing of his Catholic majesty ; and that they were determined to live independently. Upon this, the *Spaniards* butchered all the *Indians* who fell into their hands, till being tired with murder, they saved some to work as slaves in their mines. The Imperial court issued an ordinance in their favour, by which the *Indians* were declared to be free ; but this did not happen till after the *Spaniards* had gone far towards exterminating the very species of the *Americans*.

b OUR author mentions^c his being in *Hispaniola* in 1545, when this edict was proclaimed there, and that it was received with great dislike all over the *Spanish America*. Nay, that in *Mexico*, and some other provinces, it was utterly disregarded. *Niquesa* and *Ojeda*, whom we have mentioned, raging after gold, still continued to butcher the *Indians*, or to torture them, in hopes of discovering where it was to be found ; but they met with a spirited resistance ; so that *Ojeda*, having lost the greatest part of his soldiers, was obliged to return to *Carthagena*. We have from *Benzo*, several instances of great magnanimity exerted by the *Indians* during this expedition, which proved very fatal to the *Spaniards*. Upon their return to *Carthagena*, a kind of mutiny happened among *Ojeda's* men ; but the governor of *Hispaniola* sending a ship laden with all sorts of provisions to their relief, kept them in temper while they lasted. When they were consumed, they again grew outrageous, and deaf to all that their commanders could say to pacify them. *Ojeda* upon this, threw himself into a ship, and sailed for *Hispaniola*, leaving the famous *Francisco Pizarro* for his deputy, with this condition, that if he did not return in a certain number of days they were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased. The fate of *Ojeda* was remarkable ; his men had seized upon the wife of a cacique, who pretended to come to the *Spanish* camp to ransom her, and for that purpose demanded audience of *Ojeda*, promising to give him whatever treasure he demanded for his wife. *Ojeda* no sooner appeared, than the cacique, apprehending that the honour of his bed had been violated, let fly a poisoned arrow, which struck him in the thigh, while the *Spaniards* cut in pieces the cacique, his wife, and all his attendants. The fire, which is the common antidote to those poisons, was applied to *Ojeda's* wound, yet he died soon after his arrival at *Hispaniola* ; some say in the habit of a *Franciscan* friar, which he assumed through despair and vexation.

and other Spanish adventurers.

d *OJEDA* not returning in the stated time, *Pizarro*, with fifty *Spaniards*, the remains of 300, embarked on board two ships, one of which perished at sea ; and *Pizarro*, in the other, after undergoing inexpressible misery, fell in with two ships that were coming to his relief, under one *Anciso*, who, instead of carrying *Pizarro* and his crew to *Hispaniola*, as they earnestly desired, forced them back to *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* quarrelled with one another. In the mean while, the governor of *Hispaniola*, understanding the vast distress his countrymen were in at *Carthagena*, dispatched *Roderigo Colmenares* with two ships to their relief, and he found them in a most miserable condition. Upon the death of admiral *Columbus*, the government of *Hispaniola* was given to his son *Diego*, with the title of viceroy, and with the same powers which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But the *Spaniards* still considering the family of *Columbus* as being foreigners, rendered the viceroy's government extremely uncomfortable to him ; and at last, his Catholic majesty ordered him to repair to *Spain*, to answer the complaints against him, and there he died without being able to obtain common justice from that ungrateful court. Upon his death, a variety of governors succeeded, some of them laics, and others clergymen ; but all of them monsters of cruelty. So that, according to my author^f, the wretched natives of *Hispaniola* came to a general resolution of putting themselves to death, which they executed so effectually by poison, and all other means of self-destruction, that *Benzo* affirms, when he was upon that island, of two millions of natives who inhabited it in the days of *Columbus*, scarcely one hundred and fifty were alive ; and that the other islands suffered the like depopulation from the same causes.

who oblige the natives to murder themselves.

f NOTHING remarkable occurs concerning *Hispaniola*, but the many expeditions that were fitted out from thence for discoveries on the main land, and which do not belong to this part of our work ; but though *Hispaniola* continued to be the capital island, and indeed, seat of the *Spanish* government in *America*, few attempts were made against it, even in the active reign of queen *Elizabeth* ; for in 1585, though Sir *Richard Grenvil* touched there with five ships, we know of no attempt he made against the island, which the more the *Spanish* colonies encreased on the continent, decreased the more in riches and importance. Notwithstanding all the arts the *Spaniards* made use of to discredit the character of the natives, and to exalt those of their countrymen, the former appear to have been not only a harmless, but a moral, people ; and this leads us to treat of their religion, institutions, and manners.

g ACCORDING to *Oviedo*, as well as *Benzo*, the *Indians* of *Hispaniola*, and likewise of the

^c BENZONI. p. 82.

^f BENZONI. p. 114.

Account of the
religion.

neighbouring continent, worshipped most tremendous images, to whom they are pleased a to affix the names of demons; perhaps with no great propriety, and to them they prayed for all the blessings of life. Their priests in some places are called buhiti, and in others caribes, and possibly, they imposed upon the ignorant natives much in the same manner as roman catholic priests do upon their votaries. *Peter Martyr*, one of the oldest historians we have of *American* affairs, informs us, that no sooner did the *Spaniards* land in *Hispaniola* than the power of their zemi (for so they called their idols) ceased, which the elders of the island looked upon as an omen of their subjection to a foreign power. *Oviedo* remarks, that those demons were not long idle; for he says, that when he was in *India* in 1548, they raised a storm, which killed almost all the four-footed creatures, destroyed the harvest, and overthrew houses, as if such calamities did not daily happen in the course of nature. The truth is, the *Indian* priests were a good deal disconcerted by the attempts the *Spaniards* made b to introduce their religion into the island; but perceiving that they had, in fact, no god but gold, which led them to the commission of all kinds of crimes, they securely returned to their former impostures. When a cacique of *Hispaniola* intended to celebrate a festival in honour of his god, he signified the same to all his subjects, both male and female, with an order that they should meet him at a certain place, and walk in procession to the temple of his deity. As soon as the cacique entered the temple, he beat a drum as a signal for his subjects to follow him, which they did in their best accoutrements, with great order and regularity, the men walking first; and it is remarkable, that on this occasion, the women were obliged to appear without a grain of paint, of which they were at other times very fond, c upon their bodies, as a mark of their purity. Another ceremony was performed on this occasion, which, however ridiculous it may appear to some, may be considered by others as exhibiting an allegorical meaning, though barbarously expressed. The cacique, who appears to have been the high-priest, thrust a little instrument down his throat, which obliged him to vomit before his deity, as an emblem that he concealed within him no sentiments of rancour, revenge, or hypocrisy. After this, all the assembly joined in a hymn in honour of the god, while a fresh company of women came into the temple with baskets of odoriferous flowers and perfumes, which they strewed all around. They then changed their notes, and sung by turns in concert, and next they sung to the praises of their cacique. After this, they offered bread to their idol, and the under-priests, after consecrating it in d their own way, most ceremoniously broke and divided it among the assembly; and then each returned to his own home with great joy and satisfaction.

Manners.

SUCH was the worship paid by the *Indians* to their deity, as represented by writers, who were far from being favourable to their customs and religion. It is true, some of them, and *Benzo* in particular, attribute to them several very ridiculous notions and customs; but we are to observe, at the same time, that one of those capital charges he brings against them is, “their smoking that hellish diabolical weed called tobacco” &c. The same writers frankly acknowledge, that the native *Americans* were far from shewing any dislike to the Christian religion; and that many of them were baptized, but relapsed into idolatry, upon seeing the scandalous and infamous lives that were led by the *Spaniards*, whose priests and e *Dominicans* were, in matters of true religion and sound morality, equally uninformed with the barbarians themselves. One of the capital points of religion with the natives was, an exact adherence to the honour of the marriage-bed, of which the *Spaniards*, who first invaded this country, had no idea; and we have already mentioned how signally the violation of it was punished in the person of *Ojeda*. Another instance of the same kind occurred in 1519. A cacique, who took the name of *Henriquez*, or *Henry*, had been, when he was young, baptized, and growing up he took to wife one of his country women, and went to live at a village called *St. Juan de Maguana*, which was likewise the residence of *Vadiglio*, one of the *Spanish* deputies. *Henry*, though he lived with the *Spaniards* in a state of servitude, observing that one of them had taken a fancy to his wife, complained of the injury f done him to *Vadiglio*, who was so far from punishing the *Spaniard*, that he abused and imprisoned *Henry*; but at last released him, on condition that he never should make the like complaints for the future. *Henry* then carried complaints to the *Spanish* court of parliament, for so my author terms it^k; which sat at *St. Domingo*; but all the satisfaction he got was his being remitted for justice to his former judge. *Vadiglio* then once more threw him into prison for his insolence in repeating his complaint. *Henry* dissimulated his resentment so well, that he once more obtained his liberty; but all the use he made of it was to murder every *Spaniard*, with the most exquisite torments, who fell into his hands for thirteen years; nor could the *Spaniards* with all their art and industry ever lay hold of him.

^k Tetri illius & vere diabolici fumi. Ibid. p. 117. confert. Ibid.

^b Indus ad curiam Parlamenti quæ erat S. Dominici se

a AMONG the natives of *Hispaniola*, it is agreed upon on all hands, even by authors, who in other respects differ from one another, that theft is considered among them as so monstrous and unnatural a crime, that it was punished with the most exquisite tortures, even that of impaling alive, which was performed by them in the same manner as among the *Turks* and other *Asiatics*. In this their justice is so exemplary, that the criminal, let his rank or condition be what it will, never is pardoned even for the slightest offence. The reason which authors give for this extraordinary severity, is, because those barbarians look upon avarice, which they esteem the prompter of theft, as being a prodigy in nature, and therefore, of all crimes the most detestable. We are farther told, that for this reason, they make use neither of locks nor bolts, as they do not suppose any one to be capable of committing so monstrous an offence. In short, all the *Spanish* writers admit, that when *America* was first discovered, the natives were free, even to prodigality, of whatever they possessed; and that the *Spaniards* needed but look upon any thing to become masters of it. We are, however, given to understand, that they did not long continue in this state of ignorance, and that their guests soon instructed them in the value of money, and other commodities; so they quickly became as expert as the *Europeans* themselves in the arts of pilfering.

SOME particulars of moment to the history of *Hispaniola*, prove, that the females of that island are susceptible of tender passions. A young *Spaniard* of *Aragon*, one *Michael Diaz*, happening to quarrel with a domestic belonging to the governor, and wounding him, though not mortally, he fled from *Isabella*, which was the only town the *Spaniards* then possessed upon the island, and rambling first to the east, and then to the south, with five or six of his companions, who followed his fortune, they pitched upon the spot where *St. Domingo* now stands, and where they found some *Indian* cottages. This quarter of the island belonged to an *Indian* lady, who fell violently in love with *Diaz*; and having several children by him, she was baptized by the name of *Catherine*; and she discovered to her lover some rich mines which lay about twenty miles from the place of their habitation. The fame of this spreading abroad, brought other *Spaniards* to settle with *Diaz*; and, the lady at last encouraged him to give a general invitation to all his countrymen at *Isabella*, and else-where, upon the island, who were willing to settle on her estate which was the finest upon the whole island, and sufficient to produce them all kind of accommodations. *Diaz* accordingly went to *Isabella*, where he was soon received into favour by the governor, who finding his residence at *Isabella* to be attended with many inconveniencies, paid a visit in person to *Catherine's* estate, which he soon perceived exceeded in beauty and fertility the most favourable reports that had been made of it. There pitching upon a convenient spot, at the mouth of the river *Ozama*, he began to build the old city of *St. Domingo*; but so as no way to incommode their generous benefactress. Afterwards, the waters of the *Ozama* being found brackish, the capital of the island was removed to a more convenient situation.

WE have little besides what may be found in other parts of this work to add to the history of *Hispaniola*. In 1586, while the *English* and *Spaniards* were at war, the importance of *Hispaniola* had been greatly reduced through the discovery and conquest of the rich kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico*, by which the great seats of the *Spanish* empire in *America* were transferred from *St. Domingo* to those countries. Sir *Francis Drake*, therefore, found no great difficulty that year in surprising and conquering *St. Domingo*, of which he kept possession about a fortnight, till the inhabitants agreed to raise 60,000 pieces of eight, to ransom it from being entirely burnt down. After this *Hispaniola* recovered somewhat of its former splendour; but not through any encouragement given it from *Spain*. The convenience of its situation, its ports and harbours, for carrying on a clandestine trade with all the *European* settlements in *America*, invited thither vast numbers of smugglers and buccanniers, who amassed such large estates, that *Cromwell*, in 1656, fixed his eye upon *Hispaniola* as a most desirable object of conquest. One *Gage*, who had been a roman catholic priest, but afterwards pretended to turn protestant, had travelled over the greatest part of the *West-Indies*, and was well acquainted with the strength and weakness of the *Spaniards* there. One *Simon de Cafferres*, a *Spaniard*, was likewise consulted on the same subject, and *Cromwell* received such a variety of intelligence, that he was in a manner bewildered in his choice of the place against which he was to direct his arms. The advice given him by *Gage* was to attack both *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, by which he demonstrated, if successful, he would soon become masters of all the *Spanish* treasures in *America*. *Cromwell* was pleased with the greatness of this enterprize, the success of which he concluded must depend upon secrecy: he ordered a fleet immediately to be equipped, consisting of thirty ships of war, under vice-admiral *Penn*, and gave the command of four thousand land-forces, to be employed in the same expedition, to general *Venables*, as we have already seen in the history of *Jamaica*. It is said, that in the instructions given to those two commanders by *Cromwell*, they were tied down to no particular destination; and that they were at liberty to attempt *Carthage*, the *Havannah*,

*History of an
Indian Lady.*

*and of the ex-
pedition
against His-
paniola by the
English.*

Havannah, or Porto Rico, or even to settle on some part of the continent to the windward of a
Cartagena.

and Crom-
well.

CROMWELL had this expedition so much at heart, that *Mazarine* and all the other mi-
 nisters in *Europe* remained in the dark as to its object, notwithstanding their most earnest
 applications : but the secret jealousy which he entertained of the two chief commanders,
 whom he suspected of having a warm side to the royalists, seem to have defeated his main
 intention, for he appointed a number of commissioners, whom he thought he could
 trust, as so many checks upon them ; and this introduced the utmost confusion and dis-
 agreement in the service, both by sea and land. After touching at *Barbados*, they sailed to
Hispaniola, where the inhabitants were so much alarmed at their appearance, that it was
 thought they would have abandoned the island, had it not been for the unaccountable con- b
 duct of the invaders. *Venables*, is, perhaps, unjustly blamed on this occasion, for order-
 ing a proclamation to be read at the head of his troops, prohibiting them, under severe pe-
 nalties, to plunder the island, or to leave their ranks during their march. This prohibi-
 tion damped their ardour ; they had embarked in the expedition chiefly from the prospect
 of plunder, which they imagined *Venables*, by his proclamation, intended to engross to
 himself. They likewise found great fault with his having carried along with him his wife,
 who was said to have the entire management of him, and who had the character of being
 proud and rapacious. No good reason has as yet been assigned, why the army was landed
 at forty miles distance from *St. Domingo*, the main object of their destination ; but it is cer-
 tain, that this occasioned the miscarriage of the expedition. The roads through which the c
 men were to march, consisted either of deep scalding sands, or thick impracticable woods,
 all the way destitute of water, and all kind of refreshments, in a sultry season, not to men-
 tion, that they were entirely unacquainted with the country. All those discouragements
 spread an irrecoverable damp on the troops, and gave such spirit to the *Spaniards*, that they
 returned to *St. Domingo*, and made such dispositions for harrassing the *English* upon their
 march, as frustrated their undertaking. The soldiers, oppressed with heat and thirst,
 scarcely attempted to defend themselves against their enemies, who butchered them as they
 dropped upon the ground through fatigue and faintness. Major-general *Haynes*, an excel-
 lent officer, and colonel *Holmes*, with about 700 soldiers, perished in this manner, besides
 great numbers whom the *Spaniards* cut off in straggling parties. As to the sequel of this ex- d
 pedition, it has been already related ; as has the manner in which the *French* came to fix
 themselves on the west part of the island.

which proves
unsuccessful.

The French
settle on His-
paniola.

THE frequent minorities that happened in the *Spanish* monarchy, and the weakness of their
 administrations, made them guilty of capital oversights in the affairs of *Hispaniola*. When
 that island could afford them no more gold, they never attempted to avail themselves of
 the inexhaustible riches which might have been made by cultivating the soil in tobacco, sugar,
 and other rich commodities. Instead of that, they suffered the *French* to acquire new strength
 every day, till by degrees, they were able to make head against all the *Spaniards* on the
 island, of which, they, at this very time, possess the most cultivated part. Three sorts of e
French at first resorted to *Hispaniola* : the first were buccaneers or hunters, who lived by
 killing black cattle, and selling their tallow and hides to vast advantage : the second species
 of adventurers, the filibusters, so called from the *Dutch* fly-boats, in which they generally
 sailed ; but are commonly confounded with the buccaners. Those filibusters were, pro-
 perly speaking, no other than free-booters, who, as we have seen in the history of *Jamaica*,
 being deprived of the protection of the *English* government, repaired to *Hispaniola*, where
 they found shelter, and carried on a very gainful traffic. The third and last set of adventu-
 rers were those who settled in the island, and by attaching themselves to the cultivation of
 the soil, were, properly speaking, planters. The *French* court at first affected to discourage
 those settlers ; but they took no effectual means to suppress them, or to oblige them to leave
 the island, though their trading and settling there was directly contrary to the spirit of the f
 treaty of *Munster* ; and, indeed, it is surprising, if the *Spaniards* were too weak to drive
 the *French* from *Hispaniola*, that they were not assisted by the other powers of *Europe*, *Eng-
 land* in particular. The *Spaniards* at last began to open their eyes so far, that they made
 some attempts for dislodging their troublesome visitors ; but it was too late. Those intru-
 ders being secretly supported, and supplied with arms by the *French* governors of the
 other islands, made good their footing, and had they been encouraged, they might even
 have acted offensively against the *Spaniards* ; but their government not chusing to drive
 the *Spaniards* from the island, because of the vast profits they made by them, and fearing
 lest they should rouse the jealousy of other powers, contented themselves with a peaceable
 settlement. At the same time perceiving their own strength, they no longer disavowed g
 the proceedings of their free-booters, but regularly sent them governors, of whom *M. du
 Casse*, as we have already mentioned, was one ; and in 1697, by an article in the treaty of
Ryswick, the *Spaniards* made a legal cession of the north-west part of the island to the *French*,
 con-

- a containing one of the finest territories in the world. The vast improvements since that time that has been made upon this acquisition, are almost incredible; and some have computed, that their settlement at *St. Domingo* exceeds in value those of all the others they possess in *America*. Far from imitating the policy of the *Spaniards*, they have not even begun to search either for gold or silver, though it is the general opinion, that their part of the island contains both, as thinking that the riches acquired by commerce and industry are preferable.

- It is not easy to account for the reason why, during our late wars with *France* and *Spain*, no attempt was made upon *St. Domingo*, unless we can suppose, that the *British* government thought their enemies too strong in that island to attempt to reduce it; but this is a point we shall have occasion to examine in our description of this island. It is certain, that many gallant actions were performed off this island, where the *French* had settled themselves to vast advantage, and had fortified themselves so strongly, as to bid defiance to all the *British* naval power in those seas. In 1758, captain *Arthur Forrest*, who commanded the *Augusta*, a *British* ship of war, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself to great advantage on the coast of *Hispaniola*. A *French* squadron, under one M. *Kersin*, had arrived from *Africa* at *Cape François*, where a large fleet of valuable *French* merchantmen lay at the same time waiting for an opportunity of sailing for *Europe*. This coming to the knowledge of rear-admiral *Cotes*, he ordered captain *Forrest* to sail from *Port-Royal* with his own ship, the *Dreadnought* and the *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains *Suckling* and *Langdon*, and to cruise off *Cape François*, which they did. The *French* at the *Cape* perceiving that *Kersin's* squadron was far superior to the *British*, reproached him for not fighting, or rather, for not bringing all the *British* ships in as prizes, and their crews prisoners. No longer able to withstand those reproaches, he gave orders to put to sea; but had the precaution to reinforce his squadron with some storeships, which he mounted with guns, and converted into armed vessels on this occasion, and took on board an additional complement of soldiers and seamen from the garrison and the merchant-ships. This rendered the party very unequal; *Kersin* having under his command four large ships of the line and three stout frigates. The *British* commodore saw them approach, and after a short consultation with his captains, it was agreed to fight them.
- d By this time, the shore was covered with the *French* inhabitants, who were in full expectation of seeing their ships victorious almost without fighting. The action began between three and four in the afternoon, and the *French* exerted themselves with unusual vigour and activity during an engagement of two hours, in which they were so roughly handled, that their commodore and their captains were obliged to make signals for their frigates to tow them off; and a land breeze springing, they escaped back. The *British* ships had suffered too much to be able to follow them, and were obliged to return to *Jamaica*, with the loss of about 100 men; that of the *French* was 300 men killed, and about as many wounded, besides their best ship being disabled for future service; but their commodore took advantage of the absence of the *British* squadron to sail with his convoy for *Europe*.
- e Soon after this engagement, captain *Forrest's* ship being refitted, admiral *Cotes*, beating up to the windward from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, understood that another *French* fleet (so immense was the *French* trade in *Hispaniola* at that time) was at *Port au Prince*, a *French* harbour, at the bottom of a bay, on the western part of *Hispaniola*, ready to sail for *Europe*. Had *Forrest's* advice been taken, that place would immediately have been attacked, but he was directed to cruise for two days only off the island of *Gonave*, and if nothing extraordinary presented, to rejoin the squadron at *Cape Nicholas*. Proceeding up the bay, that divides *Gonave* from *Hispaniola*, with the greatest caution, under *Dutch* colours, he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward; and at night he chased with all the sail he could carry; about ten he discovered two sail more, one of which fired a gun, while the other steered towards *Leogane*; and now captain *Forrest* began to understand the meaning of the gun that had been fired; for he discovered eight sail to the lee-ward, near *Petit Guaves*. Having taken the ship that fired, he manned her with his own men, and dispatched her to prevent any of the enemy's ships that might attempt to get into *Petit Guaves*. Next morning he found himself engaged with all their fleet, which, after making some faint resistance, he took, one ship after another, to the number in the whole of nine; a success hardly to be paralleled, considering how near they lay to their harbours, where, could they have reached any one of them, they might have been safe. The prizes thus taken, were found to be very rich, as indeed, all the *French* ships, during that war, bound to *St. Domingo*, were, and there sold for the benefit of the captors. The rest of the military operations upon the coasts of *Hispaniola* were too inconsiderable to deserve a particular relation; but they were numerous and every action did great honour to the *British* commanders.

Brave exploit
of three Eng-
lish captains,

against the
Spaniards.

Description of
Hispaniola.

THOUGH the climate of *Hispaniola* is hot, yet it is not reckoned unwholesome; and some of the inhabitants upon it are said to live to the uncommon age of 120. It is sometimes refreshed by breezes and rains, and its salubrity is likewise, in a great measure, owing to

Its products.

the beautiful variety of hills and vallies, woods and rivers, which every where present themselves. Upon the whole, *Hispaniola* is reckoned incomparably the finest and the most pleasant island of all the *Antilles*, because it is the best accommodated to all the ordinary purposes of living, when duly cultivated. It contains forests of cabbage-trees, palms, elms, oaks, pines, besides several other woods, not common, and hardly known in *Europe*; and it is generally agreed, that the pine-apples, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, dates, apricots, and the like fruits, have a finer taste and flavour in *Hispaniola*, than those that grow upon any other of the *Antilles Islands*. As to its other products, both animal and vegetable, they are pretty much the same with those of the other *West-Indian* islands; only it is said, that the *French* part of *Hispaniola* breeds horses sufficient to supply all the *West-Indies*, besides innumerable quantities of black cattle. Crocodiles and alligators infest its coasts and rivers; but they abound, at the same time, with tortoises. Besides the commodities already mentioned, *Hispaniola* produces vast plenty of indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, tobacco, salt, wax, honey, and ambergrease, besides a variety of drugs and dyers woods. It is thought, that the soil is improper for corn; but we learn by the earliest accounts of the *Spaniards*, that the natives, with very little trouble, raised upon it maiz, and other *Indian* corn; and it is imagined, that if the *French* would now apply themselves to that culture, they would succeed. The truth is, the population of this island bears no proportion to its extent; so that the inhabitants cannot spare hands for the cultivation of corn grounds. The *French* are said to be more numerous upon the island than the *Spaniards*; but the whites of both nations in 1726, did not exceed 30,000, while the negroes and mulattoes, as they are called, amounted to 100,000. It is, however, reasonable to presume, that the infinite pains which the *French* government has since taken upon this island, have doubled that number. The profits they make from the products of this island are immense; and, according to some authors, in sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee, twenty years ago, their exports amounted to above twelve hundred thousand pounds annually. During the last war, their exports, as appeared from the prodigious value of their ships that were taken, must have considerably exceeded that sum; and since the peace of 1763, nothing has been wanting on the part of the *French* to render their settlement on *St. Domingo* a counterbalance for all the cessions which they were obliged to make to the *English* in *America* by that treaty. In this they are greatly assisted by the *Spaniards* themselves, who, possessed of great treasures, but without industry, lavish the former to purchase from their *French* neighbours the returns of the latter.

THE advantages of situation, which the *French* in this island enjoy, may be judged from the numerous harbours, many of them more capacious and convenient, than any in *England*, which their territory contains. Originally, the *St. Domingo* company, established by the *French* government, had a grant of all their part of the island; but when the value of it came to be better known in 1720, his most Christian majesty revoked the grant he had made to that company of the south-west part of this country, from *Cape Tiberon* to *Cape Mougon*, so that the governor-general, who is count *D'Etaign*, has under him the governments of *Cape François*, *St. Louis*, *Port Paix*, and *Petit Guaves*; a tract which contains about 150 miles in length; and this brings us to treat of the particular *French* settlements on or near this island.

St. Louis.

Vache Island.

Donna Maria Bay.

SAINTE LOUIS has a harbour on an island, with a fort, but the town is no way remarkable, it having been ruined by a hurricane in 1737, and the inhabitants are put to great inconveniencies for fresh water. *Vache Island* lies about three leagues from the main land of *Hispaniola*, and is about nine in compass, though voyagers are strangely divided as to those calculations. It was formerly the chief rendezvous of all the pirates and free-booters, who resorted to those seas, and it contains two or three ports, one of which can receive ships of 300 tons. The chief excellency of this island consists in the conveniency of its situation for a trade with *Cayenne*, (the only settlement the *French* have upon the continent of *South-America*) and with the *Spanish* continent. This island serves now as a kind of magazine of live stock, particularly black cattle and hogs for the *St. Domingo* company. *Donna Maria Bay*, at the west-end of the island, is a famous wooding and watering-place for the ships of all nations which pass that way. About eight leagues from *Petit Guaves* is a negro-settlement, called *Fond de Negros*, where they rear cocoas. In 1654, the *French* buccaneers made themselves masters of *Petit Guaves*; so that it is the oldest settlement the *French* have upon the island, and it is now a place of considerable trade. Upon the same bay lies *Leogane*. This town and territory, while it was held by the *Spaniards*, was thought to be of so much importance, that it was erected into a principality, which gave title to a natural daughter of *Philip III.* of *Spain*, and it is said, she died here in a castle, the ruins of which are still to be seen, as is an aqueduct, of half a mile long, which supplied it with fresh water. In 1711, the *French* built a new town here, and obliged the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, *L'Esterre*, and *Petite Riviere*, to repair thither. After this, *Leogane* became the residence of the *French* governor-general, and of the royal judicature,

- a judicature, with that of the supreme council, whose jurisdiction extends from *Cape Mougon* to the river *Artibonite*. The town of *Leogane* itself, however, is but very indifferently situated, in a low, boggy ground. The air of the territory is otherwise said to be pure, and such was the vanity of the inhabitants formerly, that they inserted the principality of *Leogane* among the *French* king's royal titles, till they were checked. The plain of *Leogane* is a most delightful spot, extending about twelve leagues from east to west, and four from north to south. Its fertile soil is watered with rivers and brooks, and is full of sugar, and cocoa-plantations; but being bounded by mountains, it is excessively hot, so that they are obliged to cover up their pot-herbs in beds, to preserve their being burnt up. Notwithstanding this inconveniency, the plain is the paradise of the *French* part of the island, and great numbers of its inhabitants keep their equipages.

- b *LA PETITE RIVIERE*, which lies in the same principality, is beginning to recover from its depopulation; and though a mean place, is the seat of a considerable trade. *L'Eslerre* is likewise repeopled, and is become the country-residence of the most polite *French* in that district, who have houses of pleasure there, and its avenues and inlets are so nobly laid out, that it is said to be exceeded by few places in *Europe*. The citron-trees, particularly, are trained and cultivated in such a manner, as to afford a shade, impenetrable to the weather; and the inhabitants, in all the magnificence and elegancies of life, rival those of *Old France*. *Port Paix*, which faces the island of *Tortuga*, has been already described, and before it was ruined by the *English*, in king *William's* time, it was the seat of the *French* government in *Hispaniola*. Its neighbourhood is well watered, its soil is rich, and the *French* having repaired the town, it is now a place of considerable strength. The island of *Tortuga*, which we have so often mentioned in the preceding part of this work, lies off *Cape St. Nicholas*, thirty-five leagues east from *Cuba*, and is by nature fitted for what it formerly was, a harbour for pirates, it being surrounded for the most part with rocks, and the access to it very difficult to find. The free-booters of all nations, who settled here, proved so troublesome to the *Spaniards*, that in 1638, the latter drove them from their haunts with fire and sword. The conveniency of the situation invited one *Willes*, an *English* pirate, to repair thither with his crew, but he, in his turn, was dispossessed by the *French*, who returned in such numbers, that after various conflicts with the *Spaniards*, they made good their footing in *Tortuga*, and received such supplies from their other islands, that they were enabled to pass over to *Port Paix*, which they built, and extended themselves all along that coast. This little island formerly abounded in turtles, from which it took its name, and is six or seven miles distant from the main land of *Hispaniola*, and is six leagues from east to west, and three, where broadest, from north to south, being about sixty leagues in compass. It produces all the commodities found upon other *West-Indian* islands, but lies under the disadvantage of having little or no fresh water, but what the inhabitants save in cisterns. The wild-boars, with which this island abounds, are saved for provision, in cases of necessity. Only the south-part of the island is inhabited, and is now a populous, flourishing settlement, with a convenient harbour, which receives large ships. The town here is called *Gayona*; and is defended by a fort, which takes its name from one *D'Ageron*, who is esteemed the father of the settlement. The north part of the island is almost uninhabited, on account of its unwholesome air, and rugged coast. The town of *Cape St. Francois*, which is situated on the north side of the island, is, properly speaking, the capital of the *French Hispaniola*. It has a fine harbour, and though the town was twice destroyed in king *William's* time, it is now in a flourishing, opulent condition. The streets are well laid out, and though the town lies in a miserable situation, and is but indifferently fortified, yet its conveniency for trade, and the fertility of its neighbourhood, has drawn hither about 8000 inhabitants. This quarter is, by way of distinction, often called the *Cape*; and the *French* government has established here a superior council, to judge of appeals from other parts of the island.

Flourishing condition of the French in Hispaniola.

- f SUCH is the flourishing condition of the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. But, besides all the riches we have already mentioned to arise from it to *Old France*, we are not to forget, that by the contraband trade carried on between the natives and the *Spaniards*, *French* manufactures, to the amount of two millions of dollars annually, are disposed of among the latter, and paid for in ready money, which goes directly to the mother-country. Add to this, that the *French* have upon *St. Domingo* such vast quantities of excellent sugar-grounds not yet cultivated, that it is in their power, at any time, to treble the quantity they raise of that commodity, and the consideration of this was the true reason that induced the government of *England* to restore the islands of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico* by the late definitive treaty; as the *French* inhabitants of those islands would, in general, have removed to *St. Domingo*, and, in a short time, have raised more sugar than both of them produce. The court of *Spain* itself, has of late expressed great uneasiness on different occasions at the power of the *French* in *Hispaniola*, which, they say, has been established contrary to treaty. This

con-

consideration, on some future occasion, may be an object well worthy the attention of a *Great Britain*, when her interests shall be thoroughly consolidated with those of *Spain*.

Description of
St. Domingo,

NOTWITHSTANDING the many blows that the city of *St. Domingo* has received, it still continues to be the capital of *Hispaniola*, and contains several magnificent edifices, which would make a figure in *Europe* itself. Though its trade has been long gone, yet through the veneration attached to it by the *Spaniards*, it is still in a respectable condition, and its inhabitants are thought to amount to 30 000, of whom 7000 may be real *Spaniards*, the rest are mestizoes, mulattoes, and *Albatraces*. The city itself is large, and well built of stone, its port is safe, and defended by batteries, with a castle at the end of the pier, and other works of considerable strength; and here some remains of the former trade of the city still subsist. It is the residence of an archbishop, who has for his suffragans the bishops of *La Conception* in this island, *St. John's* in *Porto Rico*, *St. Jago* in *Cuba*, *Veruzuela* in *New Castile*, and of the city of *Honduras*. Here the governor-general of the *Spanish Indies*, and the judges of the royal court hold their supreme seats of justice; and the audience of *St. Domingo* has the precedence of all the other royal audiences belonging to the *Spaniards* in *America*. The president, who holds the first place in the law here, purchases his place, which formerly was very gainful, because an appeal lay to him from all the *Spanish* provinces in *America*; but his jurisdiction is now confined to their *West-Indian* islands. The clergy here are numerous and rich, and the hospital has a revenue of 20,000 ducats a year. *St. Domingo* boasts of a Latin school, and an university, seven large monasteries, two nunneries, a college, with a revenue of 4000 ducats, besides a power of coinage. Its cathedral is spacious and magnificent. The market-place lies in the middle of the city, in the form of a square, from whence the principal streets run in direct lines, and are crossed by other streets at right angles. The town, which is almost quadrangular, has a fine navigable river on the west, the ocean on the south, and is bounded on the east and west by a fruitful country. In short, this city owes in present support to the lawyers and clergymen, whose professions oblige them to reside upon it.

and the Spaniards of
the island,

THE city of *Conception de la Vega* is a bishop's see, founded by one of the family of *Columbus*, and is 25 leagues north of *St. Domingo*. It contains a cathedral and several parish churches, besides convents. *St. Jago de los Cavallieros* lies 10 leagues north-west of *La Conception*. The air of this town is greatly commended by father *Charlevoix*, who was there in the year 1722. He observes, that the mountains, with which the plain of *Cape François*, which we have already mentioned, is bounded to the southward, will soon, on account of the wholesomeness of their air, be better peopled than the plain itself, which he says is watered with innumerable brooks, and would be more delightful than the valley of *Tempe* of the antients, did it not lie within the torrid zone. Notwithstanding this, such sick people of the island as resort to those mountains, after all other remedies have failed them, are soon cured; and *Charlevoix* remarked that few of their natives have any diseases. Thirty-five leagues north of *St. Domingo*, lies *Porto de la Plata*, or the Haven of Silver, built by *Ovando* in 1502, upon an arm of the sea, and defended by a castle: formerly it was reckoned the second place of consequence in the island, but is now no better than a fishing village. *Monte Christo* has a commodious harbour, 19 miles west from *Porto de la Plata*, and 40 north-west from *St. Domingo*. On the banks of the river *Yaguey*, which washes it, are several outworks. Some little islands of no great note lie round *Hispaniola*. The most considerable of them is *Savona*, which is naturally fertile; it produces guaiacum and cassavi, and its coasts abound with turtle; but, through the unaccountable indolence of the *Spaniards*, it is next to uninhabited, few or none but fishermen and freebooters repairing to it, and that in the turtling-season. It is not distant above five leagues from one part of *Hispaniola*, and is about seven leagues in length, but not so broad. *Mona*, another island, due east from *Hispaniola*, is only about three leagues in compass, but of so excellent a soil and temperature of climate that it is populous.

ana Porto
Rico island.

PORTO RICO may be said to be the only large island of the *Antilles*, that now remaineth to be described. It lies eighteen leagues from the most north easterly point of *Hispaniola*, and extends from longitude 65 to 67, and from latitude 18 to 18. 40 min. being about 150 miles from east to west, and between 40 and 50 in breadth. The antient name of this island was *Borichen*. It was discovered by *Columbus*; but the history of his successors upon the island admits of no diversification, being made up of massacres and murders, the most unbounded cruelty and insatiable avarice. The first discoverers gave it the name it now bears, which implies that of *St. John*, with the rich port, on account of the treasures they found there. The island, at that time, is said to have contained 600,000 inhabitants, who understanding that the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of *Hispaniola*, an island far more powerful and populous than their own, concluded that they must be immortal. One of their petty princes, it seems, had some doubts with regard to this point, and questioned, though

a though they came from the east, whether they were really the children of the sun as they pretended to be ^m. He communicated his doubts to the other caciques of the island, upon which about 200 *Spaniards* had landed; and it was agreed, that before they resigned their liberties, they should make an experiment upon the immortality of their invaders; but, in the mean time, to treat them with great complaisance and hospitality. *Salsedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, whom we have already mentioned, happened to be the unfortunate object of this experiment. As the behaviour of the savages had given the *Spaniards* no room to doubt of their submission, the latter carelessly strolled through the island, and *Salsedo* falling into the territory of *Jaguaca*, belonging to the cacique *Vraican*, he was entertained in the most sumptuous and humane manner; and upon his departure, an escort of fifteen or twenty savages was appointed to attend him and to carry his baggage. When they came to the river *Guarabo*, in the eastern part of the island, the *Indians* desired the honour of *Salsedo* to carry him over on their shoulders, which he very readily agreed to, proud of having so many ready slaves. Some of the strongest of the savages accordingly took him up; but while they were in the deepest part of the river, they threw him into it, according to their instructions, and, by keeping him down, soon dispatched him. When he was dead, they dragged his body ashore, and under the firm persuasion that he was immortal, they remained about it for three days, asking pardon for what they had done, till the carcase began to putrify, and then they informed their cacique of what had happened, and he repaired to the spot to examine the body, which being then quite corrupted, convinced him and the other caciques that the *Spaniards* were mortal; upon which they fell upon them, and, almost in an instant, put 150 of them to death, while they were rapaciously plundering the natives of their gold; and the rest must have undergone the same fate, had not *Diego Salazar* arrived with a fresh supply of *Spaniards* and rescued them.

Spaniard drowned for an experiment.

THIS massacre gave the *Spaniards* a plausible pretext for exterminating the natives, which, in a short time, they effected; but this inhumanity was far from answering their purpose; for the vast treasures of the island disappeared with the natives. This was not unusual, as we have already observed; and it gives some credit to the report of the *Indians* having the secret of discovering and working their mines, which secret perished with themselves. Notwithstanding this, the island of *Porto Rico* was still a most desirable object, on account of its fertility and situation. In the year 1514, its chief town, which goes by the name of the island, was founded, and *John Ponce de Leon* was appointed its governor. In 1594, while it was in a very flourishing condition, it was attacked by Sir *Francis Drake*, the *English* admiral, who destroyed all the ships in the harbour, but could make no farther progress against the island. In 1597, the earl of *Cumberland* received a privy-seal from queen *Elizabeth*, by which he was empowered to attack and destroy the territories of her enemies, and to distribute among his men all the plunder he should make, saving only such customs as were due to the crown upon all goods brought into any of its dominions ⁿ. We have been the more particular as to this commission, because it was a very singular one; the crown in other cases reserving to itself a large portion, sometimes a fifth of the plunder. The ships equipped upon this occasion, were, the *Malice-Scourge*, the *Royal Merchant*, the *Ascention*, the *Sampson*, the *Consert*, the *Prosperous*, the *Gallion*, the *Alcodo*, the *Centurian*, the *Affection*, the *Pegasus*, the *Anthony*, the *Frigate*, the *Scout*, the *Guyana*, and the *Musketa*. From the curious manuscript, quoted in the note, we have the following journal of his lordship's expedition.

Cruelty of the Spaniards.

“ His lordship being prepared, at his chiefest charge in his own person, embarked himself in the *Malice-Scourge*, admiral, being his own ship, wherein he was general of the fleet, on *Monday, March 6, 1597*; from thence he set sail with all his fleet.

“ *SATURDAY* the 18th of *March*, at six o'clock in the evening, there came a great *Fleming* towards them, as they were at anchor at the *Burlings*, which as soon as they espied, they sent the ship called the *Scout* to see what she was. She being come near the *Fleming*, he set upon her, and fought with her. The fleet hearing them in fight, they split their cables and man'd towards them, and within half an hour they fetcht up the *Fleming*, who fought about three hours, slew two, wounded two or three more, and cut off one of captain *Thomas Greenwell's* legs, and the *English* shot it through in eight several places, and boarded him, who at last yielded. She was loaded with corn, copper, cottons, &c.

Earl of Cumberland's journal.

“ *MONDAY* the 20th of *March*, kept his course towards *Capitcher*, a foreland of *Portugal*, where beating up and down, waiting for the *Spanish* king's carracks coming from *Lisbon*, until *Tuesday* the 4th of *April, 1598*; in which time, they spake with five *Flemings*, and took two carvels, who all agreed in one affirming, that the said carracks were in readiness to come out with the first wind, during which time the *Affection* took a *Fleming*, loaden

^m BENZONI, apud de Bry. p. 21, 22.

ⁿ MSS. History of the family of Clifford.

with wheat, and sent her to *England* unknown to the earl. The rest of the fleet took three other *Flemings* loaded with wheat, with a *Frenchman* loaded with wine.

“ *SATURDAY* the 8th of *April*, they were informed that one *Moseley*, an *English* master of a ship, of *London*, (who brought certain prisoners out of *England*) certified them the earl of *Cumberland* lay waiting for them, whereupon those carracks staid their voyage till the earl’s departure.

“ *SATURDAY* the 13th of *May*, they made towards a small island short of *Dominico*.

“ *MONDAY*, the 22 of *May*, they came to anchor in the harbour of *Dominico*, and staid the rest of the month.

“ *WHITSUNDAY* being the 4th of *June*, they landed to muster their men, and after setting sail they directed their course towards *St. John Porto Rico*, a very strong island in the *West-Indies*.

“ *TUESDAY* the 6th of *June*, in the morning the fleet landed, marching towards the fort twelve or fourteen miles distant from their landing, and by night came within a mile of the bridge, where they rested themselves till midnight, and then they marched down to the bridge, thinking to have entered there; but it was so strong of itself, and so well defended, that they were forced to retire with the loss of twenty persons, and as many wounded.

“ THE next day they lay all about the bridge, where playing with their muskets at another fort, called the *Red Fort*, they killed most of the enemy, and forced the rest to forsake the fort, by which means the boats landed their men that evening.

“ *THURSDAY* morning the 8th of *June*, the earl marched to the bridge, where they entered without resistance, and so the *English* captains, meeting together, marched to the town, where they entered in like manner; the enemy being likewise fled; but the governor, with 2 or 300 soldiers betook themselves to a fort for refuge, and there kept the earl’s men in play, with their great ordnance, until they made barricadoes, and planted four or five great pieces fetched from their ships.

“ *SUNDAY* the 18th, and *Monday* the 19th of *June*, he made a battery in two or three places.

“ *TUESDAY* the 20th, the enemy beat a parley, and on *Wednesday* yielded the fort and town.

“ DURING their stay in the town, there came from *Angola* a frigate loaded with negroes into the harbour. There came another into the mouth of the harbour, but seeing the fleet, she tack’d about and made her escape.

“ AFTERWARDS the earl sent away all the *Spaniards* in *Spanish* bottoms, some bells, some good value of good ginger, sugar, and other good spices, and shipped them away, and so set sail from *Porto Rico* the latter end of *July*, 1598, having taken eight great and small ships, which he brought away with him; all he got falling far short of the great expences he had been at in this expedition.

“ HE lost 700 men, whereof sixty, or thereabouts, were slain in fight at *Porto Rico*, 600 died of the bloody-flux, and about forty were cast away in their return.

“ THE old frigate was cast away upon the *Ushant*. One of his barks was sunk in the harbour of *Porto Rico* on purpose; another was cast away at the island of *Bermudas*, but not a man lost. The *Pegasus* was cast away at his return upon the *Goodwin-Sands*, but the men were saved.

“ HE arrived at *Portsmouth* in good health and safety on the first day of *October*, 1598, with fifteen good ships, one bark, and 1000 men.”

Porto Rico
taken by the
Dutch.

Description of
Porto Rico.

IN 1615, the *Dutch* invaded the island of *Porto Rico*, and took the town, but without being able to make themselves masters of the castle, which, by all accounts, is exceeding strong. Infinite pains have been taken by the *Spanish* government to prevent an illicit trade at this place; but all to no purpose, because of the mutual conveniency that accrues to the *Spaniards*, as well as to the *English*, and other nations, who carry it on. In the war between *Spain* and *England*, which commenced in the year 1739, *Porto Rico* was the chief receptacle for all the *English* prizes, made by the *Spanish* guarda costas. The convenience of its situation for a contraband trade is such, that all the severe edicts of the *Spanish* government have been found insufficient to prevent it; and the city of *Porto Rico* is thought to be the very center of the illicit commerce in *Spanish America*. It is well built and populous, and the seat of a governor as well as a bishop’s see. The cathedral has a monastery belonging to it, but the heat of the climate renders it inconvenient to make use of glass windows, and their canvas and wooden lattices disfigure their buildings. The city is often in distress for water, all they have being that which falls from the heavens and preserved in cisterns; though we are told by those who have described it, that two rivers fall into the harbour. This scarcity of water, it seems, does not prevent the island itself from being extremely fertile, and enjoying all the benefits of the most temperate climate. It is beautiful

- a fully diversified with woods, hills, and valleys; its meadows are very rich; and the cattle, of which they feed great plenty, were originally imported from *Old Spain*. All those advantages are owing to a number of brooks and rivers that descend from the mountains, which run from east to west of the island, and which are clothed with woods of all kinds, especially such as are proper for ship-building.

- b THE *Spaniards* have been at great pains in fortifying the city and island of *Porto Rico*, the latter of which, with its harbour, are defended by a citadel and a castle. After all, nothing but the immense profits accruing to the traders upon this island, could compensate for its many inconveniencies. The rains which fall in *June*, *July*, and *August*, though they cool the excessive heat of the season, render it unwholesome, and the island, in general, is subject to violent hurricanes and blights from the north-east wind. The north part of it, which is the most barren, is said to contain various mines, some of them of silver and gold; but we know of none that are worked at present, tho' it is confidently affirmed that gold-dust is often found in the sands of their rivers. Ten sugar-mills are built on the banks of the *Caribon*; and the island produces all the different fruits which we have so often mentioned to be common in the *West-Indies*. Its grass is long and coarse, and such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that they scarce cultivate any one art or manufacture that can render life comfortable, for even their bread is made of the cassavi root, and they have but little other liquor than what is made of molasses and spices, excepting wine, which they import at an excessive expence. The woods are stored with parrots, wild-pigeons, and other fowl. *European* poultry is found here in plenty, and their coasts afford abundance of fish. A breed of dogs, which the *Spaniards* brought over to *America* for hunting and tearing in pieces the defenceless inhabitants, are said to live here wild in the woods, near the sea shore, and subsist upon land-crabs that burrow in the earth. The principal trade of the natives consists in their sugar, ginger, hides, and cotton, both raw and manufactured, cassia, mastic, salt, oranges, lemons, and sweetmeats.

Its produce,
and

Trade.

- d THE places of greatest note in this island, besides the city of *Porto Rico*, are as follows; *Port del Agnada*, where the fleet provide themselves with water and other necessities in their voyage to *Spain*; *Bomba d'Inferno*, famous for an excellent turtle fishery; *Crab's Island*, so called from the number of crabs there found, which is so agreeable and fertile, that some *English* settled there in 1718, but in 1720, they were dispossessed by the *Spaniards*, and transplanted to other parts of their dominions, or sent back to the *British* islands. The *Virgin-Islands*, which lie to the east of *Porto Rico*, belong likewise to the *Spaniards*, but are of little value, because they are barren and sandy; for which reason the *French* when they possessed *St. Christopher's*, banished thither their criminals. One of them is called *Bird-Island*, from the multitude of booby-birds it contains, which are so tame, that a man can catch them with his hand. *St. Thomas* is generally reckoned one of the *Virgin-Islands*, and though nominally subject to his *Danish* majesty, it is the staple of a large contraband trade carried on by all the *European* nations resorting to the *West-Indies*.

- e THE plan of this work does not admit of our describing every little island which the *Spaniards*, or any other nation possess in *America*, and which are of so little importance that they can be esteemed only as large rocks: we shall, therefore, just touch on those not already mentioned, that are of the greatest consequence. The isle of *Penguins*, which lies on the east part of the *Terra Magellanica*, is remarkable only for taking its name from a white-headed bird as large as a goose, but it belongs to antiquaries to account for the similarity between this *American* word and the *Welsh* penguin, which likewise signifies a white head. On the western coasts of the same country lie several other islands, some say to the number of eighty, but are too inconsiderable to be described. The *Terra del Fuego*, which forms one part of the straits of *Magellan*, is represented as being a cluster of islands, several of which furnish capacious bays and roads, and contain fertile pasture grounds, but subject to violent hurricanes. The natives are as white as the *Europeans*, but paint their bodies in the most fantastic manner. They are savages of the most uninformed kind, being little different in their intellects from brutes. If they shew any signs of humanity to strangers, it is that they may have an opportunity to massacre them. Some travellers, however, represent those savages in a better light; but all agree that they live without religion, laws, or government. The islands on the *Brazil* coast are of little importance, excepting that of *St. Catharine's*, which is represented as being a continued grove of trees which enjoy a perpetual verdure. The inhabitants, who acknowledge themselves to be subject to the king of *Portugal*, are so little accustomed to the modes of civilized life, that they have no part of their island clear, but the neighbourhood of their scattered dwellings, which lie in fifteen or sixteen spots upon the shore. With the *Portuguese* inhabitants are mixed some *European* fugitives, and all of them are under the government of a *Portuguese* captain; but their assisting him against the savages of the continent is all the benefit his master or he receives from his government. They are, in consequence of this exemption from taxes, a people

Lesser islands
described.

Description of
St. Catha-
rine's-Island.

people so free, that they live like men in their original state of society. Though they know ^a the use of fire-arms, they have among them scarcely any guns or powder; so that they supply the use of them with bows and arrows. Hunting is at once their diversion and employment, and the thickness of their impassable woods is their security against all surprizes or attacks. *Frazier*, the *French* voyager, found them in such want of common necessities, that they refused to accept of money for the provisions they furnished him with, and preferred a piece of linen or woollen-stuff, a shirt, or breeches, to gold or silver, which, they said, could not protect them from the weather; and a coloured waistcoat and hat, completed the dress of the most opulent and sumptuous among them. Buskins of tyger's-skin guard their legs during their excursions into the woods, and fish and game, with potatoes and fruit, furnish their common meals; but we perceive that monkeys are their chief venison. ^b After all, they may be considered as a race of philosophical savages. They have opportunities to know enough of *European* manners to enable them to value their own happiness, in despising laborious and dangerous pursuits after gold and silver, and to pity those who follow them. A *Portuguese* chaplain, who comes from *Lagoa*, on the continent, does as much religious duty as serves to keep up among them the name of christianity, by saying mass on the principal festivals of the year, for which he receives a stipend, the only tax which those islanders are subject to. The air of this island is wholesome, the climate good, and the inhabitants enjoy an excellent share of health, being subject to few or no diseases, but what the vegetables of their own soil can cure. Sassafras, and guiacum, oranges, lemons, citrons, cotton, and other trees, grow here to vast perfection; and the potatoes of *St. Catherine's* are esteemed to be the best in the world. ^c

Chiloe.

IN the *South-Sea* lies the island of *Chiloe*, off the coast of *Chili*, in south-latitude, 44, or rather from 42 to 44 deg. It is about 150 miles in length, and 21 in breadth; but is only remarkable for giving shelter to ships during the tempestuous weather, and for two miserable defenceless towns, in possession of the *Spaniards* who had been long accustomed to think themselves secure from all attacks in the *South-Seas*. The island of *Chiloe* produces all the necessities of life, and is surrounded by forty more, which all go under the same name. The other islands, in the *South-Sea*, belonging either to the *Spaniards* or the *Portuguese*, are too inconsiderable to be mentioned and even that of *Juan Fernandez*, can be considered only as a fortunate landing place for distressed mariners. ^d

I. nudiad.

ACCORDING to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the islands of the *Oroonoko* river are inhabited by the *Tinitavas*, a people divided into two nations, the *Crawaris*, and the *Warrwaris*. The bread they make is of the pith of the palmetto-tree, their other food they acquire by hunting and fishing, but they are at perpetual war among themselves. The island of *Trinidad* forms the strait of the gulph of *Paria*, to the north of *Oroonoko*, and has been several times occasionally mentioned. It is the largest of any on the coast. Its easternmost point lies in north latitude 10 deg. and 23 minutes, and the island itself is about twenty-five leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. By the best accounts, the climate is unwholesome, but produces great plenty of fruit, and the roots that are most common in *America*; and tobacco and sugar-canes might be here cultivated. This island is in a great measure ^e unpeopled, and seems to be held by its proprietors in very little estimation. The island of

Margarita.

Margarita, which we have already mentioned to have been discovered by *Columbus*, who prized it highly for its great pearl-fishery, is about thirty-five leagues in compass. In the time of its splendor, it was very rich and populous; but the rapaciousness of the *Spaniards* has destroyed the pearl-fishery; nor do pearls bring the same price now as formerly, when *America* was discovered. The greatest inconveniency of this island is the want of fresh-water, which the inhabitants are obliged to bring from the main land; and yet the island abounds with pasture and verdant groves, and is fertile in maiz and fruits. According to *Benzo*, when *Columbus* first came upon the coasts of this island, he found the inhabitants busy in fishing for oysters, and ordered some of them on board his own ship, where the ^f savages, far from being terrified, became familiar with the *Spaniards*, who at first imagined, that the oysters they fished for, served them for food, but on opening them, they found they contained pearls. This discovery gave inexpressible pleasure to the *Spaniards*, who immediately made to the shore, where they found all the inhabitants dressed in those valuable pearls, which they disposed of to the *Spaniards* for the merest trifles. In process of time, the *Spaniards* built a castle, called *Monpadre*, and employed prodigious numbers of *Guiney* and *Angola* negroes in the pearl-fishery, cruelly forcing them to tear up the oysters from the rocks, to which they stuck, through which, many of them were destroyed by sharks, and other voracious fishes. In the year 1620, this island was invaded by the *Dutch*, who demolished the castle upon it, since which time it has been, in a manner, ^g

a abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and it is now principally inhabited by the natives, who had some particular indulgences from the court of *Spain* for their tame submission to *Columbus*. North-west from *Margarita*, in the latitude of ten degrees, thirty-five minutes north, lies the island of *Salt Tortuga*, so named to distinguish it from the other *Turtle Islands* on the coasts of *America*, on account of a large salt pond at the east end of it, within two hundred paces of the sea, where merchant-ships take in lading of salt in the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*. But though there is a small harbour in the island, it is barren, rugged, and uninhabited. The island of *Blanco* lies north of *Margarita*, in latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north, but is remarkable only for its turtle-fishery.

Salt Tortuga.

Blanco:

b *Sequel to the History of VIRGINIA.*

(A).

WE have, in a former volume, deduced the history of this colony to the year 1620, when its government was settled, and the colony was in a flourishing condition. This was in a great measure owing to the care of the earl of *Southampton*, who was one of the company at *London*, and through his means, principally, Sir *George Yardly* carried with him to *Virginia* 1300 men in twenty-eight ships. In *August*, after the meeting of the first assembly, a *Dutch* ship arrived there with negroes from *Guinea*, who were the first ever imported into *Virginia*. New settlements were now formed in place of those which had been deserted. The boundaries of *James-Town* were marked out; the borders of *James* and *York* rivers were peopled, and means were found to ascertain both public and private property with greater precision than before. At *Cape Charles* a salt-work was set up, and an iron one at *Falling Creek*. Sir *George Yardly* was, in 1621, succeeded in his government by Sir *Francis Wyat*, who carried over with him from *England* a fresh supply of planters. The colonists were now so industrious in raising tobacco, that the market for it was overstocked, and the planters greatly out of pocket; so that *James I.* ordered that no planter next year should raise above one hundred pounds worth of tobacco, and enjoined them to apply themselves to other manufactures.

Negroes imported into Virginia.

d THE colony now became so populous, that the assembly found it necessary to appoint inferior courts, for the trial of small causes, while the larger ones were determined by the governor and council. All this while, no proper police was introduced into the colony, for regulating matters between the *English* and the natives. The latter appeared to be so tractable and submissive, that the former admitted them into their houses, till they became masters of all the mystery of fire-arms, and other particulars, from the knowledge of which they ought to have been carefully excluded. Their chief commander, at this time, was *Oppecancanough*, one of whose subjects had been put to death by the *English*, for robbing and murdering a planter. This *Indian* happening to be a favourite with the emperor, his death hastened the execution of a scheme, which he had been long meditating, for a general massacre of the *English*, which was fixed to the 22d of *March*, 1622, and almost all the natives entered into the conspiracy. It is hard to pronounce, at this distance of time, the provocation which the natives, who, in all other respects, are represented as a harmless, inoffensive people, might have for this barbarity; but we are apt to think, that some provocation must have been given. It happened fortunately for the *English*, that some of the natives had by this time become converts to christianity, and one of those discovered the conspiracy to one Mr. *Pace*, a few hours before that appointed for its execution. *Pace* gave the alarm to all round him; some fled to *James Town*, others stood upon their defence, till they could retreat to their forts; and, in general, they set fire to their houses and out-houses. The discovery, however, did not reach the remoter plantations time enough to prevent about 334 *English* from being butchered; for the *Indians*, having been entirely familiarized with the planters, found means to seize upon their utensils and arms, and to employ them against them as instruments of murder. All the manufacturers near *Iron Creek* were cut off, excepting a boy and a girl, who secreted themselves. This was an inexpressible loss to the colony, because those works never could be restored, and all knowledge of the lead-mines, which had been just discovered, was lost. The scheme for erecting glass-houses at *James-Town*, was likewise frustrated. The *English*, having somewhat recovered themselves, carried their resentment to the like extreme, for they destroyed all the natives who fell into their hands, and drove the remainder into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not put a stop to their revenge; for, after the governor of *Virginia*, by the promise of peace and pardon, had prevailed with the natives to return to the cultivation of their lands, the planters cut them in pieces, and destroyed *Oppecancanough's* palace.

Conspiracy of the natives:

(A) The history of this colony was left imperfect, through the indisposition of one of the authors of this work.

The news of the *Indian* massacre reaching *England*, excited such a spirit against the natives, that supplies of arms and ammunition were sent from the *Tower of London* to the colonists, who soon drove the savages from all the cultivated parts of the province.

The *Virginian* company dissolved.

NEW measures were then taken for the benefit of the colony, and the natives were once more reinstated in their possessions; but the tyrannical disposition of the colonists still continuing, the savages again conspired against the planters, and cut off all the *English* they could meet with. This was in a great measure owing to the differences and disputes that prevailed among the colonists, and encouraged the natives in their insurrections; and when *Charles I.* came to the crown of *England*, the *English* property in *Virginia* was reduced to so low a pass, that his majesty dissolved the company, and ordered all patents and processes to be issued in his own name, reserving a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. *Charles*, on this occasion, acquired great honour in *America*, while his affairs were going to wreck in *England*. The assembly, which consisted of representatives from the town and counties, was continued, and the government vested in a governor and twelve councillors, with the assembly. The same powers as the proprietors had formerly, were granted to several noblemen and gentlemen; and among others, as we have already seen, *Maryland*, which formerly was a part of *Virginia*, was vested in *George Calvert* lord *Baltimore*. This appointment was complained of by the *Virginians*, as establishing separate interests in the same colony; for when the *Virginian* planters prohibited the exportation of bad tobacco, the tenants of the independent proprietors, not being under the same restrictions, sent it to *England*, to the great discredit of that commodity. Sir *John Harvey* was the first governor of *Virginia* appointed by *Charles I.* after the dissolution of the company; but he behaved in so arbitrary a manner, that the gentlemen of the colony ventured to seize his person, and to send him prisoner to *England* in the year 1639. This was a measure so contrary to the arbitrary principles of *Charles I.* that tho' the *Virginians* sent over two gentlemen to make good their charge against him, the king re-instated him in his government, without their being admitted, so far as we can perceive, to a hearing. He, on the other hand, had his complaints likewise against the planters, some of whom were sent for from *Virginia*, and subjected to great inconveniences by their frequent attendances upon the council-board. At last matters growing very serious between *Charles* and his parliament, *Harvey* was displaced and Sir *William Berkley* was appointed governor of *Virginia* in his room.

Sir John Harvey, governor.

Sir William Berkley, governor.

Another massacre of the *English*.

THOSE altercations between the governor and the planters sunk the character of the *English* greatly in the eyes of the natives, which encouraged *Oppecanough* to meditate a fresh massacre. He was a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind; but it is uncertain whether he was descended from their ancient chiefs, or was a foreigner chosen into the government by the natives. He complained that the *English* had, against the public faith given him, made many encroachments upon his territories, for which he had received no satisfaction, and no regard was paid to his remonstrances. Perceiving that the *English* had spread themselves over a vast extent of country, he ordered his subjects to attack the out-settlements, where they murdered about 500, while he himself and his followers cut off all the *English* who were settled in *York-River*, in the neighbourhood of his capital. Sir *William Berkley* understanding, that in prosecution of his designs, he had advanced into the *English* territory at some distance from his own residence, surprised him in *Henrico* county, with a party of horse, and intended to have sent him to *England*, but a brutal *Englishman* gave him a mortal wound in the back. He was at that time so aged, that he was unable to move without being assisted, but he behaved with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest heroes of antiquity. Understanding by the help of a servant, that he was exposed to the diversion of a rabble, "Had it been my fortune (said he to Sir *William Berkley*) to have made thee a prisoner, thou shouldest not have been exposed to the insults of a rabble."

Death of *Oppecanough*.

Virginia reduced to the power of the parliament.

THE spirit of the natives seems to have died with *Oppecanough*, who, by all accounts, was an extraordinary genius, and had long maintained himself against all the power of the *English*, by uniting the various nations of the *Indians* in a common interest, which his death dissolved. Sir *William Berkley* had good sense enough to improve this incident, by making a pacification with the natives, who could find none to supply the place of their deceased chieftain; but there is some reason to believe, that the *English* did not make a very warrantable use of their advantages. At the time the civil wars in *England* broke out, the *English* settled in *Virginia*, exclusive of women and children, are computed to have been about 15000; but a most lamentable difference then took place between the loyalty of the governor and the interests of the planters. *Berkley*, who appears to have been a man of great resolution, sided with the royal party, and prohibited all intercourse between the *Virginians* and the reigning party in *England*, to the infinite prejudice of the former. Their tobacco

- a tobacco, which was their staple commodity, and of which vast quantities were, at that time, taken off in *England*, lay upon their hands, and though they had great stores of provisions for their immediate subsistence, y. t. being destitute of manufactures, and the benefits of commerce, they suffered very considerably ; nor were they able to supply themselves even with tools for managing their plantations. The *English* parliament, which, in the time of the republic, was composed of very able men before *Cromwell* was made protector, resolved to reduce *Virginia*, as well as their other *American* plantations, to their subjection. Sir *George Ayscough* being appointed with a fleet, as we have seen in the history of *Barbados*, to reduce that island, sent, pursuant to his instructions, a small squadron under captain *Dennis*, with some land troops on board, against the *Virginians*. The *Dutch* were then upon bad terms with the *English*, and Sir *William* engaged some of their ships to assist him in resisting the *English*, which he did so effectually, that *Dennis* despairing of success had recourse to stratagem. He sent a messenger to the province, importing, that he had on board his squadron a very valuable cargo of goods belonging to two leading men of the council, which he was resolved to detain if they continued to hold out. It is not very important, whether this report was a pretext or a reality, for the interest of the colony directed them to a submission, which *Berkley* was not able to prevent, and therefore he retired to his own plantation ; and thus the parliament was left in quiet possession of *Virginia*.
- b

- To do the *English* government at that time justice, it must be acknowledged, that they made a very moderate use of their success, as none of the *Virginian* royalists were persecuted for their resistance, loyalty, or principles. Colonel *Diggs* was appointed by parliament to succeed *Berkley* in the government of *Virginia* ; but nothing remarkable happened during his administration. After that, the unsettled state of affairs in *England* seems to have introduced some confusion into the government of *Virginia*, to which one Mr. *Bennet*, and one Mr. *Matthews* succeeded by *Cromwell*'s orders. Upon the death of *Matthews*, the people of *Virginia* had so grateful a sense of Sir *William Berkley*'s government, that they applied to him to resume the same ; but he refused to comply, unless they would promise to stand by him in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign against *Cromwell* and all the powers of the usurpation. This they actually did, though they thereby incurred all the penalties of rebellion ; and king *Charles II.* was proclaimed all over the province. It happened luckily for Sir *William*, and the *Virginians*, that during these transactions *Cromwell* died and *Charles* was restored ; but Sir *William Berkley* received no other reward for his unprecedented loyalty, than being continued in the government of *Virginia*, and made one of the proprietaries of *Carolina*. The firmness which the *Virginians* expressed in the royal cause, drew from the king a particular mark of his favour ; for it is said, that some part of his habit, at the time of his coronation, was composed of *Virginian* silk sent him from the colony. Upon Sir *William Berkley*'s going over to *England* to congratulate his majesty upon his restoration, he substituted colonel *Morison* in his government, and he proved a most excellent deputy. He collected the laws into one body, and had them confirmed by the assembly. He procured laws for promoting and encouraging manufactures of all kinds, particularly those of silk, linen, woollen, salt, and tanning, and had the parish settlements so well regulated, that all their ministers were comfortably provided for.
- c
- d
- e

Col. Diggs
governor.

Bennet go-
vernor.
Matthews go-
vernor.
Sir William
Berkley re-
chosen gover-
nor.

- THE welfare of *Virginia*, at this time, was so favourite a measure with his majesty, who was himself, when he chose to give application to such matters, a most excellent judge of his people's interest, that Sir *William Berkley* had many audiences from him upon that head. Among other things the king recommended to him was his peopling *James-Town*, by giving all possible encouragement for inhabitants to settle there. This was a wise provision had it been followed ; but the planters were so fond of living upon their own estates, that it was disregarded, which is the reason why, to this day, the towns of *Virginia* are so poor in people. In 1662, Sir *William Berkley* returned to his government, and obtained an act of the assembly for enlarging *James-Town*, by each county in the province building a certain number of houses ; but this, for the reason above-mentioned, proved of very little effect. If Sir *William Berkley* was deficient in any part of his conduct, as a governor, it was in his prepossessions against the puritans, and procuring too severe laws to be made for conformity to the church of *England*, which drove many of the inhabitants into other colonies.
- f

Regulations

- THE restoration having taken place in *England*, many of the republican and *Cromwellian* soldiers, were, in their turns, banished to *Virginia*, and their principles gaining ground in the colony, had almost ruined it ; for the servants entered into a conspiracy to murder their superiors, and render themselves masters of the province. *Birkenhead*, one of the conspirators, struck with remorse at so bloody a purpose, revealed it to the government ; and a party of militia-horse was immediately dispatched to intercept the conspirators as they were marching towards *Poplar Spring*, the place they had agreed upon for their rendezvous. This precaution had the desired effect ; for the conspiracy was defeated, four of the ring-leaders
- g

A conspiracy.

leaders were hanged, and *Birkenhead* was rewarded with 200 l. and his freedom. This conspiracy awakened the attention of the government in *England*, and orders were sent over for the *Virginians* to build forts and a citadel at *James's Town* for the protection of the government, in case of another conspiracy or insurrection of the same kind. No money being ordered for those purposes, the *Virginians* forgot their danger, and the measure was neglected; all but the raising a small battery of cannon for the protection of *James Town*. As the government in *England* thought they had a right to all the advantages that could arise from their colonies, the execution of the navigation-act was enforced with some rigour, and no foreign goods were imported into *Virginia*, that were not first landed in *England*. This necessarily raised the price of *European* commodities, and lowered that of tobacco, which created great discontents in the colony, especially as upon all occasions the planters were undermined by the province of *Maryland*; which being under a separate government, undersold them in their tobacco, and were not liable to any of the acts they passed for discouraging the planting of it, till its value should rise. The *Virginians*, for some time, remonstrated against this opposition of the *Marylanders*, which they considered as being unnatural, but to no purpose.

Discoveries.

ORDERS were sent from *England*, that all ships trading to *Virginia* should ride under certain forts that were to be built upon rivers, and which alone were to be deemed there the ports of trade. In speculation, this was an excellent constitution for fortifying the colony; but little regard was paid to it by the planters, who considered their own interest alone, and carried on their trade in such places as were most convenient for themselves. This, for some time, weakened the colony, and during the war between *England* and *Holland* in the reign of *Charles II.* the *Dutch* often took occasion to insult its coasts, and they sometimes even cut ships out of its harbours. Sir *William Berkley* still continued to be governor of *Virginia*, and set a most noble example, by his own practice, for the colonists to improve their manufactures of silk, linen, pot-ashes, and hemp. Fourteen *English*, and as many *Indians*, were sent out to make discoveries upon the continent, which they found to be very plentiful. They travelled for seven days under the command of one captain *Batt*, but coming to a certain boundary, the *Indians*, who attended him, refused to go further, because the nations who lived beyond it, destroyed all the strangers who came among them.

Bacon's rebel-

UPON *Batt*'s return, Sir *William Berkley* was so pleased with his report that he resolved to go in person, and to improve his discoveries, but was prevented by an unexpected rebellion which broke out in the colony. The causes of complaint among the insurgents were, that the price of goods imported into *Virginia* were very high, on account of the imposts laid upon them in *England*, where their tobacco scarcely bore a price to defray the expence of rearing it. Their next ground of complaint was founded on the grants of lands included within the original charter of *Virginia*, made to noblemen and others, by which they were not only dispossessed of what they conceived to be their property, but thwarted in all the measures they took for advancing the interests of their own colony. They likewise complained of the vast taxes they were obliged to pay, and of the molestation they met with from the *Indians*; all which they attributed to the severity of the *English* government, which had no regard to the interest or condition of *Virginia*. Those complaints had but too much foundation before the flame of rebellion, which they occasioned, broke out. One colonel *Park*, and Mr. *Ludwell*, who was secretary of the colony, were sent to *England* at a considerable expence, to petition for redress; but the spirit of the *English* government, at that time could bear no such application, and they returned without the smallest prospect of success.

THE *Indians*, who for some years had been very quiet, still considered the *English* as intruders upon their country, and finding great discontents among the planters, they began to move towards the head of the bay of *Chesapeake*, and the planters of *New York*, and other *English* settlements, forming separate interests from those of *Virginia*, they encouraged the savages to rebel. The conduct of Sir *William Berkley*, though otherwise an excellent governor, gave them but too great a handle for this. They complained of the inroads which had been made into their country, as being so many preparatives for exterminating them, and that encroachments were every day made upon their properties. Those complaints, whether well or ill-founded, induced the savages to commit many barbarities upon the *English*, which provoked the latter so much, that without any regard to government, they demanded arms, which the prerogative principles of *Berkley*, their governor, denied to them, deeming it unlawful for the people to judge of their own interests. One colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, a personable young man, of parts and spirit, and one, who, perhaps, thought his merit had been neglected, struck in with the reigning discontents of the colony, and took every opportunity of exaggerating their miseries. His address and abilities soon gained him followers, and the inferior people of the colony, almost to a man, chose him for their leader against

a against the *Indians*. *Bacon* knew the danger of accepting such a commission, without leave or authority, which he demanded from Sir *William Berkley*. The governor, who was an enemy to the least appearance of democratical power, but at the same time sensible of the danger of the province, from the spirit of the people, trifled with *Bacon*, though without giving him any flat refusal, on pretence that he must consult his council. *Bacon* knew the meaning of that language, and that it tended only to disappoint him. He therefore strengthened his interest among the lower ranks of the people so greatly, that he bade defiance to the governor himself, and came to *James-Town* with forty people, not to solicit, but to demand his commission.

b INSTEAD of appearing as a rebel, he took his seat at the council-board, where he laid open the dangerous state of the colony, which was provided with sufficient powers for its own remedy, were the inhabitants properly armed and authorized. *Berkley* ordered him and his followers to return home, and absolutely refused to grant the commission he demanded; but *Bacon* was no sooner gone, than the governor reflecting on what had passed, and on *Bacon's* behaviour, arrested him at *Sandy-Point*, and brought him back to *James-Town*. The principles of the two parties were incompatible: *Bacon* was sensible of his interest with the people, and disdained the royal commission, which he seemed to solicit for. The governor, on the other hand, considered *Bacon's* demand as an insult upon his master, and though he treated *Bacon* with the greatest regard and tenderness towards his person, yet he continued to refuse granting him the commission. In the mean while, the murders and depredations of the *Indians* still increasing, and the people being thereby exasperated beyond all bounds, *Bacon* made his escape from *James-Town*, but soon returned at the head of six or seven hundred men, and laid a kind of a siege to the state-house, where the assembly met.

Bacon arrested.

c MANY of the members in their private sentiments favoured *Bacon's* cause and spirit; and as the situation of the province became now a case of necessity, they in a manner forced *Berkley* to sign a commission, appointing *Bacon* to the command of all the forces in *Virginia*. *Bacon* no sooner obtained this commission, than he withdrew; and he no sooner withdrew, than the governor revoked his commission, proclaimed him a traitor, and commanded all his attendants to disperse. *Bacon* had now two enemies to deal with, the *Indians* and the English. The murders committed by the former still continued, but *Bacon* thought that his greatest danger was to be apprehended from the governor, and his men demanded to be led directly to *James-Town*, where the militia had been raised, and all preparations had been made against an open rebellion. In their march, they treated the governors friends and abettors as rebels, by destroying their estates and plantations. *Berkley* could not assemble a force sufficient to oppose them, and he fled to *Accomack*, where he hoped to form a party. In doing this, he in fact abdicated his government, which *Bacon* took upon himself; and when he came to *James-Town*, he, by his own authority, and that of four of the council, summoned the assembly; which accordingly met. Here it was declared, that *Berkley* the governor had fomented the civil war in the province, and by his withdrawing himself from *James-Town*, had left the people at liberty to shift for themselves; and likewise that they justified *Bacon* in all his proceedings, and that his army was raised for the service of the public.

Proceedings of Bacon against the governor.

d THE governor, all this while, remained at *Accomack*, where *Bacon's* interest was but weak; and he found means to raise some forces to oppose him. This produced various skirmishes, to the great desolation of the colony; and *Berkley* wrote to *England* for supplies of every kind. The rebels, for so *Bacon's* people were called, finding *Berkley* exasperated against them beyond all measure, affirmed that he had abdicated the government; that *Bacon* was their only lawful governor; and that they were determined to stand by him at all events. Both parties made their appeals to *England*, where the news-papers were every day filled with their exploits; but their interest at court and in the parliament admitting of no comparison, *Berkley* received encouragement to persist in making no concessions to the rebels, and orders were given for the equipment of a squadron of men of war, under Sir *John Berry*, which was to carry over a regiment of soldiers for suppressing the rebellion. By this time, the colony was almost completely ruined. The rebels destroyed the estates of all the royalists with the most unrelenting fury; and at last, *Lawrence*, an officer under *Bacon*, finding his men somewhat backward, with his own hands set fire to *James-Town*. All that part of *Virginia*, which lies to the west of the bay of *Chesapeake*, was now fully in the power of the rebels, and had they continued to be united among themselves, the consequences must have been absolutely irretrievable; for the *Indians*, against whom the rebels had declared in the beginning of their insurrection, taking advantage of the distractions among the English, under pretence of assisting *Berkley*, fell upon the frontier settlements, where they gave no quarter to age or sex, and indiscriminately destroyed the plantations of both parties so effectually, that it is said, those parts of the colony have not, to this day, recovered their devastations.

Success sent from England.

Death of
Bacon, and

his rebellion
suppressed.

Jeffreys, de-
puty-gover-
nor.

Peace with
the Indians.

Chickley,
deputy gover-
nor.

It must be acknowledged, that Sir *William Berkley* discovered great firmness on this occasion. He animated the officers and gentlemen, who stood by him, to a very noble resistance, till *Berry's* Squadron should arrive; but in the mean time, *Bacon* died at a friend's house in *Gloucester County*, and his party foreseeing, what soon afterwards happened, buried his body so secretly, that it was not afterwards exposed to public ignominy, when sought for by his enemies. The miseries which desolation occasioned, and the death of *Bacon*, brought down the spirits of the party. Supplies of provision were denied them from *England*, and all her colonies in *America*, and the armament under *Berry* was daily expected. It is to the honour of Sir *William Berkley's* memory, that he behaved with more moderation after the rebels were in a manner at his feet, than he had done when they were his superiors in number. It is, however, to be observed, that *Bacon's* cause had at this time many advocates among the people of *England*, and even in the parliament itself; so that the court-party, though they disliked the principles of it, behaved with lenity towards its authors, who were by far the greatest number of the colonists. Colonel *Ingram*, and colonel *Walklate*, who had been the chief officers under *Bacon*, submitted, on their receiving from *Berkley* a promise of pardon; but it does not appear, that he had any formal authority for this from *England*; nor were any of the chiefs of the party admitted into their former posts under the government. The arrival of Sir *John Berry* with his Squadron and the soldiers, which happened in *February*, 1677, completed the tranquility of the province; and though commissioners, (of whom the lord *Colepepper* was the first) were appointed to enquire into the causes of the late rebellion, and to try the delinquents, yet nothing was done in consequence of the commission, as we shall have occasion soon to observe.

THOUGH the rebellion was thus suppressed, it was thought proper to keep in pay the soldiers who came over with *Berry*, and Sir *William Berkley* resolving to visit *England*, appointed *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; to be his deputy-governor; but Sir *William* died so soon after his arrival in his native country, that he had not the honour he so ardently wished for, of receiving in person his majesty's thanks for the services he had done him. It must be acknowledged, that he was a very extraordinary man, by being able, during the space of almost forty years, to keep up the spirit of loyalty in *Virginia*, under the prodigious difficulties he had to encounter, and at last to leave it in tranquility, without shedding a drop of blood after the rebels had submitted. *Jeffreys*, after the departure of *Berkley*, had given orders for an assembly to meet at *Middle Plantation*, now called *Williamsburg*, which had been so lately the chief seat of rebellion; and the *Indians* had an invitation there to treat of a peace, which they joyfully accepted of. Care was taken that this meeting should be as splendid as possible, to impress the savages with a high idea of the *English*; and it was fixed for the 29th of *May*, the birth and restoration-day of *Charles II.* that they might have a greater opportunity to express their loyalty. The queen of *Pamunke* accordingly appeared in the assembly, at the head of the chief *Indians*. Silence was proclaimed, the articles of peace, which had been drawn up by the deputy-governor, were read and explained by interpreters; and the queen being admitted within the bars of the court, most cheerfully signed the treaty in behalf of herself and the other chiefs; and all other ceremonies of ratifying and exchanging it being performed, the whole of it was concluded by a general discharge of all the artillery. After this, her majesty and the chiefs were highly regaled by the *English*, and next day returned home in the best of humours. The terms of this peace had been dictated, as well as drawn up, by the deputy-governor, and whatever the inclinations of the savages might have been, they never have had it in their power, since that time, to give the *English* any material disturbance.

THE year after this treaty was made, Mr. *Jeffreys* died, and was succeeded, as deputy-governor, (for lord *Colepepper*, who was then in *England*, had been appointed chief governor) by Sir *Henry Chickley*. This gentleman prevailed with the assembly to build forts at the head of their four great rivers, where garrisons were kept for bridling the *Indians*; and the same assembly observing, that the people of *Carolina* and *Maryland* yearly shipped off from *Virginia* large quantities of tobacco, they passed an act against such practices for the future, that they might engross to themselves all the advantages of their situation. In 1679, the lord *Colepepper* arrived at his government of *Virginia*. The state of this province had been well considered in *England*, and besides the commission we have already mentioned, for trying *Bacon's* followers, he carried over with him such instructions from the *English* ministry, as in fact unhinged the constitution of the colony, and changed its government into a precarious dependence upon the crown. The assembly were sensible of the vast powers with which he was armed; and therefore, without putting him to the trouble of employing any menaces, they passed many of his bills into acts, and he agreed to such bills that were presented to him, as might conduce to the territorial peace and interest of the colony. His own salary was not forgot, and instead of contenting himself with 1000 l.

a year,

a a year, which had been the appointment of his predecessors, he in a manner obliged the assembly to grant him 2000*l.* besides 150*l.* a year for house-rent. As presents of wine and provisions had been usually made by the masters of ships to the governor, this lord converted that custom into a certain revenue. He obliged every master to pay him twenty shillings for each ship under 100 tons burden, and thirty for all above it; and this imposition has prevailed ever since, though it was founded on no act of the assembly.

b As his lordship was determined to make but a short stay in *Virginia*, he resolved to make the best of his power for his own interest. The current coin of the colony was in value far lower than the same pieces were in the neighbouring countries. This proved so irresistible a temptation for traders to export it, that the assembly saw their colony in danger of losing all their currency in specie, and therefore they ordered in a bill to raise the value of it to a par with their neighbours. The lord *Colepepper* very properly told them, that it was not in his power to pass such a bill, because it interfered with that part of the prerogative which gave the king a right to alter the value of money as he should think proper; but he added, that he was empowered as his majesty's representative to answer their ends equally as well, by issuing a proclamation, which would have the same effect in that particular as an act. The assembly saw the tendency of this doctrine, but durst not oppose it; and his lordship made the best use of the intermediate time in buying up all the light pieces of eight at five shillings, and then raising their value to six by proclamation. But this happened to be an unsuccessful expedient. It is true, he issued his currency at the advanced price, and obliged the *English* regiment that had been brought over by Sir *John Berry*, to receive them at that rate; but when he came to be paid his own salary, his duty, and shipping, and the other parts of the revenue, in those light pieces, he found that he had lost more than he gained by his proclamation, not to mention that his government was endangered by a mutiny of the soldiers.

Lord Cole-
pepper's ar-
bitrary pro-
ceedings,

c BESIDES this arbitrary proceeding in the affair of coinage, his lordship was daily giving the *Virginians* fresh provocation, in repealing, by proclamation, the acts of the assembly, and giving them to understand that their validity depended only on his pleasure. Two considerations prevented the *Virginians* from resenting his conduct by a rebellion. The first was, that the common people had suffered so much by that which had been but lately suppressed, that they had neither the means nor the spirit, to enter into a fresh one. The next was, that his lordship, in all matters that did not affect his own powers as governor, shewed himself very ready in promoting every measure that could be of service to the colony. But those considerations did not prevent the assembly from coming to some very vigorous resolutions against his unwarrantable stretches of power. Upon his leaving *Virginia*, where he did not remain for above a year, he appointed Sir *Henry Chickely* to be his deputy governor. The colony had now recovered so well from its late losses, that the planters made more tobacco than they could get vent for. This glut was in some measure as detrimental to them, as a scarcity would have been, and the poorer sort perceiving that the commodity fell so much in its value, that it did not afford them the same profits as heretofore, entered into a combination to destroy all their own and their neighbours plants. This frantic resolution was in part executed by the lower ranks of the inhabitants, who first destroyed their own plants, and then fell upon those of their neighbours; but the desolation they made presented such scenes, as damped their courage, and many of them being seized, were tried and executed for felony; the cutting up tobacco-plants being adjudged to be such. We have several times had an opportunity of animadverting on the arbitrary disposal of *American* lands by the crown, or rather the favourites of the crown at home. It is true, the first adventurers being under contracts with the government, the crown had a right to stand upon the performance; but after the lands so discovered were settled and improved at the expence of the colonists, and under the grants of the government, none but the colonists themselves could have any property in those lands; but this capital maxim of justice was often set aside; sometimes by the forfeiture of the patentees, sometimes by neglects or inability to perform their engagements; sometimes by finding flaws in their patents, and other frivolous pretexts. A large tract of land in *Virginia*, called the *Northern Neck*, had been granted to the earl of *St. Albans*, and other proprietors; but it was now re-granted to lord *Colepepper*. This tract contained several counties, which had a right to send representatives to parliament; but the inhabitants conceiving that they must suffer by being put under a proprietary direction, brought an appeal before the assembly against his lordship's claim.

resented by the
assembly.

Case of the
Northern
Neck.

g THIS was a tender point, considering the tenacious dispositions of the *Virginians*. But to do lord *Colepepper* justice, he seems to have proceeded with great caution and equity; for he satisfied all the former proprietors in their fair demands, though he saw, that without some new authority from *England*, it would be impossible for him to bring the assembly over to his views. For that purpose, he fomented an emulation between the assembly and the

the council, by encouraging the former to insist upon the sole right of judging appeals; but, at the same time, he represented matters so at home, as to procure an order, vesting that right solely in the governor and council. This order entirely altered the powers which the assembly had hitherto thought themselves possessed of; but lord *Colepepper*, far from making any undue advantage of a circumstance so much in his favour, did not seek to avail himself of the royal grant, but endeavoured, by all means, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the *Northern Neck* to his proprietaryship. Several gentlemen, of great property, who had been settled there, joined with him, and undertook to bring over the inhabitants: but all was to no purpose, for the majority of them carried their complaints before the assembly, and they petitioned the king; but having no agent in *England*, they met with no success. At last, the inhabitants perceiving that they maintained a desperate cause, compounded with the proprietor, and paid him their quit-rents, and this estate is now in the possession of lord *Fairfax*, a descendant of that lord who married lord *Colepepper's* daughter, whose son immediately went over to *Virginia* to settle all matters relating to this valuable acquisition.

Lord Cole-
pepper re-
turns to Eng-
land.

Arbitrary ad-
ministration of
lord Effing-
ham Howard,
governor.

In the mean while, the lord *Colepepper* omitted nothing that could contribute to the prosperity of the province of *Virginia*. He banished from their courts of law the low practices which had long oppressed the suitors, and are a reproach to the profession. He reduced the public expences of the colony, especially by demolishing *Chickely's* forts, which had been found to be very burdensome, without answering the great expence of maintaining them, and in their place he substituted certain troops of horse, which scoured the country, and checked the natives, who were now too much reduced to make any dangerous efforts against the colony. In 1683, he returned to *England*, after having, by his own authority, appointed one Mr. *Spencer*, in preference of older members, to be president of the council; by which the administration of the province fell upon him during the absence of the governor and his deputy. Lord *Colepepper* was succeeded in his government by the lord *Howard of Effingham*. This nobleman is accused of having outdone lord *Colepepper* in all his arbitrary proceedings, without receiving the like benefits from his administration. Equally mean as imperious, he obliged the clerks and underlings of his courts to give him a share of their fees. Taking advantage of a similar institution in *England*, he obliged lawyers to take out licences before they could plead, and schoolmasters before they could teach. He introduced exorbitant expences into all the testamentary proceedings, and keeping to the full of his prerogative powers, he imprisoned the inhabitants by his own authority, without bringing them to a trial. He substituted his proclamations instead of laws, and even pretended that they could repeal standing laws. The judges, however, without regarding those proclamations, paid the same regard to the laws as formerly. In the governor's patent he had a power of exacting the quit-rent in money; but by an act of the assembly, the planters were at liberty to pay it in tobacco, at 2 d. a pound. When that commodity fell in its value, the governor issued a proclamation, repealing that law, and insisted upon the quit-rents being paid either in money, or tobacco at 1 d. a pound, a hardship to which the *Virginians*, on account of the express words of the patent, were obliged to submit to. They had the spirit, however, to send over one colonel *Ludwell*, as their agent to *England*, to petition his majesty for redress of the grievances which they suffered under lord *Effingham's* administration; but they were so far from obtaining it, that upon the accession of *James II.* the imposts upon tobacco were increased to such a degree, as must have entirely ruined that trade, had not other colonies, both *French*, *Spanish*, and *English*, discontinued the raising of tobacco, because they found more account in other commodities.

He returns to
England.

Bacon pre-
sident.

Nicholson,
governor.

LORD *Effingham*, during his government, finding that the state-house at *James Town* had not been rebuilt since it was laid in ashes by colonel *Lawrence*, prevailed with the assembly to lay a duty upon all liquors imported from other plantations for rebuilding the same. Under pretence that he was, by his patent, invested with a chancery-power, he erected a court, under that name, in which he sat himself, employing his counsellors as masters in chancery, exacting most exorbitant fees, and setting aside all the chancery-jurisdiction, that had always, since the first constitution of the colony, resided in the general court, who, notwithstanding, resumed it upon his lordship's departure for *England*. This happened soon after the Revolution, when his lordship, upon his departure, appointed colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, father to the famous rebel of that name, to be president of the province. During this gentleman's administration, the project for a college was presented to him and his council, who approved of it, and referred it to the assembly.

FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Esq; was appointed lieutenant-governor of the province under lord *Effingham*. He was a gentleman unexceptionably well qualified for this post, and brought over with him a scheme of government far more liberal and public-spirited than any that the *Virginians* had yet experienced. Among the first exercises of his govern-
ment

a ment was his resuming the plan that had been proposed for a college, and which seems to have been suspended, for a short time, for want of money to carry it on. By Mr. *Nicholson's* advice and assistance, books were opened, and 2500 *l.* was soon subscribed, and other considerable donations came over from the *Virginian* merchants in *London*. Upon so fair a foundation the affair was moved in the assembly, where it was so well received, that an address was drawn up to king *William* and queen *Mary*, praying for a charter to establish it; and the reverend Mr. *Blair* was sent over to *England* to solicit it. The address met with all the encouragement which the most sanguine of the projectors could have expected. Dr. *Thomas Bray*, a zealous clergyman of the church of *England*, was appointed president of the future college; and he laid out a considerable sum for a library which he was to carry over with him, besides engaging several learned gentlemen who were to be fellows and professors. It happened, however, that either the money which had been subscribed was insufficient, or had not been paid in; which put a fresh stop to the project; but this inconveniency was likewise removed by their majesties; and some of the principal nobility, clergy, and gentry in *England*, generously contributing their benefactions. A sufficiency of money being thus provided, the scheme was afterwards carried into execution, and the building itself was erected upon a very noble plan, drawn by Sir *Christopher Wren*, with all the magnificence, conveniencies, gardens, walks, porticos, apartments, and other decorations that are to be found in *European* institutions of the same kind, with moderate appointments for the professors, among whom is a master for teaching *Indian* youths. This college has been since greatly improved, and by the measures that have been taken since the accession of his present majesty, under his royal patronage, it bids fair to be one of the seats of science, and the polite arts. It is, notwithstanding, to be hoped, that this passion for learning never shall carry our planters into pursuits inconsistent with those of industry and commerce, and that they never will make use of the generous encouragement that has been furnished them by their mother-country, for disputing or evading the dependence and allegiance they owe her.

The college erected.

MR. *Nicholson*, far from imitating his predecessors in separating the interests of the government from those of the people, omitted no means to ingratiate himself with the provincials. He indeed encouraged all schemes that were laid before him for improving the soil or territory of the colony; and he exhibited prizes to such of the common people as excelled in athletic exercises; a most excellent policy in a country that lies in the neighbourhood of savages. Notwithstanding all his cares, the *Virginians*, like the *Canadians*, never could be brought into the practice of cohabitation, that is, of living together in large towns, and for the same reason; because every one chose to cultivate that spot of ground that lay most convenient for his own ease and interest. But in this the *Virginians* were far more defensible than the *French Canadians*, they having, by this time, no reason to apprehend those dreadful irruptions of the savages that had so often depopulated *New France*. During Mr. *Nicholson's* government, a cohabitation-act passed; but it was so far from having effect, that the greatest part of *James-Town* still continued to lie in ashes, or to be uninhabited, and no new towns were built. After all, though cohabitation may be extremely commodious for the revenue, and the great traders, yet some have doubted whether it would contribute to the real interest of the colony, as the living in separate dwellings keeps the price of labour low, and prevents that luxury and those vices that prove so detrimental, and often destructive, to many individuals in large cities. During Mr. *Nicholson's* government, several acts likewise passed for the encouragement of the linen, leather, and other manufactures; and he acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants by his affability, and the great attention he always paid to the legislature of the province.

Good government of Mr. Nicholson.

IN 1692, to the amazement of the public, lord *Effingham* being removed from his government of *Virginia*, Sir *Edmund Andros* succeeded him. He had been, as we have already seen, extremely obnoxious for his arbitrary proceedings as governor in other provinces of *America*, during the late reigns, and it was thought would have been severely, if not capitally punished, instead of being rewarded with the government of *Virginia*. We can account for this extraordinary step only, by supposing that the *English* ministry was then held by tories, which often happened to be the case in king *William's* reign; and that *Andros* was possessed of abilities for a governor, which he had prostituted only to the interests of his superiors. Somewhat of this kind seems to be true; for it is generally allowed, that he was far from being a bad governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in *February*. As the *English* merchants, and masters of ships, trading to *Virginia*, disliked the cohabitation-act, which, in the end, would have restricted them to certain ports, Sir *Edmund* carried over with him instructions to procure the repeal of it by the assembly, in which he succeeded. A patent was laid before the same assembly, for making Mr. *Neal*, a projector of those days, postmaster-general of *Virginia*, and other parts of *America*; but though the assembly passed an act in favour of this patent, it had no effect; it being impossible to carry it into

Andros, governor.

His administration.

execution by reason of the straggling situation of the provincial dwellings. In 1695, so a
dreadful a storm happened in *Virginia*, and its neighbourhood, as seemed to reverse the
course of nature, by some rivers being stopped up, and channels opened for others that
were even navigable.

THE great objection which lay against the government of *Andros*, was, his attempts to
reduce the constitution of *Virginia* to a nearer conformity with that of *England*. This was
vigorously opposed by the *Virginians*, who thought it would weaken the authority of the
assembly, whose acts they looked upon to be the best security they had for their estates.
In other respects, Sir *Edmund* discharged the duties of a good governor. He encouraged
manufactures of all kinds, fulling-mills, and the propagation of cotton. He regulated the
public offices, into which great abuses had crept since *Bacon's* rebellion. He collected, b
and put in order, all the registers and public papers of the province, and shortened the
expence of time in law and commercial proceedings. In short, he was in a fair way of re-
trieving his character when he was recalled. About this time, viz. in 1697, the *English*
squadron under admiral *Nevil*, which had gone in pursuit of *de Pointis*, was obliged to
stop at *Virginia*, carrying with them an infectious distemper, which killed the admiral, and
the most considerable officers of his squadron, both *Dutch* and *English*, and communicated
itself to the *Virginians*, of whom great numbers died, especially at *James Town*. A whig-
administration now prevailing in *England*, Mr. *Nicholson*, who was in *Maryland*, was no-
minated to the government of *Virginia*, and he immediately removed the courts of justice, c
his own residence, and the seat of provincial business from *James-Town* to *Middle Plantation*,
to which he gave the name of *Williamsburg*. He then laid out a town in the form of a W,
either from the low conceit of paying a compliment to the initial letter of that monarch's
name, or because the nature of the ground best admitted of a city in that form. It was
here the college we have already mentioned was erected, as was, opposite to it, by the go-
vernor's direction, a stately fabric which he termed the capitol, and the foundations of many
new, and in that province, magnificent buildings were laid. All this could not be done
without great expence, which fell upon the colony. Such of the planters as had few or no
ideas of public elegance and magnificence, repined at the sums levied, and the rather, be-
cause the crops that year were remarkably short, and their labourers sickly. A tax of fif-
teen shillings was imposed upon every Christian servant, and twenty upon every negro; and d
those expences grew the more insupportable by the war, which was then ready to break out
between *France* and *England*, and the swarms of privateers and pirates that infested the
coasts of *Virginia*.

Pirates hang-
ed.

His generosity.

AMONG others, in the year 1700, a *French* pirate, or, as he was called, a privateer, ar-
rived at the mouth of *James-River*, where he intercepted some merchant-ships bound for
London; but a small vessel slipping by him, advertised captain *Passenger* of the *Shoreham*
man of war of what had happened, and he getting his ship ready, came up to the pirate and
forced him to surrender. It was about this time, that a fort was projected at *New-York*,
which was to be provided with a regular garrison. The people of *New York*, unable of
themselves to be at this expence, represented, by their agents, to king *William*, that as the
province of *Virginia* would be greatly benefitted by the erection of the said fort, which would
secure them against the invasions of the *French* and *Indians*, they ought to be at some part
of this expence, at least as far as 900*l*. Governor *Nicholson*, happening himself to be of
the same opinion, undertook to carry this affair through the assembly, to which it was re-
ferred from *England*: but here it met with a very different reception from what he expect-
ed; for the assembly remonstrated, "That neither the forts then in being, nor any other
that might be built in the province of *New York*, could in the least avail to the defence and
security of *Virginia*; for that either the *French*, or the *Indians*, might invade this colony,
and not come within an hundred miles of any such fort." This disappointment did not re-
lax the zeal of the governor for the good of the province; and looking upon himself to be f
in some measure answerable for the money, he immediately set out for *New York*, where he
gave his bills for the same; and threw himself entirely upon the generosity of queen *Anne*,
who was, by this time upon the throne of *England*, for his indemnification. In all other
parts of his conduct, he shewed himself equally generous and public-spirited, having laid it
down as a principle, and a most excellent one it was, that all the *English* provinces on the
continent of *America*, ought to be confederated in one common interest, and contribute
equally, according to the abilities, to defend themselves against the *French* and *Indians*.

The earl of
Orkney, go-
vernor.

DURING his government, the *Virginians* having received most wonderful accounts of the
benefits that would arise to the province from the introduction of camels, who are able to
carry 1200 weight, gave a commission to some *Guinea* traders, who brought over several g
of them to *Virginia*; but there, as in *Barbados*, the climate was unfavourable to the consti-
tution of those animals, and the project came to nothing. About this time, the war
breaking out between *France* and *England*, the governor found it necessary to lay an em-
bargo

- a barge upon the shipping in *Virginia*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some time after, an unusual hurricane happened at *Virginia*, which did prodigious damage to the ships belonging to the province, as well as to its plantations. In other respects, the government of *Virginia*, at this time, experienced a greater degree of tranquillity than any of the neighbouring colonies; and the ministry of *England* thinking proper to employ Mr. *Nicholson* in more active branches of its service, he was called to *England* in 1704, and succeeded in his government by the earl of *Orkney*. The truth is, as the *Virginians* were less exposed than many other of the *English* colonies to the attacks of the enemy, the ministry appropriated from that time 1200*l.* of the 2000 granted to the governor, as an appointment for some nobleman or other, during his life, whom they could not provide so conveniently for in any other manner; and his lordship happened to be first who obtained this sine-cure. That this government is such, appears from the arrangements made by the ministry at home; for the lieutenant-governor who resides in the province, has his commission from the crown, under the great seal, equally as the chief governor, and is invested with the same powers as the latter would be, was he actually upon the spot. The *Virginians* complained that they were loaded with the payment of 1200*l.* a year, without receiving from it the smallest benefit; but all the redress they received, was an intimation that they would find it highly for their benefit to have a powerful protector in the name of chief-governor, always residing in *England* to favour their suits. This, however, was far from being the case with regard to the earl of *Orkney*, who had a commission in the army, and generally was upon service in *Flanders*. He held the nominal commission for above thirty-six years; and his first lieutenant-governor was *Edward Notte*, Esq. Nothing memorable happened during the administration of the latter, but his prevailing with the assembly to provide a fund for erecting a handsome house for the governor at *Williamsburg*; and, upon his death, brigadier *Hunter*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Jamaica*, succeeded him. He was a gentleman of great abilities, but he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in this government, from which he was removed to that of *Jamaica*. He was succeeded as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, by colonel *Alexander Spotswood*, nor indeed could the crown, through all its dominions, have pitched upon an abler man for this department. He thoroughly understood the interests and nature of the provincials he was to govern; and, being an excellent mathematician, he laid out the spots for new plantations and roads, which rendered the province far more commodious and secure than it had ever been before. Observing the great disadvantages of trading with the *Indians*, without proper regulations, he formed schemes for that purpose, which proved of infinite service to the colony; and he even found out means to give the children of those savages such an education as to render them useful to the *English*, by raising a fund for that purpose.

and Notte,
lieutenant-governor.

Spotswood,
lieutenant-governor;

- As tobacco was the staple commodity of *Virginia*, Mr. *Spotswood* observed, with no little concern, that by the abuses introduced into that trade, it had come into some disrepute at the *English* and other markets. Had those practices continued, the province must have soon been ruined; for which reason, Mr. *Spotswood* carried through a law, which, though afterwards repealed, was undoubtedly well intended for the general good of the colony; for it provided, that all tobacco which were to be carried from *Virginia*, should be lodged in warehouses, and there examined as to its quality and goodness. After the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought high time for the *English* inhabitants of *Virginia*, if possible, to acquire some knowledge of the countries lying beyond the *Apalachian* mountains; and governor *Spotswood* resolved to prosecute that important discovery in person. This was the more necessary, as the *French* had made it a capital maxim in their *American* policy, to conceal all the country between those mountains and the *Mississippi* from the *English*, who knew no more of them than what they had from a few straggling travellers and *Indians*. Having performed this painful expedition, when he returned to *Virginia*, he gave orders for trying eight pirates, four of whom were executed, who had appeared in the province, but were discovered in the disguise of traders. When the war with *Spain* broke out about the year 1718, a project was set on foot for the raising a great continental force of the *English*, which was to attack the *Spanish* settlements towards the west; and governor *Spotswood* was, in the opinion of the public, and indeed of the government, pointed out as the most proper person for heading that momentous expedition. He had drawn up a plan for that purpose, which, with the assistance of the *British* insular colonies, would probably have shaken the *Spanish* dominions in those parts; but the politics of *Europe*, at that time, did not so much as admit of its being attempted. A peace being clapped up, it was thought Mr. *Spotswood* did no service to his private fortune, by insisting upon the practicability of his plan, and requiring that the people and friends he had employed should be indemnified for their expence and trouble. On the other hand, some of the *Virginians* themselves thought that governor *Spotswood* was too well conversant in their affairs, and practised several low arts to obtain his removal, which was at last effected; and *Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; was, under the earl of *Orkney*, appointed lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in 1723. As to the late lieutenant-governor, he remained in *America*, and upon the

his excellent
administration.

Mr Drysdale,
lieutenant-go-
vernor.

breaking out of the war with *Spain* in 1739, the government thought fit to adopt his projects; and orders were issued for a very great force to be assembled on the continent of the *English America*; the command of which, it was generally believed, would have been given to colonel *Spotswood*, had he not died in the mean time. The *French* soon after entering into the war, and new alterations happening in the affairs of *Europe*, all thoughts of this expedition were likewise dropt, that the operations might be the more vigorously carried on against the *French*.

Gooch, lieu-
tenant-gover-
nor.

MR. *Gooch* succeeded Mr. *Drysdale* as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, and bore a great share in his own person, of the war with *France* and *Spain*, that was terminated by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. But as the particulars of that war are to be found in the preceding parts of this work, we cannot repeat them here, and the province affords, during that period, little or no other historical matter. Under the government of Mr. *Din-*

Dinwiddie,
lieutenant-go-
vernor.

widdie, during the late war, *Virginia* happened to take the lead in the alarms which were sent over to *England* concerning the encroachments of the *French* upon that province. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, upon this important occasion, behaved with great address and spirit; and it is but doing him justice to say, that he was the first of the *British* governors in *America*, who penetrated into the real designs of the *French* to cut the *English* off from all the *Indian* trade to the westward, and even to encroach upon their back settlements. So early as *October* 1753, he dispatched a messenger to the banks of the *Ohio*, to observe the progress of the *French* there. The messenger was very well received, and entertained by the *French*, who made it no secret that they were settled there to the number of 1500 regulars; that they had built three forts, which they were determined to keep, and that too upon lands which the government of *Great Britain* had thought to belong to them, and which they had actually granted to some gentlemen in *London* and *Virginia*, who were to be incorporated under the title of the *Ohio* company; and then they dismissed the messenger with a guard of 200 men, to protect him from the savages. These facts being established beyond all contradiction, Mr. *Dinwiddie* transmitted them to the government of *Great Britain*; and Sir *Thomas Robinson*, then secretary of state, directed Mr. *Dinwiddie* to procure, in his province, a sufficient quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the forces that were to be immediately employed against the *French*, and to be commanded by general *Braddock*. In consequence of his instructions, Mr. *Dinwiddie* called together the assembly of *Virginia*, and laid before them the dangers that threatened them, with a detail of the measures which they were to pursue, especially in keeping up a proper correspondence between their army and *Williamsburg*, and for furnishing provisions to the subalterns in the easiest manner. At the same time, by command of his majesty, he laid before them an instruction he had received for passing an act of insolvency. The reader, in other parts of this work, may perceive the glorious effects which those vigorous measures were attended with, and which terminated in the reduction of all the *French* territories in *North America*, and their cession to the crown of *Great Britain*. We shall, therefore, proceed to give some account, and that too from better authorities than have been hitherto published, of the antient inhabitants of this province, at the time when they were first visited by the *English*, and this from the *Memoirs* of Mr. *Hariot*, a domestic of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and by him sent to take a survey of this mother-province.

His instruc-
tions against
the *French*.

Account of the
Virginians
from the most
antient autho-
rities.

WHEN the *English* first arrived off *Virginia*, they were received by the natives with the utmost astonishment; but the new visitors soon convinced them, as they perfectly understood the language of signs, that they carried with them no hostile intentions, and therefore they returned to their ships, from whence the *English* were conducted to the mansion of one of their petty kings, whom the most authentic accounts term their weroans, who was, it seems, master of only one town, to which they were guided. This prince, though at first, terrified by the appearance of the strangers, entertained them hospitably; and the *English* had leisure to become acquainted with the habits and dispositions of the natives. They were, in general, dressed in the skins of deer, or other wild beasts, which hung before their middle, but all the rest of their bodies was naked. Their arms were bows, made of hazel, and arrows of reeds; but how these were pointed, we are not informed. They likewise wielded bludgeons, each about three feet long; but all their defensive armour consisted of shields, made of the bark of trees, and a kind of wicker-armour, which they made use of in time of war. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that those savages were far from being so barbarous as those the *French* found in *Canada*, or as they have been represented by our own writers. They of *Secota*, one of their provinces, had among them, besides their king, a degree of nobility, who were more elegant in their dresses, particularly their hair, which they formed in various shapes, and adorned with the finest feathers they could procure. From their ears hung either large pearls, the feet of birds, or such other ornaments as the wearers fancied; and they painted both their faces and bodies. Round their neck, and upon their arms, they wore chains and bracelets of pearl, to which, after their

^p *HARIOT*, apud de Bry. p. 2. of the cuts.

a acquaintance with the *English*, they preferred bits of brass ; and their skins were so neatly fitted round their middle, that the tail of the creature always hung behind between their buttocks. Such was the dress in which they appeared on solemn occasions ; but when they went to war, they painted themselves in as horrible a manner as they could.

THEIR women were naturally well-shaped ; and when their married ladies came abroad, their skin-coverings were more elegant than those of the men, and concealed the whole of their bodies, behind as well as before. They cut the fore-part of their hair short, and wore a kind of a chaplet round their temples ; but they took care to disfigure their faces, legs, and arms, with punctures and painting ; and the chains and bracelets they wore were full of the same. The better sort wore pearl-bracelets, and others bracelets of bones, exquisitely well polished. They took great delight in walking by the sides of rivers, and in hunting and fishing. Their priests were generally men advanced in age ; they suffered the fore-hair of their heads to grow, and kept all the rest closely cut ; and they wore a cloak, that reached from their neck almost to their knees, of the very finest skins their country afforded, and went quite round their bodies. The dress of the young ladies in general resembled that of the married ones, only their hair was more elegantly plaited, and tied up behind. In some provinces, the ladies wore long strings of triple or quadruple rows of pearl round their necks, in which they slung their left arm. Their old men were more comfortably clothed than their youth, for they wore cloaks of skins, that reached from their shoulders almost to their feet, but leaving their right arm naked and at liberty. The women had a peculiar way of carrying their children at their backs ; but we find, that in some of the provinces, their bodies were without punctures or painting. The people, in general, were much addicted to a set of jugglers, who pretended to predict future events, and by sometimes guessing right, obtained great credit. But the most extraordinary circumstance, (and which we believe has not been taken notice of by late accounts) attending the antient *Virginians*, was their having the use of characters, the forms of some of which he have, in *de Bry*, copied from the originals by Mr. *White*. Those characters are various, and far from being inelegant ; but were impressed upon the bare backs of the natives, as so many signatures, to denote the province, tribe, or prince, to which they belonged. The stamp of four arrows denoted sovereignty ; the stamp of one, a relation to the prince. How far those characters reached, we are at a loss to say.

THOUGH the native *Virginians* knew not the use of iron, yet they had a wonderful art of felling the bodies of large trees, and of excavating them by the force of fire, which they managed with most surprising skill, by means of small fans, rendering it fiercer or gentler, to the very pitch they wanted. They polished the excavation by shells, which they sharpened, and made use of, for that purpose, till a perfect canoe was made ; and, indeed, considering the simplicity of their utensils and materials, their operations in all the mechanics they practised, is almost incredible. The chief use to which they put their canoes when fabricated, was to go a-fishing in them, in which they were so dextrous, that they excelled all the *Europeans* in that exercise. It was their favourite diversion, as well as employment, and women and men equally applied themselves to it ; sometimes by fishing in their canoes, sometimes by angling with baits, sometimes by spearing them, and often by driving them into wicker cribs, which were constructed with more art than those we see in use in many parts of *Europe*, and where they generally took immense shoals. Those fish were dressed upon wooden gridirons, and they managed the fire so, that the flames never took hold of them. Sometimes they boiled their fishes in clay-pots, which were made by their women with so much dexterity, as to equal the art of any *European* potter ; the round part being as exact as if it had been turned upon a wheel ; but at those boiled entertainments, they dressed in the same pot or kettle, not only all kinds of fish, but of flesh and roots, which, when sufficiently boiled, they served up in a kind of baskets. Mr. *Hariot* observes, that they were very moderate in their repasts, to which he ascribes the longevity they enjoyed when the *English* first discovered their country ; but their ordinary food was maiz, which they eat from a mat, sitting on the ground, the man on one side, and the woman on the other.

UPON solemn occasions, such as the finishing a war, or escaping from some great danger, they expressed their thanksgivings, by seating themselves round a large fire, and beginning a rude concert of vocal and instrumental music ; the latter being performed by a hollowed dried gourd, cucumber-shells, or those of some other fruit, which they filled with small pebbles, and rattled with great vehemence. Besides those temporary rejoicings, they had their anniversary jubilees, which were celebrated by virgins, the particulars of which are so extraordinary, that we should not have ventured to transcribe them, did they not rest upon the most unquestionable authority. They marked out a circle in the midst of a plain ; round this circle, at certain distances, they drove posts, each about a man's height, and resembling *Roman Termini*, ending in the head of a woman carved, with a veil hanging from her brow down the sides of the face. The time for this anniversary celebration being arrived,

the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country assembled, each with his rank and quality, and the name of his country, tribe, and village, marked upon his back. The young ladies, who are the only actors in this exhibition, next ranged themselves at proper distances round the circle in the most fantastic dresses, and then they began a dance, with the most extravagant gestures that each could contrive; extravagance of motion being at that time looked upon as doing the highest honour to the assembly. To qualify the ridiculousness of this circular chorus, three virgins, of the most exquisite form and beauty, who had been selected from the rest, were placed in the middle of the circle, in the very attitudes in which the ancients represented the three graces, gently embracing one another, and in that form beating time with their feet to the rude music, which was composed of the excavated shells and pebbles we have already mentioned.

Dwellings.

In all those particulars, there was a great resemblance between the manners of the *Virginians* and the *Floridans*. The like was observable in the construction of their villages. The spot, on which they were built, was sometimes a circle, the circumference of which consisted of strong pallisadoes, but not so strong as those of the *Floridans*. Of the few buildings this circle contained, one was always a temple, covered with fine mats on the top, and admitting of no light, but by the door: opposite to that stood the dwelling of the headman of the village. All their houses were built of slender piles, driven into the ground, and covered with mats, so as to admit, according to the season of the year, just as much air and light as the inhabitant pleased. Near their village they always took care to dig a pond, which supplied it with water; but some of their towns, that of *Secota* particularly, that were not inclosed within those pallisadoes, were by far the most pleasant. In them, the houses were laid out so as to form a main street; and they had behind them gardens, fields, and paddocks, in which they raised tobacco, *Indian* corn, and other vegetables, besides feeding-deer, and game of all kinds. Of those improvements they were so careful, that they had watch-houses for their fields, where a man was placed, to deter the birds from devouring the corn. In the same township, they had their places of devotion as well as feasting. The idol they worshipped was called *Kiwasa*; it was carved out of wood, about four feet high, and seemed to be copied from the *Floridan* idols. The head was of a flesh colour, the breast white, and all the rest of the body black; it was placed at *Secota*, in the sepulchre of the deceased princes; but we do not find that the natives were originally impressed with any great degree of devotion towards it; for it remained in the tomb as an object of terror rather than of worship. In other public repositories two, and sometimes four, or more of those idols, were placed for the same purpose, but all of them in the darkest part of the building, to give them the more tremendous appearance. As to the temple or place of sepulchre itself, it is no other than a scaffolding, raised upon piles, nine or ten feet from the ground, covered with mattings, upon which they lay the bodies, after they have been carefully embowelled, and the skin stript, and all the flesh scraped from them, all which, with the bowels, they wrapt up in mats, and place at the feet of the skeletons; but they have an art of covering the skeleton with skins, so artfully stuffed, that it has the appearance of its never having been embowelled or anatomised. Below the scaffolding, the priests have their habitations, upon the skins of wild-beasts, and they were employed in constantly mumbling prayers and guarding the sepulchre. The above are all the particulars which we have thought fit to insert from the oldest and most authentic accounts of this mother-colony, and which have been omitted by more modern authors.

With regard to other points of the religion of those natives, they are the same with what we are told of other savages, that they have general, but gross ideas of a Deity. We shall not venture to enter upon the modes of their belief of his existence, as they are whimsical, and far from being universal amongst the barbarians, and perhaps are greatly indebted to the speculation and inventions of writers. As to the modern constitution of the colony, the reader can easily form a notion of it from the preceding history; and the laws, by which they are governed, are, as near as possible, conformable to those of *England*. The population of *Virginia* is not near so numerous as might have been expected from so antient and flourishing a colony; nor are their towns of any considerable note. This last circumstance is owing to the vast commodiousness of water-carriage, which every where presents itself to the plantations of private planters, and the scarcity of handicrafts. *James-Town* is now scarcely to be mentioned, and *Williamsburg* is considerable only as being the seat of provincial government, and of learning. *Virginia*, however, is distinguished by several magnificent public buildings; it still retains its original staple-manufacture and commodity of tobacco, and they carry on a great trade with the *West-Indies*, in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and provisions; and with *Briton* for flax, hemp, iron, staves, and plank. The present number of whites in *Virginia* is computed to be about 70,000, and that of the negroes 100,000; but by the good policy of the province, and temperature of the climate, they propagate here so well, as to require but few recruits from *Africa*.

The HISTORY of HUNGARY.

- ^a **T**HE modern *Hungarians* are descended from the antient *Hunns*, whose origin and emigrations are related in the Antient History. Though the *Hunns* were entirely subdued by *Charlemain*, yet they were not utterly extirpated by that conqueror, as some authors pretend; on the contrary, he gave orders to spare the common people^a; many of whom, in order to be free from paying tribute, consented to become Christians^b; for whose service he caused a church to be built, and dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, without the walls of the city of *Buda*. Their country, indeed, during the long continuance of the war, was greatly depopulated, their nobility and princes destroyed, and their chief taken prisoner; so that this once flourishing nation, which formerly possessed all the countries from the east part of *Germany* to *Thrace* and the *Euxine-Sea*, and from the *Adriatic*
- ^b gulph as far north as *Sarmatia*, was then reduced within the limits of the present kingdom of *Hungary*, which is bounded towards the south by the river *Drave*, on the north by the *Carpathian* mountains, which divide it from *Poland* and *Russia*; on the east by *Transylvania* and *Walachia*, and on the west by *Stiria*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*. The river *Danube* runs through the middle of the country, and divides it into two provinces, called the *Upper* and *Lower Hungary*. The counties in the whole kingdom are reckoned fifty-seven, many of which were formerly subject to the dominion of the *Turks*; but by the conquests of prince *Eugene*, the emperors have again recovered almost the whole kingdom. There are here very few cities, and these but thinly inhabited; but the kingdom abounds with villages and towns as large as cities, and full of people.
- ^c So far was this nation from being extirpated by *Charlemain*, that we find they rebelled against his son *Lewis the Pious*, who, when he was holding an assembly of the states at *Aix la Chapelle*, was informed, that *Lindeutus* had prevailed with the people of *Lower Hungary* to revolt^c. *Lewis*, immediately dismissing the assembly, went with an army to the *Danube*, and, marching along that river, engaged and defeated *Lindeutus*, whom he afterwards pursued to the mountains of *Transylvania*, whither the rebel had retreated. *Lindeutus*, finding himself unable to resist the arms of the emperor, sued for peace, which he obtained, and was generously pardoned. We do not read of any expedition of the *Hungarians* after this, till the reign of the emperor *Arnolphus*, who is said by *Luitprandus* to have introduced them into *Germany* and *France*; though *Bonfinius* affirms, that they rebelled against *Arnolphus*^d,
- ^d and while the *Franks* were weakened with intestine divisions, over-ran *Germany*, sparing no age or sex, burning the cities, and pillaging the churches of their wealth. Afterwards they invaded *France*, where they committed the like ravages; and, returning with their spoil through *Bavaria*, defeated the emperor *Lewis III.* near *Augsburg*. Four years afterwards, we find them assisting *Leo* the emperor at *Constantinople*, against the *Bulgarians*^e. In the year 902, the *Hungarians* hearing of the divisions in *Italy* between the two contending kings, *Berengarius*, duke of *Friuli*, and *Guido*, duke of *Spoletto*; they entered that country by the pass of *Friuli*, and ravaged that part of *Lombardy*. *Luitprandus* relates, that not thinking themselves powerful enough to engage the numerous forces of *Berengarius*, they quitted *Italy*, and wintered in *Pannonia*; from whence many of their countrymen having joined them,
- ^e they returned in the spring, and having defeated *Berengarius*, who endeavoured to oppose them, they took *Aquilcia*, *Padua*, and *Verona*, without any resistance, and marched as far west as the river *Tisino*. But *Berengarius*, having again assembled a numerous army, prepared to oppose them; upon whose approach the barbarians, thinking themselves unequal to the *Italian* forces, retreated as precipitately over the *Adda*, and sent to *Berengarius*, offering to deliver up all their booty, provided he would allow them to march home in safety: which request being denied, they continued their retreat to the river *Medoaccus*, where being again refused the liberty of marching home in safety, their despair drove them to the resolution of attacking the *Italians*; and dividing their armies into three bodies, they surprised *Berengarius*, and entirely routed his forces. Being thus a second time masters of that
- ^f part of *Italy*, they took and plundered *Trevifo*, and having suddenly built some boats, they likewise made themselves masters of *Venice*; but failing in their attempt upon the island of

The Hungarians from whom descended.

The bounds of the kingdom.

The Hungarians rebel against the descendants of Charlemain.

A. C. 889.

A. C. 893
A. C. 902.

They invade Lombardy, but retire upon receiving a sum of money.

^a SAX. CRANTZI, lib. ii. c. 16.

^b BONFINIUS, Dec. i. l. 9. p. 90

^c BONF. Dec. i. l. 10.

^d Idem ibid.

^e BARONII ANN. vol. x. p. 634.

Clodia,

Clodia, they retired to their camp at *Padua*; and *Berengarius* consenting to pay them a large sum of money, they quitted, for that time, *Italy*.

They are again
invited into
Italy by Al-
bericus.

A FEW years after, the *Hungarians* were again invited into *Italy* by *Albericus*, prince of *Etruria*; who, though he had repulsed the *Saracens* from *Naples* and *Calabria*, had been expelled from *Rome* by a faction of the nobles. The *Hungarians*, upon his invitation, immediately collected an army, and entering *Italy* by *Friuli*, marched from thence to the *Flaminian* way, pillaging and destroying the towns through which they went; but, instead of marching to *Rome*, they turned aside into *Etruria*, which they miserably ravaged with fire and sword, carrying off with them an infinite number of people into slavery; and having thus learned the way into *Italy*, for several years after they invaded it annually, for the sake of booty; till *Berengarius II.* desirous of freeing *Italy*, his country, from those incursions, concluded an alliance with them.

A. C. 908.
They invade
Germany.
A. C. 916.

THE *Hungarians*, having made a peace with the *Italians*, turned their arms against *Germany*; and the Chronicle of *Minden* makes mention of their incursions into *Saxony*, in the year 908. *Arnulphus*, duke of *Bavaria*, having led them towards the *Rhine* against the emperor *Conrad I.* who had formerly taken his duchy of *Bavaria* from him, and obliged him to fly with his family into *Hungary*. In the year 916, they again invaded *Germany*, and, among other ravages, burnt the church of *Bremen*. *Henry the Fowler*, in the beginning of his reign, to secure his dominions from the incursions of these barbarians, made a truce with them for nine years, and consented to pay them a sum of money annually. About this time, *Berengarius II.* having been expelled his kingdom by *Rodolphus* of *Burgundy*, whom the discontented *Italians* had called in to their assistance, fled to the *Hungarians*, his allies, and begged their help to recover *Lombardy*. *Berengarius* having continued in exile three years, at last returned to *Italy* with an *Hungarian* army, under the command of *Salardus*, who, wherever he marched, ravaged all with fire and sword; and having made himself master of the city of *Pavia*, which was then the royal residence, and very populous, he gave it up to be plundered by his army; and afterwards setting fire to it, of all the inhabitants, only 200 were saved, who redeemed their lives by paying eight bushels of silver, picked up from the rubbish of the houses, and forty-three churches which were destroyed. *Berengarius* dying this year, the *Hungarians* quitted *Italy*, and crossing the *Alps* with intention of going into *France*, they were inclosed in a valley, and cut off by *Rodolphus* of *Burgundy*, and *Hugh* prince of *Arles*. Some years afterwards, the truce made with the emperor *Henry* being expired, the *Hungarians*, some say to the number of 100,000, invaded *Germany*, and leaving one half of their army to besiege *Jechebourg*, they marched with the rest into *Saxony*. But *Henry* assembling an army, and hearing the *Hungarians* were encamped at *Mersburg*, marched against them, and taking the advantage of a fog, fell upon them unexpectedly, killed 36,000 of them on the spot, and drove several thousand of them besides into the river. Those who were left at the siege of *Jechebourg*, being informed of this, retreated immediately in great confusion, but were mostly cut off by the country people. This expedition of the *Hungarians* is variously related by several authors, but they all agree, that at *Mersburg*, they received a signal defeat; in consequence of which, *Germany* was freed from their incursions for several years after. In general, the *Hungarian* history during that period, is very obscure and uncertain; there is no mention made of the internal government of their kingdom, or who were their princes or rulers; they are only known to exist by their incursions upon their neighbours the *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, and *Bulgarians*; no enemy having penetrated into their own kingdom for more than a century, it remained a quiet nursery for those roving warriors.

A. C. 624.
They make an
irruption into
Italy and
burn Pavia.

A. C. 933.
They are en-
tirely routed in
Germany.

A. C. 937.
They invade
Italy, but are
defeated near
Capua.

THE *Hungarians*, notwithstanding their defeat in *Germany*, four years after invaded *Italy*, marching down as far as *Capua* without meeting with any resistance. Having ravaged that country, from whence they went to *Beneventum* and *Nola*, plundering and destroying all before them; and having burnt the monastery of *Casinum*, they obliged the monks to redeem themselves by parting with their most valuable effects, which they had concealed, an enumeration of which is given by *Leo Ostiensis*. The *Hungarians* returning again to *Capua*, encamped for twelve day upon the banks of the *Liris*, or *Gariliano*; and, loaded with booty, went from thence into the territories of the *Marfi* and *Peligni*, by whom they were surprized and almost entirely cut in pieces, the few that remained marching with precipitation out of *Italy*. The same year another body of *Hungarians* invaded *France*, where they committed great devastations, and carrying off many prisoners returned to their own country.

THE next expedition of the *Hungarians* that history mentions, was in the year 949, when under the command of their king *Toxis*, the father of *Geyfa*, their first Christian king, they

^f MEIB. *Res. Ger. Script.* v. i. p. 558. SAX. CRANT. l. iii. c. 3. ^g ADAM BREM. lib. i. cap. 46. BARON. Ann. v. x. p. 694. ^h BAR. Ann. v. x. p. 707. ⁱ Ibid. v. x. p. 719. LUITPRAND. l. ii. c. 8. 9. MEIB. *Res. Ger. Script.* v. i. p. 247, 641, & 648. SAX. CRANT. l. ii. c. 8. BONF. Decad. i. l. 10. p. 107. ^k LEO. OSTIEN. l. i. c. 58.

a entered *Italy*. *Berengarius* III. not being then in a condition to oppose their arms, sent his son *Albert* to *Toxis*, to offer him a large sum of money, provided he would leave the kingdom. *Toxis* agreeing for ten bushels of silver, *Berengarius*, by a capitation-tax, raised that sum from his subjects, which the barbarians receiving marched out of *Italy*. Some years afterwards, the *Hungarians* being informed that the emperor *Otho* was engaged in reducing his rebellious son *Ludolphus*, they entered *Germany*, and pillaging and burning the country as they went, they passed the *Lech*, and besieged *Augsburg*, which then was very weakly fortified. *Otho*, who had conquered and pardoned his son, was at this time in *Saxony*; but being informed of the invasion of the *Hungarians*, he immediately assembled an army near *Augsburg*, and attacking the enemy, after an obstinate dispute, he totally routed them, and pursued them to the river *Lech*, where great numbers of them were drowned. The following days he continued the pursuit, and surrounding the villages, whither they had fled in small bodies, he cut them all off; few, or none, of the great multitude that had invaded *Germany*, returning to their own country. After this signal victory, the emperor returned to *Ratisbon*; where, as a terror to future invaders, he caused three of the *Hungarian* princes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be hanged^m: and going afterwards to *Rome*, he was crowned with great solemnity by pope *Leo VIII.* and among other titles assumed that of king of *Pannonia*.

A. C. 949.
Toxis the king of the Hungarians invades Germany,
A. C. 985

but is defeated near *Augsburg*.

THE *Hungarian* forces were so weakened by this defeat in *Germany*, that we read of no other expedition under the reign of their first king *Toxis*, who died not many years after, and was succeeded by his son *Geyfa*, a lover of peace and justice, who was converted to the Christian religion by *St. Adalbert*, the bishop of *Prague*. In the beginning of *Geyfa's* reign, the *Hungarians* were in possession of *Austria*; but the emperor *Henry II.* giving that province to *Leopold*, duke of *Suabia*, who had married his sister, on condition that he conquered it from them; *Leopold*, accepting the condition, and assembling an army, defeated the *Hungarians* near *Mellicum* upon the *Danube*; after which defeat, *Geyfa* surrendered that province, and concluded a peace with the *Germans*, being more intent upon propagating the Christian faith in his kingdom, than seizing the dominions of others. Though it is said, that some of the *Hungarians* bordering on *Germany*, had already privately embraced the Christian religion; yet *Geyfa*, in converting his kingdom, met with great opposition from the nobles, who thought nothing glorious or worthy of their attention, but invasions and ravages of their neighbours; and accusing their king of neglecting the administration of the kingdom, by omitting to declare war, and suffering the youth to live idly, they at length ventured in some measure to oppose his proceedings. Notwithstanding this opposition, *Geyfa* still continued his endeavours to civilize his people, and in order to strengthen his authority, made an alliance with some of the princes of *Germany*; the *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Suabians*, willingly supplying him not only with money, but with auxiliary troops. In the year 997, *Geyfa* died, and was succeeded by his son *Stephen*, then very young, but who had been declared king by the states, the year before his father died; which title, with the addition of that of apostolic, four years after was confirmed to him by pope *Sylvester II.* *Stephen* at that time, surrendering his kingdom to the church. This *Stephen* is reckoned the first of the kings of *Hungary*, for his predecessors were kings more by authority and power, than by ordinary title. He is greatly celebrated for his piety, and unwearied study in converting his heathen subjects. In the beginning of his reign, his nobles, who were greatly addicted to their ancient idolatry, despising the tender years of the king, raised a rebellion against him, which was headed by one *Cupa*, who wanted to marry the widow of *Geyfa*, in hopes of possessing the throne. The rebels, after destroying the possessions of many of those that had embraced the new religion, laid siege to the city of *Vesperin*. But *Stephen*, trusting the command of his army to some experienced *Germans*, marched against the rebels, whom he defeated; and *Cupa* being killed, his body was quartered and exposed in four of the principal cities of *Hungary*. The authority of the king being established by this victory, many ecclesiasticks flocked into his kingdom, which was at this time, divided into ten bishopricks, all of them richly endowed by the king, who was not contented with building churches only in his own kingdom, but likewise founded and endowed a monastery at *Jerusalem*, and built a church at *Constantinople*, and another at *Rome*.

Geyfa, the son of Toxis, is converted to the Christian religion.
A. C. 989.

A. C. 997.

His subjects rebel against him, on account of the new religion, but are reduced.

HUNGARY did not long enjoy the fruits of peace; for we find *Giula* prince of *Transylvania*, in the year 1002, infested the province next to him, with design to oblige the young king his nephew to return to the religion of his ancestors. But *Stephen* marching against him with an army, in a few months made himself master of *Transylvania*, and took his uncle

A. C. 1002.
The Bulgarians invade Hungary, but are defeated by Stephen.

^l BONF. Dec. i. l. 10. p. 109. BAR. Ann. v. x. p. 755.

SAX. CRANT. l. iv. c. 6. MEIB. Rer. Ger. Script. v. i. p. 240, & 657. ^m BONF. ibid. p. 109. BAR. Ann. v. x. p. 766.

ibid. p. 112. ⁿ BONF. ibid.

ⁿ BARON. Ann. v. x. p. 882. BONF.

A. C. 1030. *Giula*, with his wife and two children, prisoners. Soon after this, *Hungary* was invaded by the *Bulgarians*, under the conduct of *Cea*; but *Stephen* having repulsed the invaders, pursued them into their own country, where he gained a signal victory, and returned loaded with booty. Towards the end of his reign, the emperor *Conrad II.* having conquered some provinces from the *Poles* and *Bobemians*, turned his arms against *Hungary*; but finding *Stephen* in a condition to oppose him, he renewed the peace^a. History makes no mention of any other expedition of *Stephen*: he married two wives, both named *Gyula*; the first was the sister of the emperor *Henry II.* and remarkable for her piety. By her he had one son, named *Emeric*, who died before his father without any issue, leaving his wife a virgin, and being canonized after his death. The second wife of *Stephen* is said to have been a daughter of *William* of *Burgundy*, and of a character very different from that of his first wife. Four years after the peace concluded with *Conrad*, *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Albe Royal*, or *Stenikweffenburg*, being succeeded in his kingdom by his nephew *Peter*. b

Peter. A. C. 1034. *Is deposed on account of his favour to the Germans.* *PETER* was surnamed the *German*, on account of the favour he shewed to those of that nation, upon whom he bestowed many of the chief posts in his kingdom; and despising his own subjects and countrymen, he introduced *Germans* into his council, and appointed them for governors in his cities. By these proceedings, he became extremely odious to his subjects, who conspired against him, and chusing one *Aba*, by others called *Ovo*, they conducted him to the camp, where he was approved of by the soldiers, and declared king^c. *Peter* then flying into *Bavaria*, left his ministers to the fury of the opposite faction, who put many of them to death, and annulled all his decrees. *Aba* had not long possessed the throne, when he heard that the emperor *Henry III.* was preparing to assist *Peter* to recover his kingdom; upon which information, he immediately assembled an army on both sides of the *Danube*, and invaded *Bavaria* and *Austria*; and returning to *Hungary* with great booty, he ordered another army to invade *Carinthia*, which returning likewise loaded with spoil, was intercepted and cut off by *Gothofred*. In the spring following, *Henry* advanced with an army as far as *Raab*, with an intention of restoring *Peter*; but *Aba* giving him a large sum of money, and promising to restore the captives which he had made in his former incursions, the emperor retired without any action. *Aba* now thinking himself secure in the possession of the throne, gave himself up so much to insolence and cruelty, that he soon became more odious than his competitor; and having put fifty of the nobles to death upon the discovery of a conspiracy, the rest fled to the emperor, who was prevailed upon by their entreaties to assist *Peter* in recovering his kingdom. Accordingly, being joined by *Brelislaus*, marquis of *Moravia*, he attacked *Aba* near *Raab*, and after a most obstinate dispute, in which so many of the *Bavarians* were slain, that they gave a name to the field, he at last gained the victory; *Aba* flying to the village of *Scoeb*, not far from the river *Tibisc*, where he was slain, and buried in a neighbouring church, but was afterwards dug up, and interred in a monastery, near the *Saar*, built by himself^d. *Peter* being again re-established in his kingdom, banished the three princes of the blood-royal, and thinking himself secure from any rival, he continued as formerly to give the command of his cities to *Germans* and *Italians*, and to do every thing by their advice; which so provoked his subjects, that many of them formed a conspiracy against him, and conceived an aversion for the religion of those foreigners: so that recalling two of the exiled princes, *Andrew* and *Leventa*, the other having married the king of *Poland*'s daughter, they promised to them to kill *Peter*, and drive out the *Germans* and *Italians*, provided they would allow them to follow their old religion, and destroy the churches. The princes finding that they could not obtain the kingdom without granting their request, at last gave their consent. Immediately the people, assembling in great bodies, fell upon those who still continued Christians, killing them by various torments, especially those who were of the *German* or *Italian* nation. The churches and monasteries were likewise plundered of their wealth and burnt, and the monks and bishops many of them stoned to death. *Peter*, finding that the whole nation had deserted him, and gone over to the party of the banished princes, endeavoured, with a great body of *Germans*, to escape into *Austria*; but the passes being seized, he was prevailed upon to return, under the pretence of a reconciliation. He had not marched three days when the *Hungarians* endeavoured to surprize him, and take him prisoner; however, being assisted by the *Germans*, he defended himself for two days, till all his friends were slain. Being at last taken, his eyes were immediately put out, and afterwards he was conducted to *Albe Royal*, where in a few days he died. e

A. C. 1044. *Peter is again restored.* *ANDREW*, by the death of his rival, was no sooner in full possession of his throne f

A. C. 1047. *But continuing still to favour the Germans, his subjects again rebel against him.*

^a GARLUI. in vita St. Steph. c. 9, 10, 11.

1. vii. p. 50. AVENT. Ann. Boii. l. v. p. 408. & 416.
Dec. ii. l. 2.

^c BARONI. v. xi. p. 130.

BRAY. Hist. Bohem.

^d BARON. Ann. v. xi. p. 177. BONF.

- a than he ordered the churches to be rebuilt, and all his subjects to profess the Christian religion. About this time *Wratislaus*, the second son of *Breislau*, king of *Bohemia*, being driven from *Moravia* by his brother *Spilignus*, retired to *Hungary*, where he was honourably entertained by *Andrew*, who gave him his only daughter *Adelbard*, (*Dubravius* ¹ says his sister) in marriage; which *Spilignus* being informed of, recalled him home, and again put him in possession of his marquisate. *Andrew* is said, by the *Hungarian* annals, in the beginning of his reign, to have reduced *Austria*². This is not mentioned by the *German* writers; on the contrary, they affirm, that *Andrew* paid homage and a yearly tribute to the emperor *Henry III.* However, this is certain, that in the year 1051, a peace was concluded betwixt him and *Adelbert* of *Austria*; soon after which he invited his brother *Bela* to come into *Hungary* with his family, his other brother *Leventa* having died in the first year of his reign, and he himself being without children. Upon *Bela's* arrival, he divided *Hungary* into three parts, two of which he reserved to himself, and with the universal consent of the states, gave the third to his brother; but afterwards marrying *Agnunda*, the daughter of the duke of *Russia*, he had by her two sons, *Solomon* and *David*, which marriage was afterwards the occasion of civil dissensions, on account of the succession. This year the emperor *Henry III.* invaded *Hungary*, but it is uncertain upon what account; however, his fleet meeting with a misfortune on the *Danube*, he was obliged to raise the siege of *Presburg*, and returned into *Germany*. The year following, he again entered *Hungary*, and advanced with his army within twenty-five miles of *Buda*; but *Andrew*, and his brother *Bela*, driving off the cattle from the countries through which he was to pass, and burning the forage and provisions; his fleet likewise, which was to have followed him upon the *Danube*, returning to *Germany*, in consequence of a counterfeited order from the *Hungarians*, the army of the emperor was reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, and he was obliged to conclude a peace, by which he promised to give his daughter *Sophia* to *Andrew*, who was at this time a widower³. Some years after, *Andrew*, in order to secure the succession to his son *Solomon*, caused him to be crowned, though then only five years of age; which giving offence to his brother *Bela*, he retired into *Poland*, and the year following returned with an army to make good his pretensions to the throne⁴. *Andrew*, having received assistance from the emperor *Henry*, to whose care he had committed his children, marched against his brother, whom he engaged near the *Tibisc*, or the *Theysse*, but was entirely defeated, and killed in the pursuit.

Andrew reduces Austria. A. C. 1051.

Henry III. invades Hungary, but marching too far into the country, he was obliged to conclude a peace.

Bela. A. C. 1059.

The people assemble in a tumultuous manner, demanding their old religion.

A. C. 1063. Solomon the son of Andrew, is restored by the assistance of the emperor.

BELA being settled in the throne, immediately pardoned all those who had taken the part of his brother; and applying himself to the administration of the kingdom, he lessened the taxes, established fairs, and coined gold and silver money. In order likewise to settle the affairs of religion, he commanded out of every town two elderly men to assemble, against a certain time, at *Albe Royal*. But when the day appointed arrived, not only those who were summoned appeared, but an infinite number of others, who having chosen chiefs to themselves, sent them to the king, demanding to be allowed their ancient religion. *Bela* told them, that he would give them an answer in three days; and in the mean time, having assembled an army, when the chiefs returned, he ordered them to be cut in pieces, and the mob to be attacked, many of whom were slain, and the rest either taken prisoners or dispersed. Soon after, having been greatly hurt by the ruins of a building, he died in the third year of his reign, and was buried in the church of *St. Salvator*, which he had rebuilt.

SOLOMON, the son of *Andrew*, who was then in *Germany*, hearing of the death of *Bela*, begged the assistance of *Henry IV.* whose sister he had married, to help him to recover his father's kingdom. The emperor, at his entreaty, marched with an army into *Hungary*, and settled him in the kingdom, *Geyfa* and *Ladislau*, the two sons of *Bela*, having fled into *Poland*, being unable to oppose the party of *Solomon*. But as soon as the emperor returned to *Germany*, they raised an army in *Poland*, and entered *Hungary*, with a design of dethroning *Solomon*; but a reconciliation being made between the two contending parties, by means of the bishops, *Geyfa* agreed to quit his pretensions to the kingdom, and to be contented with his father's duchy; and in *Easter* following, in the city of the *Five Churches*, he publicly put the crown on *Solomon's* head. Soon after this reconciliation, *Geyfa* marched with an *Hungarian* army to the assistance of *Zelomirus*, king of *Dalmatia*, his brother-in-law, who was attacked by the *Carinthians*. While he was engaged in this expedition, the *Bohemians* having invaded *Hungary*, and ravaged some of the northern provinces, in return *Solomon* and *Geyfa* entered *Moravia* with an army, pillaging and burning the country without opposition; but at last a peace was concluded betwixt the two kingdoms at *Olmütz*, in *Moravia*. When *Solomon* was returning home with his army, he was informed that the

¹ *Dubr.* l. viii. p. 58.

² *Bonf.* Dec. ii. l. 2.

³ *Baronii Ann.* vol. xi. p. 202. *Bonf.* Dec.

ii. l. 2.

⁴ *Idem.* vol. xi. p. 393.

⁵ *Dubrav.* l. ix. p. 69.

H. defeats the
Moravians
and the
Chuni.

The Bessi
invades Hun-
gary, but are
repulsed.

A. C. 1070.

Solomon is
expelled by
Geyfa.

A. C. 1074.

Geyfa is re-
conciled to
Solomon.

A. C. 1077.

Ladislaus ac-
cepts of the
administration
of the king-
dom, but re-
fuses the title
of king.

The Chuni
invade Hun-
gary.

Chuni, a heathen nation inhabiting that part of *Geta* now called *Wallachia*, had invaded Hun-^a
gary, and were pillaging and destroying the country. *Solomon* immediately marched against
the invaders, and after an obstinate dispute, entirely defeated them, not one of the enemy
being said to have escaped. After this victory, *Hungary* enjoyed peace for three years,
which were scarce expired, when the *Bessi* and *Bulgarians*, who inhabited towards the mouth
of the *Danube*, passing through *Albania*, and crossing the *Save*, plundered and destroyed
all the southern provinces of *Hungary*. *Solomon* and *Geyfa* assembling an army near *Zalan-*
kemen, repulsed the *Bulgarians*; and afterwards declaring war against the *Albanians*, because
they had allowed the invaders to pass through their country, they besieged *Alba Greca*,
their capital, now called *Belgrade*, which, after a three months siege, was taken and plun-^b
dered by means of a *Hungarian* maid, then a captive in the town, who set fire to it in
several places, to favour the attack of her countrymen. The division of the immense
booty that was taken in this city, occasioned a dispute betwixt *Solomon* and *Geyfa*, which
turned afterwards to a civil war, by which *Solomon* lost his kingdom, and was obliged to
retire to *Germany*, where he did homage to *Henry IV.* for *Hungary*, in expectation of his
assistance to recover his throne. This homage was protested against by pope *Gregory VII.*
who pretended that the kingdom of *Hungary* belonged to the *Roman* see, by the gift of king
Stephen, and threatened *Solomon* with excommunication, if he did not acknowledge this
right.²

GEYSA, in the mean time, marching with his army to *Albe Royal*, was proclaimed king^c
with the universal consent of the states; and being informed that the emperor *Henry* was
marching with a great army to replace *Solomon* upon the throne, he corrupted his counsel-
lors and chief officers, by whose advice the emperor was prevailed with to lay aside that ex-
pedition. The year following, *Geyfa*, by the persuasion of the bishop of *Strigonia*, agreed
to surrender two-thirds of the kingdom, with the regal dignity, to *Solomon*, reserving the
other to himself with the title of duke; but he died before this reconciliation was effected,
and was buried at *Vacia*.

THE states of *Hungary*, on the death of *Geyfa*, chose his brother *Ladislaus*, who was pre-
vailed upon to accept of the administration of the kingdom, but would not allow himself^d
to be crowned, because *Solomon* was still alive. In the beginning of his reign, *Zelomirus*,
king of *Dalmatia*, dying without issue, left his kingdom to his wife, the sister of *Ladislaus*,
who having quelled her seditious subjects by the assistance of her brother, afterwards re-
signed her kingdom to him and his heirs, and since that time, *Dalmatia* and *Croatia* have
been annexed to the dominions of *Hungary*. *Solomon*, who still possessed some part of
Hungary near *Presburg*, though he despaired of being able to regain his kingdom by force,
yet continued to molest the provinces in his neighbourhood by frequent incursions. At
last, in the fourth year of *Ladislaus's* reign, he consented to accept of a yearly pension, and
resigned all pretensions to the crown; but soon after, endeavouring to surprise *Ladislaus* at
a friendly conference, he was himself seized and imprisoned in the castle of *Wissegrad*.
Ladislaus afterwards setting him at liberty, as he had no resource in the emperor, who was^e
then engaged in disputes with the pope and the *Saxons*, he fled to the *Chuni*, and excited
them to invade *Hungary*, by promising, if he should recover his kingdom by their assis-
tance, to yield *Transylvania* to the *Chuni*, and to marry the daughter of *Cutbescus* their chief.
The *Chuni*, being prevailed upon by these promises, invaded *Hungary* with a numerous^f
army; but they were entirely defeated by *Ladislaus*, with the loss of 10,000 men. *Solomon*
being thus disappointed in his design of regaining his kingdom, turned the army of the
Chuni against the *Bulgarians* and *Thracians*, but was repulsed by *Nicephorus*, the emperor
of *Constantinople*, and obliged to fly beyond the *Danube*. After this defeat, he abandoned
all schemes of ambition, and forsaking the society of men, lived, for several years, a solitary
life in the woods, and at his death was buried in the city of *Pola*. Though *Solomon* now
ceased to disturb *Ladislaus*, yet the *Chuni* by themselves again invaded *Hungary*, and having^g
ravaged and plundered the country, carried off with them much booty, and a great num-
ber of captives. On the first news of this invasion, *Ladislaus* was then in *Dalmatia*, quiet-
ing some disturbances in that kingdom; but immediately marching against the *Chuni*, he
overtook them as they had passed the river *Themescus*, and engaged them without delay.
During the engagement, the captives having by mutual assistance unbound themselves,
both men and women attacked the enemy in the rear, while *Ladislaus* and their countrymen
engaged them in the front. The *Chuni*, unable to sustain both attacks, immediately be-
gan to disperse, but were mostly slain or taken prisoners by the *Hungarians*. Notwithstand-
ing this great defeat, they again invaded *Hungary*; but *Ladislaus* killing their king *Acus*, in a
single combat, the barbarians upon his death, retreated with precipitation, but were almost
all intercepted, and cut off.

² GREGOR. I. ii. Epist. 13.

^a AFTER this defeat of the *Chuni*, *Ladislaus* was engaged in a war with the *Rutheni* or *Ruf-*
sians, who not venturing to oppose his arms, sent ambassadors, desiring a peace, which be-
 ing concluded, *Ladislaus* then turned his arms against the *Poles*, who had assisted the *Chuni*
 in their incursions; and having defeated their army, he marched to *Cracow*, which surren-
 dered to him after a three months siege. Having obliged the *Poles* to conclude a peace ^a,
 he returned with his army to *Hungary*, and being solicited by pope *Victor III.* he pro-
 mised 200,000 horse to act against the emperor *Henry IV.* who had been excommuni-
 cated by *Gregory VII.* About this time, the Christian princes, by the persuasion of *Peter*
 the hermit, having resolved upon an expedition into the holy land, to recover it from the
 dominion of the *Turks*, *Ladislaus* made great preparations for that holy war; but marching
 with an army into *Bohemia*, to assist *Bretislaus* in obtaining that crown, vacant by the death
 of his uncle *Conrad* ^b, he (A) was seized with a distemper, of which he died in the 19th
 year of his reign, greatly lamented by all his subjects, who wore mourning for him three
 years.

Ladislaus is engaged in a war with the Rutheni. A. C. 1087. Is appointed chief of the first crusade. A. C. 1095.

LADISLAUS dying without issue, was succeeded by *Coloman*, the eldest son of his bro-
 ther *Geyza*, who had fled into *Poland*, to avoid becoming an ecclesiastick, *Ladislaus* having
 designed the succession for his other nephew *Almus*. In the second year of his reign, the
Germans, who had assembled for the expedition into the holy land, after having committed
 great cruelties against the *Jews* at *Worms*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Triers*, and in many other cities,
 marched towards *Hungary*, and sent to *Coloman*, demanding a passage through his king-
 dom. But he denied their request, and prepared to oppose them with an army; upon
 which refusal, they resolved to open to themselves a way by the sword, and attacking *Colo-*
man, defeated him, though not without a great loss of their own army. Afterwards pene-
 trating into *Hungary*, they met with a very different reception, some of the *Hungarians* pri-
 vately furnishing them with money and provisions, while others massacred all those whom
 they could find straggling from the main body; and *Coloman*, with an army, harassed
 their march.

Coloman opposes the march of the Germans through Hungary.

HUNGARY was no sooner freed from this numerous army of foreigners, than it was
 disturbed by a civil war betwixt the two brothers *Coloman* and *Almus*; but when they were
 on the point of deciding their difference by a battle, a reconciliation was effected betwixt
 them, which, however, did not continue long; for *Almus*, flying into *Bavaria*, endeavour-
 ed to raise an army, with an intention of attacking his brother; but by means of some
 nobles, he was prevailed upon to return, and was again reconciled to *Coloman*. After this,
Almus is said to have gone to *Jerusalem*, and upon his return, to have lived in amity with
 his brother; but soon after, upon account of some suspicion, *Coloman* ordered him and his
 son *Bela* to be seized, and the eyes of both of them to be put out. *Hungary* was not only
 harassed by these civil dissensions, but likewise by the foreign wars in which their king
 was engaged; for *Coloman* alledging, that the *Russians* had not fulfilled the terms of peace
 concluded with *Ladislaus*, entered their country, and destroyed all with fire and sword.
Lance, their queen, being unable to oppose him, went personally to his camp, to beg for
 peace; but being disdainfully treated by *Coloman*, and even kicked by him, when on her
 knees, she left him fully resolved to take revenge. Assembling all the forces she could,
 and being joined by *Mircodes*, general of the *Chuni*, with a great body of that nation, she
 attacked the *Hungarian* camp about midnight, of which she soon got possession; and the
Russians afterwards penetrating into the woods, whither the *Hungarians* had fled for safety,
 cut in pieces all whom they found, and the rest perishing by famine, *Coloman*, with diffi-
 culty, escaped to *Hungary* with a very few attendants ^c.

His brother Almus raises a civil war against him, but is seized, and his eyes put out.

He is defeated by the queen of the Rutheni.

^f AFTER this defeat, *Coloman* entered into an alliance with the *Venetians*, in order to re-
 pulse the *Normans*, who ravaged all the sea-coasts of *Dalmatia*. The *Hungarians* embarking
 on board the *Venetian* fleet, made themselves masters of *Brundisi*, and marching up into
Apulia, ravaged the country with fire and sword, carrying off with them a great many men
 and cattle. The presence of *Coloman* in *Dalmatia*, encouraged a great many cities of that
 province to throw off the *Venetian* yoke, and acknowledge the dominion of the *Hungarians*.
 Upon this revolt, the *Venetians* accusing *Coloman* of breach of faith, prepared a great fleet,
 which, under the command of *Ordephalus*, their doge, sailed to besiege *Jadra* or *Zara*, the
 chief town of the province. After a long siege, the *Venetians* again recovered that city,
 and several other places; and improving their success, they landed their forces, and pene-
 trated into *Croatia*, which province they subdued, and have ever since retained the title of

The Normans ravage the sea-coasts of Dalmatia.

^a BONF. Dec. ii. l. 4.

^b DUBRAV. l. ixl p. 68.

^c BONF. Dec. ii. ., 2.

(A) *Bonfinius* says, that this *Conrad* was the person restored, and had been banished by his brother *Otto* ^a; but this account is both contrary to the history of *Bohemia*, and the genealogy of those princes.

^a Bonf. Dec. ii. l. 4.

The emperor
invades Hun-
gary, but is
repulsed.

Stephen III.
A. C. 1114.

Stephen in-
vades Po-
land,

and declares
war against
Bohemia.

The conference
is prevented by
the treachery
of Soltha.

Stephen in-
vades Russia,
under pre-
tence of restor-
ing their
exiled duke.

He declares
war against
the emperor of
Constantino-
ple.

that conquest. *Coloman*, who was then in *Hungary*, being informed that the *Venetians* had recovered *Zara*, raised a great army, and marched into *Dalmatia*, where he engaged the *Venetians*, who had returned to protect their conquests; but *Ordephalus* being killed in the action, the *Venetians* were defeated, and retired home, leaving the country in the possession of *Coloman*, who, upon the entreaty of the *Venetians*, concluded a peace for five years. The year following, the emperor *Henry V.* having undertaken the protection of *Almus*, and threatening to invade *Hungary*, *Coloman* made an alliance with the duke of *Poland*, for their mutual defence; and a marriage was concluded betwixt *Stephen*, the heir of the kingdom of *Hungary*, and the duke's daughter^a. *Henry*, marching with his army into *Hungary*, was repulsed with loss; wherefore he turned his arms against *Poland*, where the war continued for two or three years, during which time *Coloman* died, and was buried at *Albe Royal*, having reigned nineteen years.

STEPHEN, the son of *Coloman*, succeeded his father with the consent of the states; and being then a minor, the affairs of the nation were administered by the bishops and nobles for eight years, during which time *Hungary* enjoyed a profound peace. In the ninth year of his reign, *Stephen* took the administration of the kingdom into his own hands, and testified, by his actions, a temper no less cruel and savage than that of his father. His first expedition was into *Dalmatia*, which province the *Venetians* had harassed by frequent piratical incursions, and had likewise endeavoured to regain by bribery the chief men. *Stephen* having renewed the garrisons in the towns, and confirmed those who were wavering, returned to *Hungary*, and sent his army against the *Poles*, finding himself then in a condition to repay the injuries which *Hungary* had formerly suffered from them. *Stephen* afterwards declared war against the duke of *Bohemia*, and advanced with his army as far as the river *Orsana*, which divides *Moravia* from *Hungary*; but the nobles being averse to the war, advised their king to endeavour a reconciliation by means of a conference, which was agreed to by the duke of *Bohemia*. One *Soltha*, a *Hungarian* refugee, in the *Bohemian* camp, thinking that a reconciliation would be to his great disadvantage, wrote to *Stephen*, that the duke of *Bohemia* intended to surprise him at the conference, therefore he ought to send his archers and light-armed soldiers before to prevent the fraud; at the same time he told the *Bohemians*, that he was informed that *Stephen* had proposed the conference only with the design of seizing upon the duke. Both parties being thus rendered jealous of each other, on the day of the conference went towards the place appointed, attended with armed troops, with design to act upon the defensive; but the *Bohemians* observing the *Hungarian* archers, immediately attacked them, and drove them back to their camp, and being assisted by their friends, forced the entrenchments, and obliged the *Hungarians* to fly; which *Junus*, the son of *Brofa*, and the count *Palatin*, who were encamped at some distance from the king, observing, they drew out their men, and repulsed the *Bohemians* with great slaughter. At length, both parties being sensible of their error, a peace was concluded, by which it was agreed, that *Sobieflaus*, brother of the duke of *Bohemia*, should marry a daughter of *Stephen*, who was then an infant. The traitor *Soltha* was seized, and carried to *Hungary*, where he was torn to pieces by horses^c. After this expedition into *Bohemia*, *Stephen* married the daughter of *Robert Guiscard*, prince of *Apulia* and *Sicily*, and soon after was engaged in a war with the *Russians*, under pretence of assisting their exiled duke *Bezen*, who had fled to his protection. Marching with a great army into their country, by the advice of the duke he besieged their capital city; but he being killed in the first action, *Stephen* was persuaded by his nobles to quit the siege, and return to *Hungary*. Three years after he again invaded *Poland*, where he committed great devastation; and being informed that the emperor of *Constantinople* had struck his wife, for defending his character, he declared war against him, and ravaged his provinces with so much fury, that the mothers used his name to quiet their crying children for many years after. The emperor at last marching against him with an army, entirely defeated him at the river *Carasus*; after which, a peace was concluded in the city *Boronchus*, within an island of the *Danube*. *Stephen* rendered his name infamous, by his cruelty towards his subjects, and was surnamed the *Thunderer* by the common people, because his actions flowed more from violent passions, than from reason. He banished his uncle *Almus* into *Thrace*, where he was honourably entertained by the emperor, and founded a city, which was soon inhabited by *Hungarians*, who fled from the cruelties of their king. As *Stephen* had no children by his queen, towards the end of his reign he was very solicitous about a successor; and being informed that his cousin *Bela* was still alive, and in *Hungary*, he adopted him for his son; and having concluded a marriage betwixt him and the daughter of *Uro*, count of *Macedonia*, he resigned the kingdom to him, and is said, before his death, in sign of penitence, to have taken on the monkish habit^d. He died of a dysentery, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried at *Waradin*.

^a DLUGOSI. hist. Polon. p. 371 & 372.
v. xii. p. 230. Rev. Hun. Script. p. 682.

^c BONF. ubi supra. DUBRAV. l. xi. p. 82.

^d BARONII ANN.

a *BELA*, surnamed *the Blind*, the son of *Almus*, succeeded to the throne with the unanimous consent of the states, and was greatly beloved by his subjects for his moderation and continual application to the administration of justice; but being prevailed upon by his queen to allow his former enemies to be punished according to the rigour of the laws, he by that action alienated many of the nobles, who rebelled against him, and invited *Borichus*, a bastard son of *Coloman*, who was then in *Russia*, to claim the kingdom, as the lawful heir. *Bela* being informed of this conspiracy, called an assembly of the states, and asked their opinion of the legitimacy of *Borichus*. The nobles who wished well to the state, answered, that they were certain *Borichus* was a bastard and unworthy of the throne; but those of the other faction affirmed that he was a lawful son, *Coloman* having been married to his mother in *Russia*. Upon this reply, a dissension arose in the assembly; and orders being given to seize those who favoured *Borichus*, all was immediately in confusion, while those of his faction endeavoured to defend themselves, or escape, and the others to apprehend them, and drag them to punishment. Count *Lampertus* was dragged from the king's feet, whither he had fled for protection, and killed by his brother with a piece of the bench; his son *Nicholas* suffered the same fate, with many others of the nobles. Those who escaped immediately fled to *Borichus*, who was marching towards *Hungary* with an army of *Russians* and *Poles*. *Bela* having assembled an army, marched against the pretender; and having obtained a conference with the chiefs of the *Poles* and *Russians*, count *Bodus* prevailed with the greatest number of them to forsake *Borichus* and return home. Those who remained were easily defeated by the *Hungarians*, and the chiefs of the rebellion being taken in the engagement, were brought before *Bela* and put to death. After this victory, *Bela* addicted himself to feasting and entertainments, whereby he contracted a habit of drinking, which threw him into a dropsy, of which he died in the tenth year of his reign, leaving behind him four sons, *Geyfa*, *Ladislaus*, *Stephen*, and *Almus*.

Bela II.
A. C. 1131.

His subjects rebel against him.

but are reduced, and punished.

UPON the death of *Bela*, his eldest son *Geyfa* succeeded to the throne, and being under age, the affairs of the state were committed to the management of the bishops and nobles. In the beginning of his reign, having entered into a league with *Guelph VII.* duke of *Spoleto*, and guardian of *Henry the Lyon*, his nephew, to assist them in recovering *Bavaria*, by this means he drew upon himself the resentment of *Henry* margrave of *Austria*; who, being assisted by the forces of the emperor *Conrad III.* made himself master of *Presburgh* by stratagem, and from thence made incursions upon the *Hungarians*. Upon the news of the surprising of *Presburgh*, *Geyfa* immediately assembled an army; and marching against the *Germans* before they had received all their reinforcements, he routed their army with the loss of 7000 men, *Henry* himself with difficulty escaping into *Austria*. *Geyfa*, though then but a youth, acquired great reputation by this victory, and secured his kingdom from invasions during the rest of his reign. But having given leave to the emperor *Conrad III.* to pass through *Hungary* with 60,000 horse, in his way to the holy land^s, that emperor, mindful of the late defeat of his ally the margrave of *Austria*, and thinking he had now an opportunity of being revenged, acted like an inveterate enemy, and under pretence of furnishing himself with necessaries for the expedition, plundered the churches, monasteries, and other sacred places, of their wealth, and gave licence to his soldiers to commit all manner of excesses. The same year, *Geyfa* gave permission to *Lewis VII.* king of *France*, to march through *Hungary* with his army upon the same expedition, and entertained him in an honourable manner, as he kept his army under the strictest discipline, and marched without offending the meanest subjects. *Borichus*, the bastard son of *Coloman*, having insinuated himself into the army of *Lewis*, in expectation that the *Hungarians* would rise in his favour, *Geyfa* demanded him to be delivered up as a pretender to his throne; but *Lewis*, declaring that the protection of kings ought to be a sanctuary to those who claim it, *Geyfa* renewed his request with greater earnestness; upon which *Borichus*, fearing to be delivered up, took one of the king's horses, and immediately fled; but being pursued by the king's master of the horse, he was overtaken and killed. *Geyfa* soon after was engaged in a war with the *Russians*, *Lodomerius*, having by the assistance of the *Chuni*, expelled their lawful king *Minoslaus*, whose daughter *Geyfa* had married. *Geyfa* having assembled a great army, to assist his father-in-law, marched against the emperor, whom he defeated; and reinstating *Minoslaus* in his kingdom, he returned with honour to *Hungary*. History makes no mention of any other military expedition of *Geyfa*; during the rest of his reign, he distinguished himself by his liberality to the poor, and bounty to the church. He died in the twentieth year of his reign, his eldest son *Stephen* having been declared king by him before his death.

Geyfa III.
A. C. 1141.

The margrave of Austria takes Presburgh by surprise.

He is afterwards defeated by Geyfa.

A. C. 1147.
The king of France marches thro' Hungary to the holy land.

Stephen III.
A. D. 1161.

AFTER the death of *Geyfa*, the states assembled in the usual manner; and although *Ste-*

Enters into an alliance with the emperor of Constantinople against the Venetians.

Ladislaus the usurper.

Stephen the usurper.

Stephen defeats the usurper, but dies soon after.

Bela III.
A. C. 1173.

Marches into Dalmatia against the Venetians.

A truce is concluded by the mediation of the pope.
A. C. 1189.

phen had before been declared king, they again gave their public consent, and according to custom, crowned him with the sacred crown of St. Stephen his ancestor. In the beginning of his reign, Stephen entered into an alliance with Emanuel Comnenus, the emperor of Constantinople, who had been for several years at war with the Venetians. In consequence of this league, the Hungarians recovered Zara, and several other places on the coast of Dalmatia, which the Venetians had for some time before possessed; but those cities soon after revolted from the Hungarians, and put themselves under the dominion of the emperor, who likewise engaged Guiscard, duke of Ancona, to harass the Venetian coasts with his galleys. Guiscard being taken by the doge Vitalis, and executed as a pirate, Emanuel pretended to lay aside hostilities, and gave allowance to the Venetians to trade in his ports; but soon after, he seized all their ships on one day; which perfidy so provoked the Venetians, that they are said to have built and fitted out an hundred galleys and twenty ships of burden within an hundred days; with which fleet they took and plundered the city of Traw, and likewise made themselves masters of Ragusa; and, sailing into the Egean sea, took Chios, and attacked Eubœa: but their fleet being attacked with the plague, they were obliged to return home; and the distemper being communicated to the city, almost one half of the inhabitants were destroyed. While the Venetian fleet was employed in this expedition, Stephen, who had marched into Dalmatia with an army, ravaged their territories, but was recalled into Hungary to oppose the usurpation of his uncle Ladislaus, the son of Bela; who, during his absence, had stolen the sacred crown of St. Stephen, and being supported by most of the bishops, and many of the nobility, had declared himself king. Stephen finding that the greatest number of the people favoured Ladislaus, kept himself private in some of the castles that continued faithful to him, while the usurper enjoyed the kingly dignity and power. Ladislaus dying within six months, his faction immediately proclaimed his brother Stephen king; but Stephen, the lawful possessor being still alive, at length assembled an army of his friends to oppose the usurpations of his uncle. Hungary being then divided into two parties, the two armies engaged with vast animosity; and after a great slaughter on both sides, especially of the nobles, victory at last declared for the nephew, who thereby again recovered his kingdom. The usurper having possessed the throne five months, died soon after this defeat at the castle of Zemlin. Stephen did not long survive him, but died the same year, and was buried at Strigonia.

As Stephen left no children, his brother Bela succeeded him; whose integrity, justice, and gravity, were very necessary to restrain the licentiousness that had been introduced by the intestine divisions; all those who were obnoxious to the laws having taken refuge in the armies of Ladislaus and Stephen the usurpers. Upon his accession to the throne, he immediately published an edict against thieves, robbers, and murderers; and, as before his reign, the Hungarians had presented their requests to their kings personally, and in an undistinct manner, he ordered, after the manners of the emperors and the pope, that all petitions should be delivered in writing. He was afterwards engaged in some short wars with the Poles and Bobemians, and likewise restrained the Austrians from making incursions; but his chief concern was, to recover the maritime places of Dalmatia, which were again in possession of the Venetians. An opportunity soon offered for him to obtain his wishes; for Peter, the doge of Venice, having drawn off the inhabitants of Pisa from their alliance with those of Ancona, had obliged the metropolitan bishop of Zara to be subject to the patriarch of Grade; which those of Zara took so ill, that they revolted the fourth time from the Venetians, and put themselves under the protection of the Hungarians. Bela being informed of this revolt, immediately marched with an army into Dalmatia, and put strong garrisons into Zara and the neighbouring places; while the Venetians, sensibly affected with the loss, prepared a fleet with the utmost expedition, and sailed to besiege Zara. They soon regained the islands, as the Hungarians had no naval force; but Bela had so strengthened the sea-coasts, and especially the city Zara, that the efforts of the Venetians to recover them were in vain. At this time, news being brought to Europe, that Saladin had taken Jerusalem, a new croisade was resolved upon, for the recovery of the holy city; and by the mediation of pope Clement, a truce was agreed to for two years betwixt Bela and the Venetians, that the Christian princes might have the use of their fleet in transporting their troops to the holy land. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in his march through Hungary for that expedition, with more than 100,000 men, was honourably entertained by Bela, and supplied with all necessaries. After the truce was expired, the Venetians met with a new loss; for the Pisans, who had been their allies for several years, seized upon the city and port of Pola for themselves, and concluded an alliance with the Hungarians. But the Venetians immediately sailing to Pola, recovered the city, which they dismantled, and afterwards defeating the Pisan fleet, obliged them to quit their new ally, and conclude a peace. While Bela was employed in this Venetian war, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the 23d year of his reign, leaving by his wife, who was a sister of Philip king of France, two sons, Emeric and

a and *Andrew*. His widow, ^a the same year, resolved to visit the sepulchre of our Saviour at *Jerusalem*, and went at the head of a great body of *Hungarians* to the holy land; but from the fatigue of the journey, she died at *Ptolemais*, before she reached the holy city.

UPON the death of *Bela*, his eldest son *Emerick*, or *Henry*, succeeded to the throne with the universal consent of the states. He began his reign with putting in execution the laws of his father against robbers and murderers. But his government was soon disturbed by the rebellion of his brother *Andrew*; who, having debauched the minds of many of the nobles, raised an army, and openly declared war against him. *Emerick* having in vain used his utmost endeavours, by letters and intercessions, to dissuade his brother from so desperate an enterprize, at last raised an army to oppose him. But, that he might spare the blood of

Emerick,
A. C. 1196.

Andrew his
brother rebels
against him.

b his subjects, when both armies were drawn up ready to engage, he is said to have put off his armour, and to have gone alone into the middle of his brother's army, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand, and to have addressed them after this manner (B):

“Which of you, soldiers, will dare to pollute his hands with the most sacred blood of his king? which of you desires to violate, in my person, the divinity of *St. Stephen*? I am not *Emerick*, a private person, but the vicar and heir of *St. Stephen*; and your king by the universal consent of the states. Consider whom you attack: *Emerick* can die but once, and to die here will be most glorious for me, but most ignominious and destructive for you. Accept of the pardon I offer you, and acknowledge your king.” This speech had such an effect upon the army of his brother, that they immediately threw down their arms, and strove

He prevails
upon the re-
bels to lay
down their
arms.

c who should first ask pardon for their crime: which sudden alteration in his army being observed by *Andrew*, he quitted the field, and endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken and brought to *Emerick*, who freely pardoned him. While *Emerick* was engaged in this intestine war, the *Venetians*, intent upon recovering the places on the coast of *Dalmatia* which they had formerly possessed, agreed to transport to the holy land the troops of *Montferrat*, *Savoy*, and *Flanders*, upon condition that they would assist them in recovering *Istria* and *Zara*. The condition being accepted by these foreigners, the *Venetians* quickly fitted out

The Vene-
tians, by the
help of foreign
troops, recover
Istria and
Zara.

d sixty galleys, and as many ships of burden, besides many other smaller vessels; so that they invaded *Istria* with a fleet of 240 sail. The inhabitants of that coast being struck with terror at such a warlike appearance, immediately submitted. From *Istria*, the *Venetian* fleet sailed to *Zara*, and landing their men, besieged it by sea and land. The *Hungarian* garrison being very strong, they met with great opposition, scarce a day passing without a

e tally from the besieged: at last, they began to make some impression by sea; upon which, the chief men of the city, despairing of safety and pardon, privately quitted the place; which the *Hungarian* garrison observing before the last assault, they likewise quitted the city in a body, and retired to the towns in the neighbouring mountains. Notwithstanding the reduction of *Zara*, the *Venetian* trade was as much molested as ever by the exiles, who, being assisted by *Emerick*, seized the *Venetian* ships, and made frequent descents on their territories. The *Venetians* at last fitted out another fleet, and having defeated the exiles, took many of their sons as hostages, and allowed them to return to *Zara*; concluding a peace

on these conditions, that they should receive the governor of their city, and their metropolitan bishop, from the *Venetians*; and pay a yearly tribute of 3000 rabbit-skins to their republic. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, *Emerick* died, leaving the kingdom to his son *Ladislaus*, who enjoyed it only six months, being taken off by an immature

Ladislaus III.

LADISLAUS was succeeded by his uncle *Andrew*, who was crowned with the universal consent of the states. During the first twelve years of his reign, *Hungary* enjoyed a continual peace; but pope *Honorius* III. ordering a new croisade to be preached, *Andrew* resolved to make an expedition into the holy land; and for that purpose assembled a great army in *Hungary*, having determined on this expedition before he came to the throne, not only on his own account, but to fulfil the vow of his father *Bela*. Before he quitted the kingdom, he appointed *Banbanus*, one of the nobles, to govern in his absence, trusting to his fidelity his queen *Gertrude*, and his four children, *Bela*, *Coloman*, *Andrew*, and *Elizabeth* (C). *Banbanus* administered the affairs of the kingdom with great justice and assiduity, his government giving universal satisfaction. But *Gertrude's* brother coming from *Germany*, to pay her a visit in the absence of her husband, during his stay in *Hungary*

A. C. 1204.
Andrew II.
resolves upon
an expedition
to the holy
land,

and trusts the
government
of the king-
dom to *Ban-
chanus*;

^a BONF. Dec. ii. l. 7.

(B) It was a received opinion among the *Hungarians*, that whoever possessed the crown of *St. Stephen*, had thereby a divine right to the throne.

(C) The *Venetian* annals relate, that *Andrew* and his forces were transported to *Syria* by a *Venetian* fleet; in consideration of which *Andrew* ceded to the republic of *Venice* all his right to *Dalmatia*. But this is not only

contrary to the *Hungarian* annals, which affirm, that *Andrew* marched by land to *Constantinople*, but likewise appears improbable, that for such a small service, so powerful a king would have given up a kingdom, for the retaining of which so much blood had been spilt by his ancestors.

who murders
the queen,

but is acquit-
ted on his
trial.
A. C. 1217.

Andrew
hastily quits
the holy land.

Bela IV.
A. C. 1235.

The Tartars
invade the
eastern parts
of Europe.

The Cumani
quit their
country on ac-
count of the
Tartars, and
ask a refuge
in Hungary,

which is
granted by
Bela, who
thereby offends
his own sub-
jects.

debauched the wife of *Bancbanus*, by means of his sister. The injured lady informing her husband, he, in revenge, next day stabbed the queen, and coming out with his bloody sword into the street, published his wrongs, and the revenge he had taken; declaring, that he did not refuse to stand his trial, but would go directly to *Constantinople* (D); but *Andrew*, being otherwise satisfied with his fidelity, refused to judge him till he returned from his expedition, and desired him, in the mean time, to go back to his charge. At the trial, the accusation against the queen being found to be just, *Andrew* acquitted *Bancbanus*, but, nevertheless, his family was ruined by the resentment of the king's sons. *Andrew* having transported his troops into *Asia*, marched into *Syria*; but after having washed himself in the river of *Jordan*, he took the resolution of returning home¹. As there was an agreement betwixt him and the duke of *Austria*, that neither of them should return without the consent of the other, the duke of *Austria* opposed his journey, being afraid, lest, after his return to *Hungary*, he should invade his duchy. The king still insisting upon his departure, the duke of *Austria* engaged the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to endeavour to prevail with him to stay; but the exhortations of the prelate having no effect, he proceeded to threats, and at last to excommunication, which sentence occasioned an accommodation; *Andrew* promising, by a solemn oath, in presence of the patriarch, and the *German* bishops and lords, not to make war on the duke of *Austria* while he should be employed in the crusade; and to leave in *Palestine* one half of his troops under the command of the duke. This proposal being accepted, the excommunication was taken off, and *Andrew* departed with the other half of his troops to return into *Hungary*, having continued but three months in the holy land, and bringing home with him the head of *St. Margaret*, and of *Stephen* the first martyr; likewise, the right hand of *Thomas* and *Bartholomew*, a piece of *Aaron's* rod, and one of the water-pots in which the water was turned into wine by our Saviour, and many other relicks. Returning to *Hungary* by sea, on board the *Venetian* fleet, he was honourably entertained upon his landing by the prince of *Este*; and falling in love with that prince's daughter, he married her, and took her with him into *Hungary*. By her he had a posthumous son named *Stephen*, born at *Este*, who had a son named *Andrew*, afterwards king of *Hungary*. Nine years after his return, his daughter *Elizabeth* was married to *Lewis*, landgrave of *Thuringia*. This princess made herself most remarkable for her austere and pious life, and for her bounty towards the poor, whose feet she often washed. After the death of her husband, she entered into the order of *Franciscans*, in which she continued to her death, refusing to return to the splendor of a court in *Hungary*, though earnestly requested by her father. She died in the year 1231, and was afterwards canonized. *Andrew* survived his daughter only four years, and after having reigned 31 years, left the kingdom to his eldest son *Bela*, to whom he had ceded the sovereignty before his death.

THE states having assembled, *Bela* was crowned at *Albe Royal* in the church of *St. Peter*, founded by himself; during the procession his brother *Coloman* having been created king of *Haliria*, in *Prussia*, walked before him with the sword; while *Daniel*, prince of the *Rutheni*, or *Russians*, led his horse. *Bela* had scarce been five years on the throne, when he was alarmed with the news of the approach of the *Tartars*, by some called *Thatturi*, by others *Mangali*; who, quitting their northern habitations in different hords, or companies, over-ran *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and even penetrated into *Egypt*; while others, under the command of *Batbus* and *Peta*, sons of *Hocotam Cham*, son of *Genzis Cham*, first king of *Tartary*, ravaged *Great Russia*, *Lithuania*, *Poland*, and *Bohemia*. The news of their incursions was brought into *Hungary* by the *Cumani*, a *Sarmatian* nation, whose country those barbarians were then ravaging and burning. *Cuten*, the king of that country, being unable longer to resist their violence, sent ambassadors to *Bela*, begging that he would allow him, and the remains of his people, to take refuge in *Hungary*, promising not only to become his subjects, but likewise to turn Christians. Their request was readily granted, and soon after *Cuten* came into *Hungary* with 40,000 *Cumani*, besides slaves, who were all generously received by *Bela*. This generosity was far from being acceptable to his own subjects, who accused the strangers of ruining their fields and vineyards as they passed, of plundering the towns and villages, and of ravishing the daughters, not only of the poor, but likewise of the nobles. They alledged also, that *Bela* shewed a partiality to the foreigners, extenuating their crimes, and refusing to do justice to his subjects; that the rumour of the invasion was only a false report, which had been often talked of, and was published at this time only with a design of preventing the bishops from going to the general council; and that the *Cumani* had conspired with the *Russians*, and designedly quitted their country, that they might be more ready to assist them in exterminating the *Hungarians*. The *Cumani* had

¹ VITRIAC, Hist. Orient. l. iii.

(D) Some authors make no mention of the journey of *Bancbanus* to *Constantinople*, but relate that he and his family were both destroyed immediately after the queen's death.

- a not been a year in *Hungary*, when *Bela* was informed, that the *Tartars* having ravaged *Russia*, were approaching the frontiers of his kingdom with an army of near 30,000 men, under the command of *Bathus*; while *Peta*, with almost as numerous a body, invaded *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia* ^k. Though the rumour was still disbelieved by the people, *Bela* sent the *Palatin* with a body of forces to guard the passes of the mountains; and an assembly of the states being called at *Buda*, it was resolved, that the bishops and nobles should prepare their vassals for war, and faithful persons be sent to watch the conduct of *Cuten*, and the chiefs of the *Cumani*. In the mean time, the *Tartars* having attacked the *Palatin*, entirely defeated him; and afterwards entering *Hungary*, marched for the first five days in a very peaceable manner, partly with a design not to alarm the *Hungarians*, and partly that they might have provisions, in case they were obliged to retreat. But advancing afterwards into the country, they began their ravages with a barbarous fury, sparing neither age nor sex, and marched directly for *Bela*, who was encamped at *Pesth*, having sent his queen before into *Austria*. The *Hungarians*, instead of vigorously assisting the king, continued their murmurs against the *Cumani*; and affirming that the *Tartars* had invaded *Hungary* by their invitation, they barbarously murdered *Cuten*, with his attendants, while he was on his journey to join *Bela*; at which action, the *Cumani* were so incensed, that they joined the *Tartars*, and became the most bitter enemies of the *Hungarians*. The *Tartars* daily ravaging the country, and cutting off some detached body of *Hungarians* by their sudden and unexpected attacks, *Bela* was earnest to come to a general engagement, and marched after the enemy; who, as he advanced, retreated leisurely towards *Agria*, both parties seeking an opportunity to engage, though most part of the *Hungarians* did not even desire the victory, but wished that *Bela* might be defeated, that for the future he might have an aversion to foreigners, and depend more upon them; believing that the defeat would only be a private loss, and that they could expel the invaders when they pleased, as they had formerly done the *Chuni* and *Bessi*. The two camps being now only separated by a marsh, which the *Tartars* having found passable in some places, they privately passed over their army; and having surrounded the camp of the *Hungarians* before day break, they raised a shout, and began the engagement with a shower of arrows. The *Hungarians*, confounded at this unexpected attack, could not be persuaded to go out of their camp; but at last, about mid-day, *Coloman*, hoping, by his example, to encourage the rest to follow him, sallied out with his friends against the enemy, whom he attacked in a desperate manner; but not being followed as he expected, he cut his way through them and escaped. Afterwards many parties rushed out of the camp; but the *Tartars*, out of policy, gave them leave to fly, and killed them in the pursuit; it being their manner of fighting to pursue a flying enemy, and to retreat when they themselves are attacked. *Bela*, who had believed that these parties went out against the enemy, at length being undeceived, and seeing himself deserted, sallied out in the middle of his friends, and hid himself in a neighbouring wood. Those who remained in the camp were cut to pieces by the *Tartars*, who likewise made such a slaughter of those who fled, that for two days journey round the camp, the earth was covered with dead bodies and mangled limbs. After this victory, the *Tartars* ravaged all *Upper Hungary*; and in searching the booty, having found the king's seal, they caused letters to be wrote in his name, and to be dispersed all over the kingdom, which were composed in this manner; That the *Hungarians* had no occasion to quit their houses, or be afraid of the *Tartars*, for though the baggage had been lost by the imprudence of some persons, yet he hoped soon to recover all, and expel the invaders. By this stratagem, *Bela* being prevented from assembling another army, was obliged to quit his kingdom and fly into *Austria*, where he was detained a prisoner, under pretence of owing a large sum of money to the duke. Having obtained his liberty by giving all his money which he had, and all his plate and jewels, and likewise ceding three counties of *Hungary* to *Frederic*; he went with his queen into *Dalmatia*, and sent *Stephen*, bishop of *Vacia*, to beg the assistance of the emperor and the pope ^l. But the pope having called a general council to depose the emperor, whom he had formerly excommunicated, sent only letters of condolence into *Hungary*, and granted indulgences for those who would fight against the barbarians ^m; while the emperor *Frederic*, published a manifesto, declaring, that he was prevented by the persecution of the pope from opposing the *Tartars*, whom he could easily have destroyed. In the mean time, the *Tartars* having ravaged and destroyed all *Upper Hungary*, passed the *Danube* on the ice, and making themselves masters of *Strigonia*, killed all the inhabitants except nineteen. Afterwards a party of them ravaged the country, and pursued *Bela* into *Dalmatia*, who was obliged to fly into the islands of the *Adriatic*. Being disappointed in seizing *Bela*, they turned aside into *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, and *Bulgaria*, ravaging

The Tartars invade Hungary, and commit great barbarities. A. C. 1241.

The Cumani join the Tartars.

Bela assembles an army to oppose their ravagings;

but is totally defeated with the loss of all his troops.

Obliged to fly into Austria, where he is detained a prisoner.

But afterwards conceals himself in Dalmatia, while the Tartars ravage Hungary.

^k DUBR. l. xvi. p. 129. SPONDANI, Ann. ad an. 1241.

^l BONF. Dec ii. l. 8. DUBR. l. xvi. p. 132.

^m RAIN ad Ann. xii. 41.

A. C. 1244.
Bela is re-
stored by the
assistance of
the knights of
Rhodes,

A. C. 1246.
and after-
wards in-
vades Aus-
tria.

A. C. 1260.
Othogar,
king of Bohe-
mia, declares
war against
Bela.

Stephen IV.
A. C. 1270.

A. C. 1272.
Ladislaus III.
is engaged in
a war with
Othogar,
whom he de-
feats.

A. C. 1278.

Is excommuni-
cated by the
bishop on ac-
count of his
oppressing the
Christians.

The Cumani
invade Hun-
gary.

and burning those countries. At last, hearing of the death of *Hocotam*^a, they loaded them-
selves with booty, and returned into their own country through *Cumania* and *Ruthenia*.
Bela being informed of their departure, returned to *Hungary* with many auxiliary troops,
raised by the princes of the name of *Frangipani*, who were settled in *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*.
The knights of *Rhodes* likewise landing their men at *Segna*, accompanied him on foot into
his own kingdom. *Bela* having settled his kingdom in the best manner that he could, soon
after his return raised an army, and with the assistance of those foreign troops invaded *Aus-*
tria, and laid siege to *Vienna*, which had been but lately founded. *Frederic*, being inform-
ed that his new city was greatly pressed, marched with an army to its relief; and engaging
the *Hungarians* before the walls, he was entirely defeated and killed in the action. After
this victory, *Bela* ravaged great part of *Austria*, and returned with his booty into *Hungary*.
Frederic, duke of *Austria*, leaving no children, his estate fell to his sister, the widow of
Henry, son of the emperor *Frederic II*. *Othogar*, king of *Bohemia*, an ambitious prince, hop-
ing in her right to be possessed of *Austria*, married her, and likewise bought *Carniola*, *Ca-*
rinthia, and part of *Sclavonia*, from *Ulric* the possessor, who had no issue. Being still am-
bitious to extend his dominions, a few years afterwards he declared war against *Bela*, re-
claiming the province of *Stiria*, which he had formerly ceded to him by a treaty; and hoping
not only to conquer that province, but likewise all *Hungary*. *Bela*, being informed of his
design, marched against him into *Moravia*; but his army consisting chiefly of auxiliaries,
he was easily defeated, and obliged to conclude a peace upon disadvantageous terms. The
following years of his reign, *Bela* was wholly employed in rebuilding the cities and churches
through his kingdom, and recovering it from that dismal state in which it was left by the
barbarians. He died in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son
Stephen (E).

STEPHEN, soon after his accession to the throne, declared war against *Othogar*, king
of *Bohemia*, whom he defeated with great slaughter at the *Lower Kapeza (F)*. He after-
wards marched into *Bulgaria*, and having taken *Bodon*, obliged the king of the *Bulgarians*
to become tributary^o. He died in the third year of his reign, leaving behind him two
children, *Ladislaus*, who succeeded him, and *Mary*, who was married to *Charles the lame*,
king of *Sicily*.

LADISLAUS was surnamed *the Chun*, upon account of the barbarity of his disposition. d
A few years after his accession to the throne, the war was renewed with *Othogar*, king of
Bohemia, who was at war with the emperor *Rodolphus* for the duchy of *Austria*. *Rodolphus*
and *Ladislaus*, having concluded an alliance, marched their army against *Othogar*, who had
taken *Drozendorf*, and ravaged great part of *Austria*. The two armies engaging within a
few leagues of *Vienna*, *Othogar* was entirely defeated, and killed in the action by *Ladislaus*,
according to the *Hungarian* writers^p; but according to others, by two brothers from *Stiria*,
whose third brother he had put to death^q. *Ladislaus* returning victorious to *Hungary*, ad-
dicted himself wholly to his pleasures, and neglecting all care of the government, spent his
time wholly with women of the *Cumanian* nation, whose idolatrous manners he had imbibed,
and was even suspected to have renounced the Christian religion, upon which account he be-
came odious to his subjects; and the nobles having complained to the pope, that he op-
pressed the Christians, and plundered the churches and monasteries, *Philip Firmanus* was
sent from *Rome* this same year, to exhort him to abandon the society of the heathens, and
to live in friendship with his queen. *Ladislaus*, paying no regard to the admonitions of
the bishop, was at last excommunicated by him; which sentence obliged the king to ac-
knowledge his errors, and to promise, among other things, to build an hospital for stran-
gers; which we find he performed, by his letter the following year to pope *Nicholas III*^r.
The inactivity of this prince, at last, encouraged the *Cumani* to invade *Hungary*; who, for
several years, came regularly in the harvest-time in great bodies, and encamping with their

^a RAIN ad Ann. xii. 41. SPONGANI, Ann. ad an. 1241.
Decad. ii. l. 8. ^p BONF. ibid. THUROZ. c. lxxviii.
^r SPOND. Ann. ad an. 1278.

^o Chron. BACKSEAL. ad Ann. 1270. BONF.
^q DUER. l. xvii. p. 143. ÆNEAS SYL. Cap. xxvii.

(E) *Thuroe*, *Ransan*, and *Bonfinius*, place the death of
Bela in 1275; but as they say he reigned thirty-five
years after his father, who, according to them, died
in 1235, they are not only in a mistake, but likewise
inconsistent with themselves. Besides, there is extant
in the Registry of pope *Gregory X*. a confirmation
granted in the year 1272, of the peace concluded
between *Stephen* and *Othogar* the year before, which
Stephen, in his letter to the pope, calls the second
year of his reign (b).

(F) So says *Bonfinius*; but other authors relate the
events of this war very differently; and say, that
Othogar entered *Hungary* with an army, took *Pres-*
burg, where *Bela* had placed his treasures, and besieged
Stephen in the island of the *Raab*; but that *Stephen*
gaining a small advantage over *Othogar*, by breaking
down the bridge of *Javaria*, returned to *Buda*, as
though he had gained a victory, while *Othogar*, finding
his enemy gone, marched back with his army to
Vienna.

(b) *Sponciani Ann. ad an. 1270.*

- a flocks in the fields, ravaged the country. The *Hungarians* being, in a manner, without a chief, made no opposition; the rich retiring to their fortified castles, and the poor hiding themselves, with their effects, in the mountains and caves. *Ladislaus* was at length prevailed upon to raise an army, with which he marched to the passes of the mountains of *Krapak*, where he gained a compleat victory over the *Cumani*. Upon this defeat, *Oldamir* their king fled to the *Tartars*, and having excited them to invade *Hungary*, returned at their head, and ravaged the country as far as *Pesth*. The *Hungarians* not daring to make any resistance, the barbarians retired loaded with booty. *Ladislaus*, notwithstanding the admonitions of the pope, the emperor, and his father-in-law the king of *Sicily*, still continuing his attachment to his pleasures, he was at last stabbed, when sleeping in his tent, by some of the *Cumanian* women whom he had offended. A. C. 1285.

Ladislaus is murdered by a Cumanian woman.
- b *LADISLAUS* dying without issue, there appeared several competitors for the crown of *Hungary*. The emperor *Redolphus*, pretending that *Hungary* was a fief of the empire, vacant by the defect of the male issue, gave the investiture of it to his son *Albert*, duke of *Austria*. *Charles the Lame*, king of *Sicily*, who had married *Mary*, the sister of *Ladislaus*, upon the news of his death, caused his son *Charles Martel*, then a youth of seventeen years of age, to be crowned at *Naples* king of *Hungary*, in right of his mother. This right was supported by the pope, who pretending that *Hungary* held of the *Roman* church, sent a legate to the emperor, ordering him to desist from his claim. After some disputes, a marriage being agreed to betwixt *Charles Martel* and *Clementina* the daughter of the emperor, *Rodolphus* consented to quit his pretensions*. Andrew III.
A. C. 1290.

Several competitors for the crown of Hungary.
- c In the mean time, the *Hungarians*, by unanimous consent, had elected to themselves another king, one *Andrew*, surnamed the *Venetian*, grandson of *Andrew II.* by his son *Stephen*, born after his death. *Andrew II.* upon his return from the holy land, having married a daughter of the prince of *Este*, left her big with child at his death; she retiring into her own country was delivered of *Stephen*, who afterwards marrying *Thomasina*, a rich *Venetian* lady, of the family of the *Maureccenis*, had by her *Andrew*, who was born and brought up in *Venice*, from whence he had the surname of *Venetian*. The *Hungarians*, even before the death of *Ladislaus*, from their hatred to that prince, had sent for *Andrew* into *Hungary*, and created him duke, that is, heir-apparent. *Andrew* was, however, obliged to quit *Hungary* for fear of *Ladislaus*; but, upon his death, he was immediately recalled, and elected king. The Hungarians chuse Andrew the Venetian.
- d The year following, *Andrew* declared war against *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, upon account of some rebels whom *Albert* refused to deliver up. Before he committed any hostilities, he endeavoured, by means of the bishops, to bring the dispute to an accommodation; but not succeeding that way, he entered his territories with an army, and ravaged his country in a most miserable manner; till at length, by the intercession of the bishops of *Hungary*, a peace was concluded and ratified on both sides over sacred relics, *Albert* having agreed to satisfy the claims of *Andrew*†. Upon his return to *Hungary*, *Andrew* found his kingdom greatly divided, the pope having prevailed with the greatest part of the ecclesiastics, and many of the nobles, to acknowledge the right of *Charles Martel*, who, in consequence of their invitation, had set out for *Hungary*, with his wife and son *Charles Robert*, or *Charibert*, then an infant. The pope favours Charles Martel.
- e The greatest part of the *Hungarians* being highly incensed that the pope should pretend to dispose of their kingdom, and deprive them of the right of election, continued steady in their allegiance to *Andrew*, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the pope's emissaries. However, as the party of *Charles* was very numerous, and *Andrew* himself had no children, *Charles* continued in possession of part of *Hungary* for several years without opposition. The two rival kings are said both to have died in the same year. *Charles* having gone to *Rome* to the jubilee, died at *Naples*. *Andrew* died at *Buda*, and was buried in the church of *St. John*. Andrew dies at Buda.
- f By their death *Hungary* was again involved in troubles and confusion; for the greatest number of the nobles being incensed that the pope should pretend to deprive them of the right of election, which they had always hitherto retained, refused to accept of *Charibert* or *Charles*, the son of *Charles Martel*, for their king; whose right, on the other hand, was supported by pope *Boniface VIII.* and many of the nobles. The party which favoured an election prevailing, an embassy was sent to *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia* and *Poland*, desiring him to accept of the crown of *Hungary*. *Wenceslaus* refusing to accept of that crown for himself, offered them his son *Wenceslaus*, then a boy of thirteen years of age, who was accordingly conducted into *Hungary*, and crowned at *Albe Royal* by the archbishop of *Kolotza*. Pope *Boniface* being informed of the coronation of *Wenceslaus*, whom the *Hungarians* called *Ladislaus*, exclaimed against it as an injury done to the holy see; and not only wrote to his father to recal his son from *Hungary*, but prevailed with the emperor *Albert* to declare war against him, and enter *Bohemia* with an army. *Wenceslaus*, though he obliged *Albert* to retire without coming to an engagement, yet as he heard his son enjoyed only the A. C. 1301.
The Hungarians refuse to acknowledge any right in the pope to dispose of their king's son.
Ladislaus IV.
A. D. 1302.
And chuse Ladislaus, a son of the king of Bohemia.
- g

* VILLANIUS, l. vii. c. 134.

† SPOND. Ann. ad ann. 1291.

name of king without the power, and that *Hungary* was torn to pieces by intestine divisions, fearing for the life of his son, he marched with an army as far as *Pesth*; and ordering his son to come to him with the crown, he carried him and it back with him into *Bohemia*.

A. C. 1303.
The pope sends
a legate into
Hungary.

UPON the departure of *Ladislaus*, *Boniface* sent a legate into *Hungary* to urge the election of *Charles*; but the nation being still firm in maintaining their rights of election, and refusing to accept of a king from the pope, the legate quitted *Hungary*, and returned to *Italy*; but, before his departure, laid the city of *Buda* under an interdict. In return for this severe sentence, many of the ecclesiastics assembling, not only excommunicated the pope, but likewise excommunicated and banished all those ecclesiastics who adhered to him; and all of that faction entering into an association against the pope and *Charles*, chose *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria*, for their king.

A. C. 1305.
Otho.
The Hunga-
rians chose
Otho duke of
Bavaria, for
their king.

OTHO having obtained the sacred crown from *Wenceslaus*, entered *Hungary*, and was crowned at *Buda*. After his coronation, instead of strengthening his party, or settling the disturbances of the kingdom, he employed his time in vain parade, and magnificent processions through the towns and villages. Making a progress afterwards in *Transylvania*, he was there taken prisoner by the vaivode, and kept in chains, till he renounced the kingdom. Upon his abdication, another legate was sent from *Rome*, who, after continuing a year in *Hungary*, during which time he had prevailed with many of the nobles to come over to the party of *Charles*, at last, finding the nation wavering in their determinations, he anointed *Charles* at *Pesth*, and the year following crowned him in *Buda*; at the same time publish-

A. C. 1308.
Charles.

A. C. 1310.
Charobert or
Charles, is
at last ac-
knowledge
by the states.

A. C. 1312.

ing an edict of a general excommunication against all those who opposed him. In consequence of this sentence, a general assembly of the states was held the year following, in a plain near *Pesth*, where *Charles* at last was unanimously chosen king, and soon after crowned at *Albe Royal*, with the sacred crown of *St. Stephen*; the sentence of excommunication being taken off, and a free pardon granted to all his subjects. In the second year of his reign, *Hungary* was disturbed by the rebellion of *Matthew* count *Palatin*, who, trusting to his great power and wealth, ventured to oppose the king's commands, and to keep possession of some forts. *Charles* raised an army, and being assisted by the knights of *Rhodes*, marched against the rebels, and after a most obstinate engagement, entirely defeated them, though not without great loss on his own side. By this victory *Charles* entirely quieted his kingdom, and having had no children by his two former wives, the first of whom was *Mary*, daughter of duke *Casimir* of *Poland*; the other *Beatrice*, daughter of the emperor *Henry VII.* he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, by whom he had four sons, *Ladislaus*, *Lewis*, *Andrew*, and *Stephen*. *Charles* was engaged in no expedition for several years after his marriage; but at last being excited by his nobles, he declared war against *Baizarad*, vaivode of *Walachia*. Immediately before this expedition he was in great danger of his life from one *Felicianus*, a courtier, who had so insinuated himself into the friendship of the king, that he had free access at all times into the palace. *Felicianus*, hoping, by his great power and wealth, to obtain the kingdom, if the king and his issue were once slain, entered the apartment where the king was dining, and quickly drawing his sword, made an attack upon him, but only wounded his right hand; next struck at the queen, and cut off four of her fingers. Afterwards he made an attempt upon the children; but was prevented by their preceptors, who interposed. In the mean time, the palace being alarmed, *Felicianus* himself was attacked, and immediately slain, and his children and relations were likewise put to death upon account of his crime.

A. C. 1320.

He declares
war against
the vaivode of
Walachia.

A. C. 1330.

but is de-
feated with
the loss of al-
most his whole
army.

Charles goes
with his son
Andrew to
Naples.

THE king being delivered from this treasonable attempt, assembled his army, and marching into *Walachia*, took *Zeurin*, and ravaged the neighbouring country. The vaivode, surprised at these hostilities, sent ambassadors to the king, desiring peace, and offering not only to pay his usual yearly tribute, which he had never omitted, but likewise to bear the expences of the present expedition. The king, rejecting these terms of peace, advanced with his army into the vaivode's country, but adventuring too far into the woods and mountains, his army was reduced to such difficulties, that he was fain to conclude a peace upon the conditions of the vaivode's future obedience, and allowing him to retire safe with his army. *Charles*, trusting to those conditions, marched back with his army, but was attacked by the *Walachians* in the narrow passes of the mountains, where he had no opportunity of escaping, or engaging his enemy. The attack continuing for four days, his troops were almost wholly cut off, and he himself narrowly escaped by changing his dress.

THREE years after this unfortunate expedition, *Robert* king of *Sicily*, reflecting upon the injustice of possessing a kingdom that of right belonged to his nephew, sent for *Andrew*, the second surviving son of *Charles*, with the intention of giving him his grand-daughter in marriage, and declaring him his heir. *Charles*, upon receiving this message from his un-

^a SPOND. Ann. ad an. 1301. BONF. Dec. ii. l. 9.

^b THUROZ. Rer. Hungar. c. 90. BONF. ibid.

riage

a riage was celebrated betwixt the two cousins, *Andrew* being then but seven years of age, and his bride only five. The year after *Charles* returned from *Italy*, he had a visit from *John*, king of *Bohemia*, with his son *Charles*, and *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, who were magnificently entertained by him at the castle of *Wissegrad*, where a defensive alliance was concluded betwixt them. He had a visit likewise three years afterwards from *Locha*, duke of the *Rutheni*, desiring to conclude a peace, which was agreed to between them. Not long after, *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, came again into *Hungary*, attended by a great many of his nobles, in presence of whom, and those of *Hungary*, he appointed his nephew *Lewis*, eldest son of *Charles*, his heir; and after being treated in a royal manner returned to *Poland*. Two years afterwards *Charles* died, having been long afflicted with the gout both in his feet and hands. He was universally lamented by his people, who, though they received him at first unwillingly, yet seemed not to be able to praise him enough after his death.

A. C. 1340.
Lewis, the eldest son of Charles, is declared heir to the king of Poland.

UPON the death of *Charles*, *Lewis*, his eldest son, was elected king with the unanimous consent of the states; and for courage, religion, and other virtues, he was not inferior to his father. In the beginning of his reign he immediately raised an army to reduce the Saxons of (G) *Transylvania*, who hearing of the death of *Charles*, and despising the youth of his successor, had revolted and intercepted the king's tribute. *Lewis*, marching with his army into *Transylvania*, quickly made himself master of several of their towns; upon which the Saxons thought fit to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, *Lewis* pardoning all those that quickly submitted. Upon the news of these successes, *Alexander*, the duke of *Walachia* beyond the mountains, who had revolted from *Charles*, and could not be reduced by him, came of himself and submitted to *Lewis*, asking pardon; and that he might not seem to defraud the king of his tribute, he presented him with 1000 pound weight of gold. *Lewis* having granted him a peace, sent him back loaded with no less rich presents.

Lewis.
A. C. 1342.
The Transylvanians revolt, but are quickly reduced by Lewis.

The duke of Walachia likewise submits.

ABOUT this time, *Elizabeth*, the widow of *Charles*, resolving to visit *Rome*, went into *Dalmatia* with a great retinue, and being transported into *Apulia* by two *Venetian* galleys, was received with great affection by her son *Andrew*, and his wife *Joanna*, who had now succeeded to the crown of *Naples* by the death of *Robert*. From *Naples* *Elizabeth* went to d *Rome*, to visit the sacred places and relicks in that city, where she bestowed in sacred donations great part of the money that she brought with her, which consisted in 27,000 pounds of refined silver, and 21,000 pounds of pure gold. She returned again to *Naples*, where she continued some time, but being displeased with the levity of her daughter-in-law, she went back to *Hungary*, passing the *Adriatic* with four galleys of the king of *Naples*.

Soon after the return of *Elizabeth* to *Hungary*, *Lewis* was engaged in assisting *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, in his expedition against the *Lithuanians*, with an intention to force them to renounce their idolatry and embrace christianity. As they found the barbarians very obstinate, they ravaged their country with fire and sword; but the south winds beginning to blow, they were obliged quickly to leave their country before the melting of the ice cut off their retreat. *Lewis* was soon after called upon by *Casimir* to assist him in his war with *John* king of *Bohemia*, who claiming the superiority of *Schweidnitz* in *Silesia*, declared war against *Casimir*, who disputed that title. *John* entering *Poland* with an army, ravaged the country, and laid siege to *Cracow*; but *Lewis* marching to the assistance of *Casimir*, *John* consented to a truce for three weeks, during which time a peace was concluded, in which *Lewis* and all the allies of *Casimir* were comprehended *.

Lewis assists Casimir against the Lithuanians.

WHILE *Lewis* was engaged in assisting *Casimir*, the *Tartars* again threatened *Hungary* with an invasion; and news was brought that they were ravaging the borders of *Transylvania*. Upon this information, *Lewis* marched with his army into that province, and giving the command under himself to the son of the vaivode, he engaged the barbarians, and after an obstinate dispute, totally routed them, taking their duke prisoner, whom he caused to be immediately beheaded, and returned to *Wissegrad* with great booty, and many prisoners. After this expedition, *Lewis* was engaged in a war with the *Croatians* and *Dalmatians*, who, by the intrigues of the *Venetians*, had revolted from the *Hungarians*, and taken possession of many castles and towns, which they had fortified. *Lewis* having concluded an alliance with *Stephen*, prince of *Bosnia*, whose daughter he afterwards married, was assisted by his troops, which joined his army at the *Save*. The allies had no sooner entered *Croatia*, than the rebels distrusting their strength, came and submitted, and having obtained pardon, renewed their allegiance to *Lewis*.

The Tartars again threaten to invade Hungary.

The Croats revolt, but are subdued by Lewis.

* Vita Caroli IV. a seipso scripta. BONF. Dec. ii. l. 10.

(G) The ancestors of these Saxons are said to have been transported into this country by *Charlemagne* in his wars with *Wittikind*.

A. C. 1346.
Zara again
revolts from
the Venetians.

Lewis marches
to their
assistance, but
without effect.

Lewis marches
into Italy
to revenge the
murder of his
brother.

He executes
several of the
murderers,
and takes
possession of
Naples.

A. C. 1350.
He returns to
Hungary, but
is again called
into Italy.

CROATIA being subdued, and the inhabitants of *Zara*, who had a seventh time revolted from the *Venetians*, sent ambassadors to *Lewis*, offering if he would march with an army to their protection, to surrender their city, country, and all their fortunes to him. The terms being accepted by the king of *Hungary*, he immediately marched with an army of 120,000 men, but according to others, of only 20,000, into *Dalmatia*; but before he could reach *Zara*, the *Venetians* had not only invested it with a fleet, but recovered several of the islands. *Justinian* also arriving with an army by land, he erected a fort near the town, and carried on the siege with the utmost vigour, with an intention of gaining the place before it should be relieved by the *Hungarians*. But the *Zarans* despairing of pardon, made a vigorous resistance, till the arrival of the *Hungarians*, when the *Venetians* were besieged in their turn. *Lewis*, next day after his arrival, ordered the *Venetian* fort to be attacked; but, notwithstanding the utmost bravery of his men, they were repulsed with great loss. A few days after he ordered another attack, and commanded that none should retreat; nevertheless, the *Venetians*, being assisted by the sailors from the fleet, made a most obstinate resistance, throwing boiling pitch over the walls, and using all other means of defence; so that the *Hungarians*, after continuing the attack till night, were obliged to retire with incredible loss. *Lewis* beginning to want provisions for his army, and despairing of dislodging the *Venetians* without a long siege, returned with his troops into *Hungary*, upon whose departure, the *Venetians* soon made themselves masters of *Zara*, where they exercised all manner of cruelties upon the authors of the revolt.

THE following year, *Lewis* marched with an army into *Italy*, to revenge the death of his brother *Andrew*, king of *Naples*, who had been strangled at *Aversa* by some conspirators, not without the approbation, as it was supposed, of *Joanna* his queen. (H) *Joanna*, that she might clear herself from the suspicion of being concerned in the murder, immediately wrote letters to *Lewis*, to pope *Clement*, and other christian princes, professing her great sorrow for the action, and resentment against the murderers. However, as there were many presumptions against her, *Lewis* resolved to march into *Italy*, not only to examine into the murder, but in case *Joanna* was found guilty, to claim the kingdom; accordingly, entering *Italy* by *Friuli*, he was every where received with great respect, and joined by many princes, who attended him to *Aversa*, where he executed several of the murderers, and sent others, who were suspected to be guilty, prisoners into *Hungary*. From *Aversa* he marched to *Naples*, with a black standard, and striking a terror into the people, he was saluted by them king of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*. Upon the news of his approach, *Joanna*, and *Lewis* of *Tarentum*, whom she had married, quitted *Naples*, and sailed to *Avignon*. In the mean time, *Lewis* changed the magistracy of *Naples*, and leaving a garrison in that city, marched against those places which still held for *Joanna*. Having reduced the most part of them, he put *Hungarian* garrisons into them, and leaving the administration of the kingdom, and the command of his army to *Guilford Wolfard*, and his brother *Conrad*, two noble *Germans*, he crossed the *Adriatic* to *Dalmatia*, and returned to *Hungary*, having been about four months in *Italy*, which he quitted, upon account of the plague at that time raging there.

Upon the departure of *Lewis*, the *Italians* entered into a conspiracy to expel the *Hungarians*, and recal *Joanna*; but being defeated in two engagements, they failed in their attempt. However, *Joanna* and her husband returning again into *Italy* with a body of auxiliaries, and the nation threatening to revolt in their favour, *Lewis* ordered an army to

V. VILLAN. l. xii. c. 50. BONF. Dec. ii. l. 12.

(H) *Andrew* was murdered on the 13th of September, 1345, at *Aversa*, in the nineteenth year of his age, the conspirators calling him up in the middle of the night from his queen under pretence of his presence being immediately needed at *Naples*, to quell an insurrection of the people. He had hardly got out of his bed-chamber, when they threw a rope over his head, and dragging him to the balcony of the hall, hung him from thence into the garden. The noise of the bustle awaking an *Hungarian* woman in waiting, she alarmed the palace; upon which the conspirators fled, not having time to bury the corpse in the garden as they intended. This murder was generally believed to have been committed with the privity and consent of the queen^a. What contributed to fix this suspicion upon her, was the known levity of her disposition, her neglect in en-

quiring into, and punishing the murderers, her marriage afterwards with *Lewis* prince of *Tarentum*, with whom she is said to have had an intrigue before the death of *Andrew*, and who was suspected to have been concerned in the murder; lastly, his confession upon her trial in 1351, that she was under the power of incantation, which hindered her from loving her husband so well as she ought. However, *Boccaccio* and *Petrarch*^b, who were then alive, and both remarkable for their freedom of speech, lay no blame upon the queen, but accuse several of the nobles, who being sensible of the young king's regard to justice, and therefore afraid of an enquiry into their conduct, resolved upon that execrable deed. The queen was likewise acquitted by a decree of the apostolick see^c, but afterwards suffered the same fate with her husband.

^a Villan. l. xii. c. 50.

^b Petrarch. vi. Epistle Famil. 5. ad Barbat. Sulmonte Boccac. 9. de Casib. vir illas

26. ^c Spond. ann. ad an. 1351.

- a follow him, and quickly passed over into *Apulia* by sea, with many of his nobles, and soon made himself master of the whole kingdom, either by force or voluntary submission. But at length, by the intercession of *Guidon*, apostolick legate, he consented to refer the determination of the matter to the apostolick see, on these conditions, viz. That if *Joanna* was found guilty, she should be deprived of her kingdom, which should be adjudged to *Lewis*; but if she should be proved innocent, *Lewis* promised to restore to her all those places in his possession, upon receiving 300,000 florins of gold for the expences of the war. A truce being then agreed to for some months, *Lewis* went to the jubilee at *Rome*, and from thence returned to *Hungary*. The following year, *Joanna* being declared innocent by a sentence of the apostolick see, though her exculpation chiefly rested upon her declaring herself
- b under the power of incantation, which prevented her from having an affection for her husband, and consequently encouraged others to conspire his death^z; *Lewis* immediately resigned all right to her kingdom, and to shew her he did not make war from an ambitious view, likewise forgave the payment of the 300,000 florins.

The affair is at last determined by the pope.

- A FEW years afterwards, he was engaged in a war with the *Venetians*, upon account of *Dalmatia*. Having in vain endeavoured, by means of a negotiation, to prevail with them to quit their possessions in that kingdom, he invaded their territories with a numerous army, and having taken a great many towns, at last laid siege to *Trevifo*. The *Venetians*, though they omitted no means of defence, and hired a great body of *German* auxiliaries, yet sent an embassy, desiring peace. Their terms being rejected by the king of *Hungary*, the siege
- c was carried on with great vigour on both sides. Soon after the *Venetians* sent another embassy to *Lewis*, offering to give up a great part of *Dalmatia*, to hold the rest of him by an annual tribute, and to pay all the expences of the present war; but *Lewis* insisting upon the whole province, the ambassadors returned, and the siege continued. Soon after the *Germans* in his army revolting, and the *Hungarians* mutinying for want of provisions, *Lewis* was forced to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace upon worse terms than those offered by the *Venetians*. While *Lewis* was before *Trevifo*, he received letters from the pope and council of cardinals, declaring him standard-bearer of the holy church against the infidels. *Lewis* afterwards concluded an alliance with *Carraro* and the *Genoese*, whom he assisted against the *Venetians*, and gave assistance to the pope against *Barnabo Visconti*, then harassing
- d *Lombardy*. He was likewise soon after engaged in a war against the *Bulgarians*, whom he reduced, taking their king prisoner.

He invaded the territories of the Venetians, and besieges Trevifo.

- Not long after, by the death of *Casimir*, he succeeded to the throne of *Poland*, and was crowned with unanimous consent at *Cracow*. Having settled the affairs of that kingdom, he was engaged in a war against the *Walachians*, whom he reduced. *Joanna*, queen of *Naples*, favouring the antipope *Clement* against *Urban VI.* the pope excommunicated her, and resolving to dethrone her, sent to *Lewis*, desiring him to concur in assisting *Charles de Duras*, a prince of the blood of *Naples*, in obtaining that crown. Upon the intreaties of the pope, *Lewis* ordered a body of 8000 *Hungarians* to march to *Naples* along with *Charles*, who then commanded the king's army in *Trevifo*. *Charles* being likewise joined by many
- e *Italians*, marched against *Joanna*, and having defeated her fourth husband, *Otho* of *Brunswick*, and taken her prisoner, he ordered her to be strangled, at the request of the king of *Hungary*. The same year, *Lewis*, by his continual expeditions and fatigues, having ruined his health, died in the fifty sixth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign, having, before his death, resigned the kingdom to his daughter *Mary*, whom he had betrothed to *Sigismond*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and second son of the emperor *Charles IV.* who, in expectation of this alliance, had been educated in *Hungary* from his childhood. *Lewis* was a great lover of learning, and was commended for his prudence, generosity, and fortitude.

A. C. 1376. He is engaged in a war against the Walachians.

He assists Charles Duras in obtaining the crown of Naples.

- LEWIS* leaving no male children, the states of the kingdom unanimously chose his eldest daughter *Mary* to succeed to the crown, and from their regard to the memory of her father, declared her king of *Hungary*, which title she retained till her marriage with *Sigismond*, which was celebrated three years after. In the mean time, her mother *Elizabeth* had the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and was assisted in every thing with the advice and council of *Nicholas Gara*, whom *Lewis*, upon account of his services, had raised to the dignity of palatine. The beginning of her administration gave great satisfaction to all ranks; but being prevailed upon by the suggestions of *Gara*, to curb the power of the nobility, they conspired against her and their female king, and secretly made an offer of their crown to *Charles de Duras*, king of *Naples*. *Charles* landing at *Segnia*, with a few attendants from *Apulia*, was immediately joined by many of the nobles with their vassals, and
- g marched from thence to *Buda*, his army continually encreasing on his march. *Mary* and *Elizabeth* not having forces to oppose him, dissembled their knowledge of his intention;

A. C. 1382. Mary is declared king of Hungary.

^z SPOND. ann. ad ann. 1351. MATH. VILLAN. l. ii. c. 24. 41. & l. iii. 68. 19.

The nobles revolt, and send for Charles, king of Naples.

A. C. 1385. Charles is declared king, but murdered soon after.

A. C. 1386.

A. C. 1387. Sigismund marches into Hungary with an army, and is declared king.

He marches against the Walachians, and reduces them.

They again revolt, and are assisted by the Tartars from Thrace.

He marches with a great army against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks,

and *Sigismund* having celebrated his marriage, and retired to *Bohemia*, they received *Charles* as a friend and relation. *Charles* at first assumed only the title of *Guardian* of the kingdom, but finding his party encrease, he called an assembly of the states, at *Buda*, where *Mary* was deposed, and he himself declared king. *Elizabeth* finding her daughter thus unjustly deprived of her right, consulted with the *Palatine* how to take off *Charles*; and having agreed with one *Blasius Forgach*, who undertook to assassinate him, soon after *Elizabeth* invited *Charles* to her apartment, under pretence of seeing some letters which she had received from *Sigismund*; and while he was reading the letters, *Blasius* struck him on the head, of which wound he died three days after. The queen's friends, who were in readiness, immediately took possession of the palace, and expelled the *Italians*, who, upon the king's death, left *Hungary*, finding *Mary* now supported with the universal favour of the people. The two queens thinking that all was quiet by the death of *Charles*, resolved to visit the southern parts of the kingdom, and going with a few attendants towards the *Save*, they were unexpectedly attacked by *John Horvatus*, the governor of *Croatia*, who had been one of *Charles*'s greatest friends. The *Palatine* and *Forgach* were killed in the attack, and *Elizabeth*, by order of *Horvatus*, was thrown into the river *Bozota*, while *Mary* was carried into *Croatia*, and there thrown into prison. In the mean time, *Sigismund* having raised an army in *Brandenburg* and *Bohemia*, and being informed of the death of *Charles*, marched into *Hungary*, where he was joined by many of the nobles, and conducted to *Buda*. *John Horvatus* hearing that *Sigismund* had got peaceable possession of *Hungary*, immediately was reconciled to *Mary*, and let her at liberty, after having made her swear to forget all that was passed. Upon her return to *Buda*, she was received with the utmost congratulation, and at her entreaty, her husband *Sigismund*, then twenty years of age, was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of *Strigonia*. The same year, *Hedwige*, the youngest daughter of *Lewis*, who, in his right, had succeeded to the crown of *Poland*, was married to *Jagello*, duke of *Lithuania*, who consented to become christian, and at his baptism took the name of *Ladislaus*.

SIGISMUND, soon after his coronation, resolved upon an expedition against *Horvatus*, who had fled to *Dobor* in *Bosnia*, where the bishop of *Zagabria*, and many of the nobles, who had favoured *Charles*, now resided, and by their artifices, had persuaded *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Bosnia*, to revolt from their allegiance to the king. *Horvatus* being taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring to escape, *Sigismund* soon after made himself master of *Dobor*, and having thus got the chiefs of the rebellion in his power, the provinces soon submitted. Returning with his army to the city of the *Five Churches*, *Horvatus* was there put to death with the most cruel torments, and the bishop of *Zagabria* banished. After this *Sigismund* marched against the *Walachians*, who, encouraged by the civil dissensions in *Hungary*, had revolted from their allegiance, and fortified the passes in the mountains. *Sigismund*, after an obstinate dispute, having gained those passes, afterwards besieged the chief town of the vaivode, who thereupon quickly submitted; and, upon promise of future obedience, was pardoned by the king. Nevertheless two years afterwards they again rebelled; and being assisted by some *Turks* from *Thrace*, which country those barbarians had lately subdued under *Amurath*, they made incursions into *Hungary*, plundering the frontier provinces. The king resolving to punish their perfidy, raised a great army, with which he marched into their country, gaining a signal victory, afterwards took the lesser *Nicopolis* upon the *Danube*, and reduced the whole country. During his absence upon this expedition, his queen died, without having had any children; upon the news of which, *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, prepared to invade *Hungary*, which he claimed in right of his wife; but the archbishop of *Strigonia* quickly raising an army, and guarding the passes, he was prevented from entering the kingdom. Three years afterwards, *Sigismund* was engaged in a war with *Bajazet* emperor of the *Turks*, who had invaded *Bulgaria*, then subject to *Hungary*. *Bajazet* having given an insulting answer to the ambassadors of *Sigismund*, he made great preparations for war, and sent to the king of *France*, and many other princes, desiring their assistance against those barbarians. His army being at length augmented to the number of 100,000 men, by auxiliaries and volunteers, from *France*, *England*, and *Flanders*, he marched against the enemy, not only confident of victory, but boasting, that if heaven was to fail, his number of pikes would support it. *Bajazet* being informed, *Froffard* (I) says, particularly

^a THUROZ in Car. par. c. ii. usque ad 7. Tom. iv. c. 67. THUROZ in Sigism. c. viii.

^b DUBRAV. l. xxv. p. 207. BONF. Dec. iii. l. 3. DUBRAV. c. xxv. p. 202. BONF. Dec. iii. l. 2.

^c FROSSARD

(1) According to *Froffard*, *Galeas* being affronted that his daughter was turned away from the court of *France*, upon an accusation of fascinating the king, under pretence of sending some hawks and falcons to *Bajazet*, with whom he had contracted an alliance,

gave him information of the preparations against him, mentioning the names of the princes and nobles, their manner of fighting, and the best method of attacking them.

^a *Froffard*, c. lxxii. & lxxiii.

- a by *John Galas*, duke of *Milan*, of the great preparations that were making against him, sent for great supplies out of *Asia*, and increased his army to 200,000 men. In the mean time, the christian army having passed the *Danube*, took several towns, and cut the *Turkish* garrisons to the sword. Advancing afterwards, they besieged *Nicopolis*; and *Bajazet* coming up with his army, a general engagement ensued, in which the christians were entirely defeated, with the loss of 20,000 men, by the precipitate courage of the *French*, who resolving to be the first that attacked the enemy, began the engagement before the *Hungarians* got out of their camp. In the attack, finding their horses galled by the *Turkish* arrows, they dismounted and engaged on foot; in the mean time, their horses returning to the camp without their riders, struck a panic into the rest of the army, who notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of *Sigismund*, immediately fled in confusion. The *Turks*, though they lost 60,000 men in the battle, yet gained the christian camp, and took many prisoners, among them were several nobles, who, after many years captivity, were set at liberty, upon paying a ransom of 200,000 crowns.

A. C. 1396.
but only
defeated.

- AFTER this defeat, *Sigismund* crossed the *Danube* with a few attendants in a small boat, and fled to *Constantinople*; from whence by sea he returned to *Dalmatia*, where he continued for two and twenty months; the faction of *Charles de Duras* upon his defeat having again entered into a conspiracy against him, and secretly invited *Ladislaus*, king of *Naples*, and son of *Charles*, to accept of their crown, which, they said, belonged to him by right since the death of *Mary*. The minds of the people being in some measure appeased by means of the bishop of *Strigonia* and some other nobles that continued faithful, *Sigismund* at last entered *Hungary*, but thought fit to dissemble his knowledge of the conspirators, who thereupon grew more confident, and an assembly of the states being appointed a few years afterwards, they assembled armed there, took their king prisoner, and committed him to the keeping of the sons of the late *Palatine Gara*, who were the chiefs of the malecontents. Upon the imprisonment of *Sigismund*, the malecontents immediately assumed the government in the name of *Ladislaus*, who made some difficulty of trusting himself among the *Hungarians*. At last, being informed that his faction was every where predominant, he quitted *Italy*, and landing at *Zara*, was received as king, and crowned in that city by the cardinal *Acciajoli*; though *Buda*, and several strong places in *Upper Hungary*, still held for *Sigismund*.

The Hungarians revolt against him, and send for Ladislaus, king of Naples.

A. C. 1403.
Ladislaus V.
is declared king,

- LADISLAUS, mindful of the fate of his father, proceeded with caution, and advanced into the kingdom no farther than *Javarin*, having appointed *Thomas* of *St. Severin* to govern as viceroy. In the mean time, *Sigismund*, after two years imprisonment, having been set at liberty by the sons of *Gara*, who were reconciled to him by the mediation of their mother, went into *Bohemia*, where he quickly raised a great army, and returning to *Hungary*, with the assistance of those who continued faithful, he soon recovered most of the strong places in the kingdom. *Ladislaus*, astonished at this revolution, immediately left *Hungary*, and sent a letter to *Sigismund*, excusing the part that he had acted. *Sigismund*, having again recovered the kingdom, gave a general pardon to the rebels, very few excepted; and finding his authority established, he summoned an assembly of the states in *Slavonia*, where he ordered *Stephen*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, and several other chiefs of the rebels, to be put to death. Among other things, *Stephen* was accused of inviting the *Turks* to invade *Hungary*, they having made incursions betwixt the *Drave* and the *Save* during the rebellion, on account of *Ladislaus*.

but quits Hungary on Sigismund's approach with an army.

A. C. 1410.
Sigismund is elected emperor.

- NOT many years after, *Sigismund* was elected emperor of *Germany*, and presided at the council of *Constance*, where *John Huss* and *Jerom* of *Prague* were condemned and burnt for heresy, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of the emperor. Soon after his being elected emperor, he was engaged in a war with the *Venetians* about *Dalmatia*, which they claimed, as being sold to them by *Ladislaus* before his departure to *Italy*. *Sigismund*, not acknowledging their claim, sent an army against the *Venetians*, and defeated them in *Frioul*; but soon after, a truce was agreed to for five years. His brother *Wenceslaus* dying four years afterwards, he succeeded to the crown of *Bohemia*; but the disciples of *John Huss* having taken arms to revenge the death of their master, and assert their own liberty of conscience, defeated him in five engagements, and obliged him to quit the kingdom. Two years afterwards, *Sigismund* again entered *Bohemia* with an army, but was again defeated, and obliged to retire to *Silesia*; the *Hussites* offering the crown of *Bohemia* to *Coribut*, nephew of the duke of *Lithuania*. While *Sigismund* was engaged in restoring peace to the church, and reducing *Bohemia*, the duke of *Spolatri* revolted, and calling in the *Turks* to his assistance,

A. C. 1420.
He is chosen king of Bohemia, but is defeated by the Hussites.

^a THUROZ in Sigis. c. viii. BONF. Dec. iii. l. 2. ^e NIEM. l. ii. c. 17 & 18. ^f See his hist. of the emp. ^g See the Hist of Boh. ^h AVENT. l. vii. p. 652.

defeated

The Turks
ravage the
frontiers of
Hungary.
A. C. 1431.

defeated the *Hungarian* troops that were sent against him. The *Walachians* likewise rebelled, and being assisted by the *Turks*, defeated *Loconsius* their governor. However, *Nicholas* the *Macedonian*, soon after being assisted with some *Hungarian* troops, gained two signal victories over the *Turks* in *Servia*; nevertheless, they still continued to make irruptions into *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Austria*, and even as far as *Aquileia*. The ravages of the *Turks* being, in some measure, repressed by *Nickolas*, who had got the command of the armies in *Hungary*, *Sigismund* went into *Italy*, and was crowned with the iron crown at *Milan*; and, after spending two years in that kingdom, was likewise crowned emperor at *Rome*.

The Hussites
at last submit,
and Sigis-
mond is
crowned king
of Bohemia.

THE following year, the *Taborites* in *Bohemia* being entirely defeated by the *Hussites* their brethren, who, grieved at the desolation of their country, had joined the Catholic nobles and extirpated those ravagers; an embassy was immediately sent to *Sigismund* at *Ratisbon*, who, confirming their privileges, was declared king; and two years afterwards was solemnly crowned at *Prague*, with his queen¹. *Sigismund*, to prevent any more disturbance in that kingdom, took the remains of the *Taborites* into his pay, and sent them into *Hungary*, where they gained a signal victory over the *Turks*, who had again made an irruption into the southern provinces. *Sigismund*, finding his health declining, quitted *Prague*, and went to *Zuoyma*, in *Moravia*, where he died, in the 70th year of his age, and thirty first year of his reign over *Hungary*, in the twenty-seventh year of his imperial reign, and the seventeenth year of his reign over *Bohemia*. Before his death, he presented *Albert* II. duke of *Austria*, his son-in-law, to the nobles of both kingdoms as his successor².

A. C. 1438.
Albert is cho-
sen king of
Hungary, and
soon after
elected em-
peror of Bo-
hemia.

UPON the death of *Sigismund*, the *Hungarians* elected *Albert* duke of *Austria*, for their king, who had married *Elizabeth*, *Sigismund*'s only daughter, by his second wife *Barbara*, daughter of the count of *Cilly*. *Albert* the same year, was elected emperor, and king of *Bohemia*. The states of *Hungary* made some opposition to his accepting the imperial dignity; but at length they absolved him from his promise of not accepting it, and he was soon after crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. In *Bohemia* he was opposed by the sect of the *Hussites*, or *Calixtines*, who invited *Casimir*, the brother of the king of *Poland*, a boy of thirteen years of age, to be their king. Notwithstanding this faction, *Albert* entered *Bohemia*, and was crowned at *Prague*; and soon after, with the assistance of *Albert*, the *Achilles* of *Brandenburg*, expelled the *Poles*, and obliged the malecontents to submit. In the mean time, *Amurath* II. had invaded *Servia*, resenting the treaty which *George*, the despot, had concluded with *Albert* of *Hungary*, and though the despot had several sons, claiming the succession to *Servia*, because he had married his daughter. *George*, not being able to oppose the arms of the *Turks*, fled into *Hungary*, asking assistance against his enemy. Upon the news of this invasion, *Albert*, taking a great many of the *Calixtines* and *Taborites* into his pay, quitted *Bohemia*, and arriving in *Hungary*, marched with his army against the *Turks*, who, in the mean time, had taken *Semendria*, after a two months siege, and put out the eyes of two of the despot's sons. *Albert* being informed of this, and that *Amurath* had again returned home, he dismissed his army, and returned to *Buda*; where, upon eating too liberally of melons, he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died soon after at *Nesmel*, in his way to *Vienna*³, in the second year of his reign, leaving behind him two daughters, and his queen *Elizabeth* big with child⁴.

The Turks in-
vade Servia,
and take Se-
mendria.

Albert raises
an army a-
gainst the
Turks, but
dies soon after.

UPON the death of *Albert*, *Lewis* remembering the fate of *Mary*, daughter of *Lewis*, proposed to the states to elect a governor of the kingdom to assist her in the administration. Upon her request, it was proposed to send an embassy to *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*, offering him the crown; and that *Elizabeth* should marry him, and their children inherit *Hungary*. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, *Elizabeth* being delivered of a son, orders were sent after them to prevent them from executing their commission; notwithstanding which, they proceeded to *Cracow*, and made an offer of their crown to *Uladislaus*, who, consenting to accept of it, immediately raised an army, and went with the ambassadors into *Hungary*, where he was generally received as king. However, the greatest part of the nobles adhering to *Ladislaus*, the posthumous son of *Albert*, he was crowned at *Abe Royal*, by the bishop of *Strigonia*, in a very full assembly, when he was only four months old. *Ladislaus* being thus legally crowned, his mother went with him immediately into *Austria*, and put him under the guardianship of the emperor *Frederic*, having privately carried with her the sacred crown. The *Bohemians*, upon hearing of the death of *Albert*, called an assembly of the states, and made an offer of their crown to *Albert*, duke of *Bavaria*, and to the emperor *Frederic*; but both those princes refusing to accept of it, they acknowledged *Ladislaus* for their king, and appointed two governors to administer the affairs of the kingdom during his minority.

A. C. 1440.
Ladislaus
is crowned
king at four
months old.

¹ See the Hist. of Boh

² See the Hist. of the Empire, and the Hist. of Boh.

³ DUBRAY.

Hist. Boh. l. xx. p. 230. ÆNE. SYL. Hist. Boh. c. 56. BONT. Decad. viii. l. 4.

⁴ See the Hist. of the

Empire, and the Hist. of Boh.

- a DURING the absence of the queen, the faction of *Ladislaus* every day encreased, and his claim being espoused by the governor of *Croatia*, and *John Corvin*, the *Hungarian* vaivode of *Transylvania*, he was crowned at *Albe Royal* with a crown from the head of the image of *St. Stephen*, the sacred crown being missing. Upon the news of the coronation of *Uladislaus*, and the loss of the sacred crown, all *Hungary* was in confusion; and being divided into two factions, the one supported by the *Germans*, and the other by the *Poles*, a civil war immediately ensued, which continued for several months, with various success and great calamity to both parties, till at last a peace was concluded; by which it was agreed, that the king of *Poland* should govern *Hungary* during the minority of *Ladislaus*, and succeed him in case he died without issue; that he should likewise marry the eldest of the daughters of *Elizabeth*, and his brother *Cosimir* the youngest^a. By the unexpected death of *Elizabeth*, the war was again renewed; but at the solicitation of the cardinal *Julian*, and the bishop of *Agria*, a treaty was again set on foot, and the peace of *Elizabeth* was confirmed by both parties, who now resolved to turn their arms against the *Turks*. *Uladislaus is likewise declared king. A. C. 1441.*
- b *AMURATH*, upon hearing of the death of *Albert*, had returned with his army, and besieged *Belgrade*; but, after lying seven months before the place, he was obliged to retire with great loss. Next year he returned with an army, and passing the *Theysse*, ravaged all the country betwixt that river and the *Danube*, but was entirely defeated by *John Corvin* near *Belgrade*; who, likewise, the same year, defeated another army of the enemy that had invaded his province of *Transylvania*; sending a cart, loaded with the heads of the *Turks* to *Uladislaus*. Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Turks* soon after invaded *Wallachia*, but were again routed by *Corvin*, with the loss of half their army, and all their tents, baggage, and artillery. *Amurath*, alarmed with these continual losses, resolved upon an expedition in person against the *Hungarians*, which *Uladislaus* being informed of, he sent to the pope, the emperor, and many other Christian princes, asking their assistance against the infidels, and at the same time, made great preparations in his own kingdom. The pope having ordered a crusade to be preached against the *Turks*, many volunteers flocked into *Hungary*, and early in the spring the king was in motion with his army; and being joined by all the reinforcements about the middle of *May*, he passed the *Theysse*, and marched along the *Danube* into *Bulgaria*; and having taken and plundered *Sephia*, encamped afterwards on the banks of the *Morava*. The *Turkish* army being encamped at a small distance, the king gave the command of 10,000 horse to *John Corvin*, who attacking their camp in the night, gained a signal victory, killing 30,000 of the enemy, and taking 4000 prisoners, and nine standards, with the loss of only 500 men^b (K). Having plundered and burnt the enemy's camp, he returned to *Uladislaus*, who, by the persuasion of cardinal *Julian*, directed his march for *Adrianople*, which was within six days journey. The Christian army marched for some time upon a Roman way, but was soon interrupted by the mountain *Hemus*, which the season of the year rendered impassable, it being then the end of *December*: a retreat being therefore ordered, they were soon after attacked by another *Turkish* army under the command of *Carambus*; but in this engagement the *Turks* were entirely defeated by *Corvin*, and *Carambus* himself taken prisoner. *Uladislaus*, upon his return to *Buda*, was congratulated by the Christian princes, and great preparations were made for the following campaign, not only in *Hungary*, but likewise in *Poland* and *Italy*; the *Venetians* and *Genoese* having fitted out a fleet of seventy sail to guard the *Hellepont*, and prevent succours coming to the *Turks* from *Asia*. *Amurath* informed of those great preparations, and his dominions being threatened to be attacked in *Asia* by the prince of *Caramania*, concluded a peace with *Uladislaus* for ten years. Upon the conclusion of the peace, *Amurath* sent part of his troops into *Asia*, and employed the rest of his army against *Scanderbeg*, prince of *Albania*, who had revolted. The *Turks* being thus engaged in civil divisions, the cardinal *Julian*, at the instigation of the pope, prevailed with *Uladislaus* to break the peace a few months after it had been made. Accordingly, he marched from *Segedin* on the 20th of *September*, and having taken some towns in *Bulgaria*, and defeated several bodies of the enemy, he was informed that *Amurath*, having deceived and bribed those who guarded the *Hellepont*, had passed over into *Europe* with a great army. *Uladislaus* still advancing, marched on the left of the mountain *Hemus*, and in ten days came to the coast of the *Euxine-Sea*, and encamped at *Varna*; the *Turkish* garrisons *A crusade is preached against the Turks. A. C. 1443. Who are defeated by John Corvin. Amurath concludes a peace with the Hungarians, which is violated by Uladislaus.*
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^a Dlugos's Hist. Pol. l. 12. BONF. Decad. iii. l. 5.

^b BONF. ibid. THUROZ. c. 40.

(K) This is the account of the *Hungarian* writers; but *Aeneas Sylvius*, who was then secretary to the emperor *Frederic*, mentioning this victory of the *Hunniade*, says that the *Hungarians* amplified the account; writing to *Frederic* that 30,000 of the *Turks* were slain, and

many more taken prisoners. Whereas the cardinal *Julian*, who was present, wrote to the emperor, that only 6000 were slain. *Aeneas*, likewise, elsewhere asserts from the letters of the same *Julian*, that only 2000 were slain, and 4000 taken prisoners.

^c *Aeneas de Europ.* c. 5.

^d *Id. Epist.* 44. & 81.

The Christians
are entirely de-
feated, and
Uladiſlaus
killed.

The ſtates of
Hungary ſend
for young La-
diſlaus from
the emperor.
John Corvin
is appointed
governor of
the kingdom,
during his
minority.

Corvin
marches a-
gainſt the
Turks, but is
defeated.

A. C. 1448.

He again en-
gages the
Turks and
defeats them
near Chryſo-
nicum.

A. C. 1452.
Ladiſlaus is
at laſt deliver-
ed to his ſub-
jects.

every where ſubmitting to him. *Amurath* at laſt arriving, the two armies engaged near *Var-
na*, and after a long reſiſtance, the Chriſtians were entirely defeated, and *Uladiſlaus* himſelf
killed. *Corvin*, immediately retreating with the remains of the army over the *Danube*,
marched through *Walachia*, and returned to *Hungary*; where, recruiting his forces, he
marched again towards *Servia*, hearing that the *Turks* had advanced within twenty miles of
the *Save*. The two armies coming within view of each other, *Corvin* paſſed the *Save* in the
night, and attacking the *Turkiſh* camp, gained a compleat victory.

THE ſtates of *Hungary* ſoon after aſſembling to deliberate upon the choice of a new king,
it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſend for young *Ladiſlaus* from *Germany*, and appoint a go-
vernor to adminiſtrate the kingdom during his minority. Accordingly, ambaffadors were
ſent to the emperor *Frederic*, demanding their king, and the ſacred crown of *St. Stephen*; b
but their requeſt being denied, *John Corvin*, who had been choſen governor, declared
war againſt the emperor, and raiſing an army, ravaged *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Carintbia*: but
Frederic ſtill reſuſing to give up his pupil, the governor returned to *Hungary* to prepare for
a war againſt the *Turks*. Being joined by the apoſtolic legate, and a great many nobles,
he paſſed the *Danube* with an army of 22,000 men, and marched into *Raſcia* or *Servia*, en-
deavouring to engage the deſpot *George* in the expedition; but *George*, afraid of the reſent-
ment of the *Turks*, excuſed himſelf from giving any aſſiſtance, and ſecretly gave advice to
Amurath of the ſtrength of the *Hungarian* army. Upon this reſuſal of the deſpot, *Corvin*
marched through his country, in a hoſtile manner, into *Bulgaria*, expecting a ſtrong rein-
forcement from *Scanderberg*, prince of *Albania*. The *Albanians* delaying their march, and c
Amurath cutting off provisions from the *Hungarian* army, *Corvin* reſolved to give him battle.
Accordingly, the two armies engaging, the action continued the whole day with great
obſtinacy, the *Hungarians* having repulſed five different bodies of the enemy, and having
dined and ſupped upon the field. Early next day the action was renewed, and continued
till night, with great loſs to the *Turks*. On the third day the engagement was deciſive,
for the *Hungarians* being ſpent with the fatigue, and many of them wounded, were at laſt
overpowered by the *Turks*; 8000 of them being ſlain, and *Corvin* himſelf with great diffi-
culty eſcaping. After having travelled alone in the woods for ſeveral days, and falling
into the hands of robbers, he came at laſt to *Semendria*; but was detained by the deſpot
George, and obliged to leave his ſon a hoſtage for his ranſom. d

THE following year, the governor was again engaged in a war with the *Turks*. *Amurath*
having attacked *Servia*, in revenge for the deſpot's ſetting *Corvin* at liberty, *Corvin*, tho'
he had immediately after his return obliged the deſpot to ſend home his ſon without ran-
ſom; yet forgetting his former injuries, willingly marched to his aſſiſtance againſt the
Turks, whom he defeated near *Chryſonicum*. In the mean time, the count of *Ciley*, gover-
nor of *Auſtria* for the young king *Ladiſlaus*, envious of the glory of *Corvin*, excited ſome
parties of *Bohemians* and *Moravians* to attack *Upper Auſtria*, and by ſecret practices alienated
many of the nobles from the governor; but the *Hunniad*, marching with ſome troops from
Lower Hungary that were attached to him, ſoon repulſed the invaders, and quieted the
commotions. e

ABOUT this time, the *Hungarians* being informed that the emperor *Frederic* was going
into *Italy* to be crowned at *Rome*, again ſent an embaffy, demanding their prince; the
Bohemians and *Auſtrians* likewiſe requeſting the ſame. The ambaffadors again being de-
nied by the emperor, the *Bohemians* immediately called an aſſembly of the ſtates, and deli-
berated about the choice of another king; but *Lucas Sylvius* being ſent to them from *Fre-
deric*, by his perſuaſion they were prevailed with to lay aſide their deſign, and even to ſend
many of their nobles to attend the emperor. The *Auſtrians*, upon *Frederic*'s return, revolt-
ed againſt their governor, and beſieged *Newſtadt*; declaring to the emperor, that he muſt
either reſtore them their prince, or expect a war. *Frederic*, not being in a condition to op-
poſe their arms, at laſt conſented to their demands; and *Ladiſlaus* being delivered up to f
the *Auſtrians*, an aſſembly was appointed to be held at *Vienna*, to which the nobles of *Hun-
gary* and *Bohemia* were invited. At this aſſembly it was ordained, that, during the king's
minority, *John Corvin* ſhould govern *Hungary*; *George Podiebrad*, *Bohemia*; and *Ulric*, count
of *Ciley*, *Auſtria*; and that *Ladiſlaus*, in the mean time, ſhould continue with the count of
Ciley.

SOON after, *Ladiſlaus* went to *Preſburg*, to be preſent at an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Hun-
gary*; returning from thence to *Vienna*, he went afterwards to *Bohemia*, and was crowned
with great ſolemnity at *Prague*. Upon his return to *Vienna*, the count of *Ciley*, ambitious
of the government of *Hungary*, accuſed *John Corvin* to the king; but the governor having
juſtified himſelf from the accuſations of his rival, went into *Lower Hungary* to oppoſe the g
Turks, who having taken *Conſtantinople*, were ravaging *Servia*, and threatening to invade

† BONF. Decad. iii. l. 1. ÆN. EUROP. l. vi. THUROZ. Chron. Hung. c. 46, and 47. † See Hiſt. of Boh.
Hungary.

a Hungary. Three years afterwards, *Mahomet II.* elated with the conquest of *Constantinople*, marched with an army of 150,000 men to besiege *Belgrade*; upon the news of which, *Ladislaus*, who was then at *Buda* with his uncle, despairing of the success of his arms against so great a force, quitted *Hungary*, and, under a pretence of hunting, fled to *Vienna*. In the mean time *John Corvin*, having defeated the *Turkish* fleet on the *Danube*, threw himself into *Belgrade* with a strong reinforcement, and was joined by *Capisstran*, a *Franciscan*; who having preached a crusade in *Germany* against the *Turks*, was followed by 40,000 men. After having continued a month before the town, *Mahomet* gave orders for a general assault; but, though his troops had penetrated into the market-place, he was repulsed with the loss of 40,000 men, and most of his artillery, he himself being carried half dead into his camp, which obliged the *Turks* immediately to quit the siege¹.

The *Turks* besiege *Belgrade*, but are defeated with great loss by *John Corvin*.
A. C. 1456;

Not many days after this signal victory, *John Corvin* died of a fever at *Zemlen*, leaving behind him two sons, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*; *Ladislaus* the eldest succeeding him in his government, to the great regret of the count of *Ciley*, who conspired his death, in order to succeed to the government of the kingdom. The king hearing of the defeat of the *Turks*, returned to *Hungary*, and soon after went to *Belgrade*, attended by his uncle, who was there slain by the friends of *Ladislaus*. The king, though greatly moved at the murder, pardoned the sons of *Corvin* and his friends, which pardon he solemnly confirmed by an oath over the Eucharist; but, upon his return to *Buda*, he ordered *Ladislaus*, who had attended him thither, to be put to death; and *Matthias* with his friends to be kept prisoners, whom he carried with him to *Vienna*. From *Vienna* he soon after went to *Prague*, to celebrate his nuptials with *Magdalene*, daughter of the king of *France*, but died suddenly of a choleric before his wife had left that kingdom; being greatly lamented by the *Bohemians*, but not much regretted by the *Hungarians*, upon account of his quitting the kingdom at the siege of *Belgrade*, and afterwards putting *Ladislaus* to death, contrary to his oath².

Ladislaus goes to *Prague* to celebrate his nuptials, but dies of a surfeit.
A. C. 1457.

The same day that *Ladislaus* died, *Matthias*, then a prisoner, was sent for into *Bohemia*, in expectation of his pardon, by a counterfeit order from the king; but was detained by *George Podiebrad*. In the mean time his uncle, *Michael Zsiglag*, hearing of the death of *Ladislaus*, and his safety, and knowing that as the royal line was extinct, there would be great disputes about the succession, immediately assembled an army of 20,000 men, composed of *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Bohemians*, and *Transylvanians*; *Elizabeth*, the widow of *Corvin*, liberally furnishing money in favour of her son. The nobles, having got a safe-conduct from *Michael*, assembled in the neighbourhood of *Pesth*, in order to elect a king; but, during their deliberations, being surrounded by his army, they were obliged to chuse *Matthias*; though many of them favoured the emperor, and some even expected the crown for themselves. *Matthias*, having paid 60,000 crowns to *Podiebrad* for his ransom, and contracted an alliance with him by marrying his daughter, returned to *Hungary*, and was received at *Buda* by the nobles as their king. In the mean time, the emperor took possession of *Lower Austria*, his brother *Albert* of the *Upper*, and their cousin *Sigismund* of *Carinthia*³; and *George Podiebrad*, by the favour of the *Hussite* faction, got himself elected king of *Bohemia*⁴. *Matthias*, finding that his authority was not fully established for want of being crowned, declared war against the emperor, who still retained the crown of *St. Stephen*; pretending, that he himself had been elected king of *Hungary*. After some engagements, *Frederic* consented to renounce any right to *Hungary*, and to restore the crown⁵. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, *Matthias* was engaged in a war with the *Bohemians*, who, since the time of the death of *Albert*, had possessed several towns in *Upper Hungary*, and frequently disturbed the rest of the kingdom by their incursions and ravages, having been first called in by the empress *Elizabeth*, to support her infant *Ladislaus*, against the *Polish* faction. The *Bohemians* being defeated in several engagements, their chief, *Gisera*, at last submitted; and delivering up the towns in his possession, was pardoned by the king. *Matthias*, having quieted *Hungary*, marched with an army into *Bosnia*, and recovered *Jaza*, the capital, which had been surprized by the *Turks*; from thence he returned to *Buda*, and the crown having been brought back from *Germany*, by an escort of 3000 horse, he was solemnly crowned in the 6th year of his reign⁶. The following year *Matthias*, having concluded an alliance with the *Venetians*, by which they stipulated to pay him yearly 60,000 crowns, he marched with an army into *Rascia*, and besieged *Zojnicb*; but a rumour prevailing, that *Mahomet* was marching with a great army to the relief of the place, he suddenly quitted the siege and returned to *Hungary*; from whence he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to ask assistance against the infidels. Soon after, *Matthias* marched into *Transylvania* against the vaivode, who had revolted, and assumed the title of king; upon his ap-

Mathias son of *John Corvin* is declared king.
A. C. 1458.

He declares war against the emperor, and obliges him to deliver the crown of *St. Stephen*.
A. D. 1463.

Mathias defeats the *Turks* in *Bosnia*.
A. C. 1464.

Receives subsidies from the *Venetians* and the pope to act against the *Turks*.

¹ *ÆN. EUROP. c. viii. BOEM. c. lxx. THUROZ. in Ladif. c. lxx. BONFIN. Dec. iii. l. viii. CHALCOND. c. viii. MEYER, l. xvi.* ² See the Hist. of Boh. ³ See the Hist. of the Empire. ⁴ See the Hist. of Boh. ⁵ *THUROZ. c. lx. * BONF. Dec. iv. l. i.*

proach, the vaivode submitted, declaring, that he was called king against his inclination. From thence *Matbias* marched into *Moldavia*, which had likewise rebelled, and given assistance to the *Transylvanians*; here he was attacked in the night in the city *Bania*, but, according to *Bonfinius* ^a, defeated the rebels with great slaughter; though, in the beginning of the action, he was wounded in the back with an arrow, the head of which continued in the wound for four years; but, according to others, *Matbias* was obliged to fly, having received three wounds, and lost 10,000 men ^r.

A. C. 1463.
Matbias agrees to a truce with the Turks, and marches into Bohemia to dethrone Podiebrad.

The Hungarians rebel against their king, and chose Casimir, who is defeated by Mathias.

A. C. 1474.

THE year after, *Mahomet* being engaged in a war in *Syria* and *Egypt*, *Matbias* consented to a truce with the *Turks*; and having accepted of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, offered to him by the pope, he marched with an army into *Moravia*, in order to dethrone *George Podiebrad*; but being unsuccessful in his attempt upon some places, he left his army in *Moravia*, and returned to *Hungary*, having had a conference with *George*. Early in the following spring, he returned to *Moravia*, and was crowned king of *Bohemia* at *Olmütz* ^z; but *George* dying two years afterwards, the *Bohemians* elected *Uladislaus*, the son of the king of *Poland*, who was soon after crowned at *Prague*. *Matbias*, incensed at this, resolved to force the *Bohemians* to acknowledge him for their king; though, at the same time, he was threatened with the loss of his own kingdom: for the nobles, displeased with his arbitrary government, had offered their crown to *Casimir*, second son of the king of *Poland*, who had entered *Hungary* with a *Polish* army, and was joined by a great many *Hungarians*. *Matbias*, having gained over some of the chiefs of that faction, marched against *Casimir*, who, finding himself too weak, many of the *Hungarians* having fallen off from him, quitted the kingdom without an engagement. The war with *Bohemia* and *Poland* was at last concluded by a peace in *Moravia*, by which *Moravia* and *Silesia* was ceded to *Matbias*, and *Bohemia* and *Lusatia* left to *Uladislaus*.

A peace is concluded between the Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians.

Mathias declares war against the emperor.

A. C. 1481.

He takes Vienna, and conquers all Lower Austria.

A. C. 1487.

WHILE *Matbias* was engaged in these wars, the *Turks* had taken *Negropont* and the *Morea*, subdued *Transylvania*, had ravaged *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, and made incursions as far as *Frioul*; they had likewise built a strong fort on the side of the *Save*, from whence they had made continual inroads into *Hungary*. *Matbias*, being now at peace with the Christians, turned the whole force of his arms against the *Turks*; and having taken and destroyed the new fort on the *Save*, he blocked up *Semendria*, which he proposed to besiege in form the following year. But while he was engaged in celebrating his marriage with *Beatrice*, daughter of the king of *Sicily*, *Mahomet* made an irruption into *Dalmatia*, and in his return raised the blockade of *Semendria*; and, passing the *Danube*, ravaged *Servia*, after which he again passed the *Danube* on the ice, and retired into *Bulgaria* ^a. Notwithstanding those daring inroads of the *Turks*, *Matbias* neglecting to oppose their incroachments, turned his arms against the emperor, who had complained of his marriage as an infraction of the treaty concluded between them, and had begun to commit hostilities in *Upper Hungary*. Having marched with an army into *Austria*, he took several places, and besieged *Vienna*; which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace, by which he renounced all right to *Austria*, and promised to pay 130,000 crowns for the charges of the war. The *Venetians* and the pope having refused to pay him his yearly subsidy, since he had engaged in the war against the emperor, he withdrew his garrisons from *Dalmatia*; which the *Turks* being informed of, they immediately made an irruption into that country, ravaging all with fire and sword; and having defeated the *Venetians*, obliged them to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Two years afterwards *Mahomet* II. dying at *Nicomedia*, and his sons disputing about the succession, *Matbias* ordered great levies to be made, with a design of attacking the *Turks*; but the emperor *Frederic* having refused to pay the 150,000 crowns, and still continuing to use the title of king of *Hungary*, he marched with his army into *Austria*, and having taken *Vienna*, soon after made himself master of all *Lower Austria*, which, by a treaty, was to continue in his possession till the money was paid. *Matbias*, turning now very infirm, endeavoured to procure the kingdom of *Bohemia* for his natural son *John*; but being opposed in this scheme, he proposed to give him *Silesia*, which was then in his own possession. The *Silesians* refusing to have a bastard for their prince, and being supported with the arms of *Ladislaus*, obliged *Matbias* to lay aside his design; and a treaty was concluded, by which *Silesia* and *Moravia* was to return to *Bohemia*, if *Matbias* died before *Ladislaus*, in which case the king of *Bohemia* was to pay to *Hungary* 400 000 ducats. His infirmities still encreasing, *Matbias* died the following year of an apoplexy at *Vienna*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; being greatly commended for his love of learning, as well as for his abilities in war.

A FEW weeks after the death of *Matbias*, the states assembled in the neighbourhood of *Pesth* to chuse a new king; and after many tumults and disputes, *Uladislaus*, king of *Bohemia*, was elected; his cause having been supported by the queen *Beatrice*, whom he pro-

^r MICHOV. l. iv. c. 68. CROMER, l. 23. ^z BONF. Dec. iv. l. 2. ^a BONF. ibid.

a misd to marry. The other candidates, who were *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*; *Albert*, the younger brother of *Uladislaus*; and *John Corvin*, the natural son of *Matthias*, being rejected, *Uladislaus* was declared king on these conditions; that he should reside chiefly in *Hungary*, and should not confer any employments upon foreigners. Before the arrival of *Uladislaus*, *John Corvin*, having the greatest part of the castles in the kingdom left by his father under his command, raised an army, and endeavoured to obtain the crown by force; but the nobles marching against him with those troops that had been assembled at the diet, he was entirely defeated, and lost all his wealth, which was his greatest support.

Uladislaus II
A. C. 1490.

John Corvin
opposed his
election, but
is defeated.

THE other two competitors, *Maximilian* and *Albert*, likewise declared war against *Uladislaus*; but *Albert* his brother, renouncing his pretensions, on condition of receiving annually 3000 crowns of gold, and some cities of *Silesia*, *Maximilian* contented to a peace. In the mean time, the *Turks*, having passed the *Save*, ravaged all the country betwixt that river and the *Drave*; and hearing that the *Hungarian* troops were chiefly employed against the king of the *Romans*, they even attempted the siege of *Belgrade*; but peace being concluded with *Maximilian*, *Paul Kinisus* marched with the *Hungarians* into *Lower Hungary* against the infidels, and obliged them to raise the siege of *Belgrade*. *Uladislaus*, afterwards addicting himself wholly to sloth, the kingdom was not only exposed to foreign enemies, but harrassed with intestine divisions, the nobles losing all respect for their king, whom, upon account of his inactivity and bulk, they called an ox. *Uladislaus* being prevented by the states of *Hungary* from marrying *Beatrice* upon account of her barrenness, was absolved from his oath by the pope, and married *Anne*, the daughter of the duke of *Gondala* in *Gajcony*, by whom he had two children, *Anne* and *Lewis*, who was crowned in the second year of his age at *Albe Royal*, while his father was still alive.

Maximilian
and *Albert*
likewise de-
clare war
against him.

He marries
Anne, daugh-
ter of the duke
of *Gondala*.

A FEW years after, sultan *Selim*, having poisoned his father *Bojazet II.* marched with an army into *Croatia*, which province he ravaged; and, knowing the indolence of the king of *Hungary*, he likewise attacked, and took, the fort of *Sabacs*, on the *Save*, and threatened to make an irruption into *Hungary*; which *Uladislaus* being afraid of, proposed to the states to conclude a truce with the *Turks* for ten years, but was prevented by the bishop of *Strigonia*; who, having obtained indulgences from pope *Leo X.* ordered a crusade to be preached against the *Turks*. *Selim*, being informed of these preparations against him, and, at the same time, his dominions in *Asia* being attacked by the *Persians*, he procured a truce from *Uladislaus* for three years; which rendered the cares of the bishop of *Strigonia* useless against the *Turks*, and very destructive to *Hungary*; for the mob that had assembled against the infidels, having now no enemy, turned their arms against the nobles of the kingdom, by whom they had been despised and maltreated. After committing a great many barbarities and ravages, they were at last entirely subdued by *John*, count of *Scepus*. The following year a peace was concluded between the emperor *Maximilian*, *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, and *Uladislaus*; which was strengthened by a double alliance, the one betwixt *Lewis*, the young king, and *Mary*, grand-daughter of the emperor; and the other betwixt *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, and *Anne*, the daughter of *Uladislaus*. This treaty being concluded, *Uladislaus* returned to *Buda*, where he died the year following; having reigned in *Bohemia* forty-five years, and twenty-five in *Hungary*.

The *Turks*
threaten to in-
vade *Hun-*
gary.

A treaty be-
tween *Maxi-*
milian, *Sigis-*
mund, and
Uladislaus.
A. C. 1515.

ULADISLAUS was succeeded by his only son *Lewis*, who had been crowned king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, when an infant. Though he was then only thirteen years of age, yet, to avoid disputes among the nobles, no governor was appointed; but the affairs of the kingdom were administered in his name, and *Stephen Bathoreus* was appointed palatine. The education of *Lewis* having been committed to *George of Brandenburg*, he was taught to spend his time in the amusements of dancings and entertainments, without any care being taken to cultivate his mind by study; so that when he came to the administration of the kingdom, there was nothing he hated so much as application to business. The manners of the court being imitated by the nobles, they neglected their former study of arms, and were immersed in luxury and security. In the mean time, *Soliman*, emperor of the *Turks*, was engaged in an expedition against the *Parthians*, in which he lost his whole army, returning to *Constantinople* with only 800 horse. Being in danger of being deposed by his seditious subjects, who were exasperated at his defeat, he at last appealed them, by assuring them of a successful expedition against the *Hungarians*. Accordingly, while the king was engaged in celebrating his nuptials at *Buda*, *Soliman* marched with his army against *Hungary*, and having taken the fort of *Sabacs*, on the *Save*, he besieged *Belgrade*, which soon surrendered; the garrison having been discontented on account of want of pay, and the governor

Lewis II.
A. C. 1516.

Neglected in
his education.

^b SAMBUC. in Appen. BONF. DUBRAV. I. xxxii. p. 263. ibid.

^c DUBRAV. I. xxxiii. p. 267. SAMBUC.

The Turks
take Sabacs
and Belgrade.
A. C. 1521.

himself absent at *Buda*, petitioning for 100 crowns; which sum, if it had been paid, 'tis supposed would have saved *Belgrade*. *Soliman* contented with this conquest in *Hungary*, retired with his army, and the year following made himself master of *Rhodes*^d. *Lewis*, instead of recovering *Belgrade* during the absence of *Soliman*, went with his queen to *Bohemia*, where she was crowned.

They defeat
the Hunga-
rians, and
ravage Hun-
gary.
A. C. 1526.

UPON his return to *Hungary*, *Soliman* sent ambassadors to him, offering peace; as he was afraid lest the loss of *Rhodes* should awaken the Christian princes to declare war in general against him^e. *Lewis*, by the persuasion of the pope and *Venetians*, rejected the offered peace, but, at the same time, made no preparations for war. Soon after, being alarmed at the great preparations of the *Turks*, he sent into *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, demanding succours against them; and hearing that *Soliman* had arrived at *Belgrade*, he ordered an army immediately to be assembled. In the mean time, the *Turks* having entered *Hungary*, advanced to the *Drave*, and having passed that river, encamped near *Mohats* with an army of 300,000 men, and 300 pieces of cannon. *Lewis*, notwithstanding the great number of the *Turks*, marched against them with an army of 25000 men, and engaged them without waiting for other troops that were on their march to join him. After an hour's engagement the *Hungarians* were totally defeated, the most of their nobles being killed, and the king himself drowned in the *Danube*^f. The *Turks*, after this victory, advanced up along the *Danube*, and plundered and burnt *Buda*, sending out parties to ravage and destroy the country; from *Buda* they advanced as far as *Javarin*, still continuing their devastation and burning, but omitting to attack any fortified places. Having for fourteen days ravaged *Lower Hungary*, they laid a bridge over the *Danube* at *Pesth*, and committed the same desolation in *Upper Hungary* from the *Danube* to the *Theysse*; from whence they returned home, without leaving any garrisons in the places which they had possessed^g. *Hungary* may date the declension of its grandeur from this invasion, in which more than 200,000 people are said to have perished; and as by the death of *Lewis* without issue, the house of *Austria* got possession of that crown, which they have ever since retained, *Hungary* came to be considered more as an appendix to another kingdom, than an independent sovereignty of itself.

John Zapoli.

As *Lewis* died without issue, there was a dispute about his succession betwixt *John Zapoli*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, and *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, who supported his claim by his relation to the late king, and by several treaties made betwixt the house of *Austria* and the kings of *Hungary*^h. However, in an assembly of the nobles at *Albe Royal*, *John* was declared king, and crowned by some bishops a few months after the death of *Lewis*. But *Stephen Bathoreus*, the palatine of the kingdom, and the greatest part of the nobility and bishops, being attached to *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, who was likewise favoured by the queen *Mary* his sister, his claim prevailed, and he was crowned king of *Hungary*, at *Albe Royal*, about a year after *Zapoli*, whom he had expelled from *Hungary*, and obliged to take refuge with his brother-in-law the king of *Poland*ⁱ. *Ferdinand* likewise obtained the kingdom of *Bohemia* without a competitor, and was peaceably crowned at *Prague*. *John* the vaivode, finding himself unequal to the arms of *Ferdinand*, sent to *Soliman*, offering to hold the kingdom of *Hungary* from him, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided he was restored by his means. *Soliman*, accepting of the condition, early in the spring marched with an army of 150,000 men into *Hungary*, and made himself master of the *Five Churches*, *Albe Royal*, and *Pesth*, which surrendered upon his approach. Afterwards *Buda*, *Strigonia*, and *Allenburg*, and other towns and strong places situated on the *Danube*, surrendering to him, he besieged *Vienna* on the 26th of *September*; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, he was obliged to raise the siege on the 14th of *October*, having lost, according to some, 60,000 men before the place; but others make large abatements from this number. *Soliman* returned to *Buda*, where having called an assembly of the states, he declared *John* lawful king of *Hungary*, and, having given him the investiture of the kingdom, he returned to *Thrace*. Three years afterwards, the emperor *Charles V.* at the pressing solicitation of his brother, raised an army of more than 100,000 men, and marched to *Hungary* to expel the vaivode, and recover that kingdom from the *Turks*. *Soliman*, hearing of the preparations of the emperor, marched with 300,000 men to the protection of his vassal; but the two armies never came within view of each other, *Soliman* returning to *Constantinople*, after committing some hostilities, and *Charles*, instead of taking the advantage of the departure of the *Turks*, dismissed his army and returned to *Spain*.

Soliman
again enters
Hungary,
and besieges
Vienna.

He gives the
investiture of
Hungary to
the vaivode.
A. C. 1529.

A. C. 1532.
And marches
into Hungary
to his assist-
ance.

THE kingdom of *Hungary* still continued to be harrassed by the dissensions and hostilities betwixt the two kings; but at last, wearied with the devastation on both sides, they concluded a peace at *Vatia*, by which it was agreed, that *John* should continue in possession of

^d DUBRAV. l. xxxiii. p. 268
ibid.

^e SPOND. Ann. ad. an. 1526.
^h ISTUANF. de Reb. Hun. l. ix. Hist. Boh. l. xxxiii. p. 272.
ISTUANF. l. vii

^f SRODERITH. Descrip. ^g Idem
ⁱ SAMBUC. Append. ad BONF.

- a that part of *Hungary* which he then enjoyed, but that, at his death, the whole kingdom should fall to *Ferdinand* and his issue, and if *John* should leave a son, he should inherit *Transylvania*, and some places in *Silesia*; and, if the *Turks* should threaten either of them with a war, they were to oppose them with their united strength*. This peace was of short duration, for *John* dying four years afterwards, his infant son, *John Sigismund*, was crowned at *Alba Regalis* with the sacred crown of *St. Stephen*; while *Ferdinand* was assembling troops to take possession of that part of the kingdom, according to treaty, and at the same time sent ambassadors to *Soliman*, offering to hold that part of *Hungary* from him, and to pay him an annual tribute. But *Soliman*, taking the part of the orphan, rejected the embassy of *Ferdinand*, and the war was again renewed¹. *Ferdinand*, the year following, sent *Rogendorf* with an army against *Buda*, where he was defeated by *Soliman*, with the loss of 10,000 men. After this victory, *Soliman* entered *Buda*, and ordered the queen *Isabella* to retire with her son into *Transylvania*; and having left strong garrisons at *Buda*, and *Pesth*, he returned to *Constantinople*, rejecting a second embassy from *Ferdinand*^m. Notwithstanding the defeat at *Buda*, *Ferdinand* continued the war, and took several places in *Lower Hungary*; while *George* the monk, governor of *John Sigismund*, brought *Transylvania* under the government of *Ferdinand*, with the consent of *Isabella*, who agreed to a treaty with the king of *Hungary*. These advantages were counter balanced by the loss of *Themeswar*, *Lippa*, *Zolok*, *Zanad*, and several other places which the *Turks* reduced. Two years afterwards, *Isabella*, finding herself deceived in trusting to *Ferdinand*, called in the assistance of the *Turks* to recover that province, by whose means she expelled the *Germans* and *Hungarians* who favoured *Ferdinand*. But in a few years afterwards a truce was concluded for eight years, and the limits of *Austrian Hungary* and *Ottoman Hungary* were settled by *Soliman's* ambassador at *Frankfort*. As *Hungary* has continued, since this time, in the possession of the princes of the house of *Austria*, who have likewise been emperors, the transactions of this kingdom have been interwoven with the affairs of the empire, in the history of which the reader will find them related.
- A peace concluded. A. C. 1536.*
- John dies, and the war is renewed. A. C. 1541.*
- Isabella endeavours to recover Transylvania. A. C. 1553. The limits of the Turkish conquests settled at Frankfort. A. D. 1562.*

THE HISTORY of the MODERN EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

AS the empire has never changed its title, it is still called the *Roman Empire*, upon account of its origin; and the *German*, upon account of the country whither it has been transferred. It is to no purpose, according to some *German* lawyers, to alledge against its title, that the imperial seat is no longer in the city of *Rome*; for they say, that there is *Rome* where the emperor resides; and although very little of the ancient *Roman Empire* remains in the hands of the modern emperors, they have still nevertheless the same pretension to *Rome* (L), that is, to the city of *Rome*, and the kingdom of *Italy*.

THE head of this body is the emperor, the members are the immediate and mediate states of the empire: the immediate states are the electors, and the archbishops, bishops, and prelates, the secular princes, the abbots, provosts, and abbesses, the counts and lords, the free nobility (M), and the imperial cities: these are called immediate, because they hold immediately of the emperor and empire. The mediate states are the other ecclesiastics, monasteries, chapters, counts, gentlemen, cities, patricians, burghers, and labourers, who depend upon and hold of those immediate states, and by their means are subjects of the empire. As the chief interest of all these members is the preservation of the body, it is their common duty to use all means of advancing its wealth and prosperity, and to avert from it every thing that may ruin it, or alter its constitution.

* ISTVANF. l. xii. ad finem. NEUGEBAVER. l. vii. an. 1541.

¹ NEUG. ibid. ISTVANF. l. xiv.

^m SPOND. ad

(L) The *German* lawyers of the greatest prudence make no account of this title of the *Roman Empire*; a great many of the moderns even do not give it this title, and content themselves with calling it the empire of *Germany*. The *Germans* and princes of the empire have little reason to wish, that their emperors were more powerful, and still less that they should undertake to make themselves masters of *Rome* and *Italy*. This would be always at their expence, and the present con-

stitution of their state does not require it.

(M) The free nobility have no right to a seat or vote in the general diets. They are not regarded even as a member of the state, although they are allowed to be immediate, because they hold of no other sovereign than the emperor, whom they accompanied formerly in all his wars. Upon this account, the gentlemen who compose this body, take the title of noble servants of the emperor.

MANY civilians and politicians make a doubt whether the empire be a monarchy or an aristocracy, or a government of the many. When they propose this problem, they must necessarily mean the *Modern Empire*, for there is no doubt, before *Charlemain*, and a long time after, that is, while the empire was possessed by his family hereditarily, but that it was looked upon as a true monarchy; but since it has passed by election into the houses of *Saxony*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Luxemburgh*, and *Austria*, those of the greatest judgment pretend, that the power of the emperors has always been limited by the capitulations which they have been obliged to sign before their coronation, which limitation of their power extends to all the dominions of the emperor, whether in *Germany* or *Italy*.

It will not be improper at present to examine the state of affairs since the declension of the empire. Some authors date the beginning of this declension from the diminution of the imperial monarchy, occasioned by the desperate divisions made by *Lewis the Debonnaire* in favour of his sons. Indeed it may be said, that this division, if it was not the only, it was at least the first, cause of the dismembering of this great body, in forming of which *Charlemain* had employed more than thirty years of his reign. But *Lewis the Debonnaire*, instead of giving small inheritances to his younger sons, and by this means supporting the empire in its grandeur and majesty, made a division of it, by his will, into three kingdoms, without any dependence upon one another, thus making as many sovereigns as he had sons. This division was the cause of many disorders and wars, which these princes made against each other, and which greatly affected the empire. Although this example ought to have been a caution to their successors, they nevertheless committed the same mistake; moreover, the usurpations made by some younger sons of the imperial house, to the prejudice of their fathers or elder brothers, weakened and lessened this powerful body more and more.

* 912. OTHERS say, that the declension of the empire has only proceeded from the method of election taking place of the hereditary succession, after the death of *Lewis IV.* the last emperor of the race of *Charlemain**, because, besides the schisms and civil wars which it sometimes occasioned, the empire was often in the hands, either of those who, despairing of being able to leave the succession to their children, made no scruple of prostituting it to their particular interests, as *Charles IV.* who alienated almost all its revenues; or else of those who could not support their dignity by reason of their poverty, as *Adolphus of Nassau*, who was deposed for this reason, and for having taken money from the king of *England* to make war against *France*.

IN the beginning of election, one might nevertheless discover, for near two hundred years, some form of hereditary succession; for after the empire entered into the houses of *Saxony*, *Franconia*, and *Suabia*, the emperors were not chosen from any other house, whilst there were princes in these who could pretend to that dignity by their merit. Upon this account, five following emperors may be observed in the house of *Saxony*, four in that of *Franconia*, five in that of *Suabia*, inclusively till *Frederic II.* after whom the princes of *Germany* elected several emperors, sufficiently illustrious by their birth, but not strong enough to support themselves against the pretensions of the pope and several other states, particularly in *Italy*, where their predecessors, although invested with more authority, had already suffered a remarkable diminution of their power. Many authors, favourers of the house of *Austria*, and desirous of reviving at present the rights of the ancient emperors, and giving them to the modern, for this reason have affirmed, that *Frederic II.* was the last emperor who preserved the full monarchic power.

As after *Frederic II.* the princes of *Germany* had already rendered themselves so considerable as to oblige those who aspired to the empire, to purchase their vote, and make an acknowledgement for their good-will by a sum of money, the successors of *Frederic* not being rich enough to have it in their coffers, began their reign by alienating several rights and cities of the empire, in order to raise money. It was thus that *Rodolphus of Hapsburgh* acted, minding chiefly the raising of money, by means of which he procured great alliances to his family, marrying seven of his daughters to seven of the greatest princes in *Germany*. He made war upon *Othogar*, king of *Bohemia*, who had refused the empire, and ceded it to him; so that being employed in that war, in which by the death of *Othogar*, he made himself master of *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Austria*, he refused to make the journey of *Italy*; and to free himself from an expedition to the holy land, to which he had obliged himself at his accession to the imperial crown, he made an agreement with the pope, by ceding to him *Romagna* and the exarchate of *Ravenna*. The same prince, knowing that the greatest number of the cities of *Italy* had had such a taste of liberty, that it would be very difficult to bring them back to their obedience, he resolved to draw money from them, and to sell them liberty as dear as he could. The city of *Florence* bought its freedom from him for the sum of 6000 florentines of gold; as the city of *Sienna* had done before for the sum of 10,000 ducats. He likewise enfranchized the city of *Lucca* for 12,000 ducats, and several others in proportion.

a THE affairs of the empire were in no better condition under the reign of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. This prince had *Frederic* of *Austria* for a competitor, who, although he had fewer votes in the election, nevertheless supported himself, because he abandoned the interest of the empire to attach himself to those of the pope; but he was at last defeated and made prisoner near *Mulsdorff*, in *Bavaria* *. After this defeat, *Lewis*, in revenge for the assistance which the court of *Rome* had given his competitor, undertook to put in practice the right formerly enjoyed by the emperor of naming the pope, and created *Nicolas V.* antipope, against pope *John XXII.* But being obliged to apply himself wholly to the quieting the disturbances raised in *Germany* by the popes, he endeavoured to preserve the affections of the *Italians*, by giving them almost entire liberty, and by establishing lords in many of his cities, under the title of governors and vicars. The continuance of the troubles of *Germany*, the distance and neglect of the emperors who succeeded *Lewis*, soon gave these vicars an opportunity of making themselves masters of those places, the government of which had been trusted to them. It was thus that *John de Vic* made himself lord of *Viterbo*; *Galeot da Malatesta* and his brothers of *Rimini*; *Gentile de Verano* of *Camerin*; *Guy de Polenta* of *Ravenna*; *John Mainfredy* of *Faence*; and *Lewis Alidasi* of *Imola*. Besides, the *Venetians* at this time annexed to this republic all that they found lay convenient for them; and the pope, who pretended likewise to be master of the greatest part of *Italy*, established *Martin de l'Escale* at *Verona*; *William de Gonsague* at *Mantua* and *Reggio*; *Albert Carrara* at *Padua*; and *Obizzo* of *Este*, at *Ferrara*. *Charles IV.* of all the emperors, thought least of the imperial dignity and the empire, employing all the time of his reign in the aggrandizing of his kingdom of *Bohemia* (N). He alienated to the crown of *France* the small right which the emperor still had to the kingdom of *Arles*; and besides, sold a large part of the imperial dominion to purchase the votes of the electors in favour of his son *Wenceslaus*, whom he caused to be chosen king of the *Romans*.

* 1327.

THE institution of the electoral college, and the right of electing the emperors, falling to seven princes, who have since taken the name of electors, is what prevented the empire from being reckoned monarchic after this period. Anciently, all the states of *Germany*, without objection, had a share in the election, even the people; although the princes and bishops had the greatest authority in that assembly, because the rest did not take the liberty of contradicting their opinion. *German* writers are very much divided about the time when the power was restrained to the seven electors, who are mentioned in the golden bull. The most common opinion is, that some time before *Frederic II.* who lived in the thirteenth century, the princes, who were great officers of the empire, began to raise their authority above the rest, whom they almost always drew over to their opinion; that the troubles which followed in *Germany*, after the death of that prince, disgusted the most part of those who were used to concern themselves with affairs of state, and to be present at elections. An interregnum of sixteen or seventeen years made them forget the road, so that there were present at the election of *Rodolphus I.* * only the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologn*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who, by the difference of their rank, seemed to have preserved the rights of all the rest. They took care that their right of election should be preserved by the golden bull of *Charles IV.* which privilege they still hold without dispute.

* 1273.

FROM the time they found themselves single in possession of the right of discharging such an eminent function, it was not difficult for them to attribute to themselves several other rights to the exclusion of other persons who formerly enjoyed them: they nevertheless divided these rights with the emperor to induce him to favour them. This has likewise greatly augmented his authority, and given him an opportunity, in process of time, of extending it to the prejudice even of the electors, when he has found them so weak and so complainant as not to oppose him openly. It is this mixture of authority, which has made many authors, even some *Germans* assert, that the *Modern Empire* is an aristocratical state, and that the emperor of himself has not sufficient authority and power to be called and reputed a sovereign and absolute monarch.

IT may be granted, that the present form of government in the empire, is in many things similar to an aristocratical government, and what passes in the imperial diets is a proof of this. It may be allowed likewise, that many things, of which formerly the entire and sovereign disposition belonged to the emperor *Charlemain* and his descendants, at this day depend in part upon the consent of the electoral princes and other states of the empire (O);

(N) The emperor *Maximilian* often said, that the greatest plague the empire ever had, was this *Charles*, and that he and his son *Wenceslaus* would have sold all the empire, if they could have found any one to purchase it.

(O) The states of the empire, even before they were composed of the three religions, took care not to leave themselves to the despotic government of a prince and council of state depending upon him, which consisted for the most part only in counsellors, who were subjects or

and that the authority of the emperor is divided with them, by the obligation laid upon a him by the imperial constitutions, and particularly by the capitulations, which the emperors, at their election, make with the electors, to take their advice and consent, in most part of their affairs, especially in those which directly regard the general administration of the empire.

NEVERTHELESS, it ought to be observed, that in depressing the sovereignty and authority of the emperor, and raising that of the electors and princes of the empire to a level with the other, in order to establish the opinion of an aristocracy, the dignity of the empire is thereby greatly destroyed: for by representing it only as a pure aristocracy, or polyarchy, an opportunity is given to other monarchs of considering the empire only as a simple republic, whose head has no other advantage, than having the first rank; by this means, the emperor b is deprived of that pre-eminence which he has over the other monarchs of christendom.

BUT nothing determines the sovereignty of the emperor so much, as the confirmation which the electors take from him, even by the capitulation which they make with him at his election. They judge this confirmation so necessary, that they take care to get from him authentic letters after his coronation, that is, after he is fully invested with the sovereign and monarchic power, which is an absolute acknowledgement from themselves of the sovereign and monarchic state of the emperor; and this is besides justified by the golden bull, where the emperor pronounces of his certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, and where every thing prescribed is ordained under penalties, which b. long only to a sovereign to impose. Moreover, the clauses contained in the capitulation, by which the c emperor obliges himself to ordain nothing upon many heads, without the advice and consent of the electoral princes and other states of the empire, ought not to be alledged to destroy the right of sovereignty, which is attached to his dignity; for this right is so united, that it cannot be separated from the dignity, without breaking the imperial crown. So that these reserves are only as it were a suspension of the exercise of this right, which formerly was indisputable, and may again become so, by the privilege which the emperor has of disposing of the principal fiefs of *Germany*, which become vacant by forfeiture, disinheritance, or otherwise, even in favour of his own children, and by this means changing the elective state of the empire into hereditary and patrimonial. Therefore, it ought not to be inferred from these reserves, that the emperor is not a sovereign monarch, since there d are many monarchs in Christendom, who are obliged, in certain cases, to take the advice and consent of the states of their kingdom, in some manner or other, but are nevertheless allowed to be sovereign monarchs.

ON the other hand, it is alledged, that the high titles of honour conferred upon the emperor import no independent sovereignty, but are only compliments and magnificent expressions, which the *Germans* are very prodigal of among themselves. That the princes of the empire only want the emperor to be considered as the first monarch of christendom, and his ambassadors to have the precedence, as representing all the *Germanic* body in the person of its head. And although they confer upon him the most magnificent titles, and talk to him in the most submissive terms, yet the rights they have quitted to him, are in e reality very small, and greatly limited by the capitulations, which he is obliged to sign at his election. And even the greatest part of the rights called regalia, are equally common to the greatest part of the princes of the empire within the extent of their territories; so that there remains little more to the emperor but his precedence, and the right of making kings, princes, counts, marquisses, &c. Some even affirm, that the princes of the empire have no need either of his concession or confirmation. That they are several sovereigns, who have united under a head, whom they have elected for their common preservation, since they have been freed from the oath of fidelity which they took to *Charlemain* and his posterity. As to the confirmation which the electors take from the emperor after his coronation, they take it only as a security, that he shall not make any attempt upon their privileges. f It is a title for them to prevent his taking it amiss, that they arm in their own defence, and conclude alliances with one another, and with strangers for their preservation, which liberty they have reserved by the treaty of *Westphalia*. With regard to the privilege which the emperors have assumed of disposing of vacant fiefs in favour of their children, this claim is directly opposed by the princes of *Germany*; and for this purpose, the electoral college, with the intention of putting bounds to the acquisitions of the house of *Austria*, have inserted in the last capitulations this clause, *That the emperor shall not any more dispose of such important fiefs, without their participation, advice, and consent.*

BUT to discover more particularly, how far the sovereignty of the emperor extends, we

vassals of his hereditary lands. So that it is not without reason that they have obliged the emperor by capitulations to take their advice and consent in the greatest part

of his affairs, and especially in those which directly regard the general administration of the empire.

- a shall mention in the following chapter some of those things which he does by his sole power and imperial authority, and those, in which he is obliged by the capitulation, to call the electoral princes, and even all the states of the empire, to have their advice and consent. From whence it may be concluded, after having considered the alterations, which have happened in the government of the *Modern Empire*, that this state holds a certain mean betwixt the monarchic and aristocratic form of government, and participates in some measure of both.

C H A P. II.

- b *Of the Emperor and his Election.*

THE consequence which we have drawn in the former chapter, that the empire is a mean betwixt a monarchy and aristocracy, naturally carries us to consider what the monarch is, and what is the union subsisting betwixt the head and the members of this great body.

- c THIS head is so necessary, that immediately upon any vacancy, the imperial dignity is conferred upon one, by the choice and election of the princes of the empire: this vacancy happens either by the death of the emperor, or by his voluntary resignation, which he can do, without the consent of the electors or other states of the empire; or by his promotion to sacred orders, or else in case of actual incapacity, by being deposed, of which there are three examples in the history of *Germany*; or lastly, when the emperor desiring to ascertain his successor during his life, causes the electors to chuse him under the title of king of the *Romans*, in the sense which that rank is at this day generally understood.

- d He that is to be elected, must have the necessary qualifications; the first is, that he be of the male sex; the second, that he be of the *German* nation or extraction (P); the third, that he be of a reasonable age; but as this age is not regulated by the constitutions, there are many examples of kings of the *Romans*, who have been elected very young, as *Otho*, who was elected at eleven years of age; *Henry III.* at twelve; *Henry IV.* at five; *Wenceslaus* at five; *Frederic II.* when he was yet in the cradle, and the emperor *Joseph*, when he was only eleven years and a half old. The fourth, that he be a laic, and not of the church; the fifth, that he be a catholic; however, there is yet no law that forbids a protestant from being elected to the imperial throne. The sixth, that he be a just and good man, who may be useful to the republic, and that he be endowed with solid piety, and much prudence and courage. The seventh, that he be of an illustrious birth, and at least a count or baron, rich, powerful, and so endowed with the gifts of fortune, that he may be able of himself to support the imperial dignity, which of itself brings very little revenue to him who possesses it.

- e THE electors finding in him whom they propose for emperor, or who is presented to them by the emperor then living, to be elected king of the *Romans*, the qualities which we have mentioned, or flattered by the hopes of his education, that in time he will acquire those which he wants, proceed to his election, which must be made according to the form prescribed by the golden bull. It is in this bull, that the functions of the electors, and all the ceremonies to be observed by them, are specified. Before this they agree upon the capitulation, in which are contained all the precautions which they want to take with the elected prince, in order to regulate his power, and by this means support the prerogatives of which they are in possession, and the rights and liberties of the empire.

- f As soon as there is to be an election of the king of the *Romans* or emperor, the elector of *Mentz*, as grand chancellor of the empire in *Germany*, sends messengers express to all the electors, ecclesiastic and secular. There is this difference, that if it is a king of the *Romans* that is to be elected as coadjutor to the emperor then living, or if it is the emperor who desires the election to be made, then the archbishop of *Mentz* must be authorized by the states of the empire for this convocation, or by the electoral college, who represents them, and it must be noted in the decrees of the assembly, that the necessity of the empire required this election. But if after the death of an emperor, another is to be chosen, the elector of *Mentz* of himself may order the convocation, because he is authorized by the Golden Bull. His letters are carried by a gentleman of his court, who is accompanied by a secretary or notary, in order to certify the delivery. It is so necessary to the essence of an

(P) This is not always true, for *Alphonfus*, king of *Castile*, and *Richard*, king of *England*, have been elected

election, that all the electors be convoked, that if the archbishop of *Mentz* omit any one by negligence or otherwise, he that has been omitted may declare the election null and defective.

THE archbishop of *Mentz* is not obliged to address his letters any where else than to the place of the ordinary residence and abode of the electors, unless from complaisance he pleases to send them to the place where they then reside. The convocation ought to be within a month after that the archbishop of *Mentz* has been informed of the death of the emperor. He generally appoints the opening of the diet within three months, counting from the day of the delivery of the letters; so that allowing about fifteen days for the journey of the gentleman who is letter carrier, he fixes the opening of the diet three months and a half after the date of the letters. According to the Golden Bull, the election ought to be made at *Francfort* upon the *Maine*; but as there have emperors elected at *Ratisbon* and elsewhere, we may conclude, that this depends upon the choice of the electors. Before the publication of the Golden Bull, there was no city appointed for the election. The term of three months and a half is so essential to the election, that it is not in the power of the archbishop of *Mentz* to grant a longer delay by his circular letters; he may indeed prorogue the opening of the diet with the consent of all the electors, but not by his own authority. If the archbishop of *Mentz* should fail to summon the electors within the time prescribed by the Bull, it is lawful for them to assemble of themselves at the place of election, and they are even obliged to make the election by the oath which they have taken to the empire.

THE electors go in person to that ceremony, or send their ambassadors with a full power and formal proxy to give their vote. According to the Golden Bull, the retinue of the electors who come to the election, ought not to exceed two hundred horse, in which is comprehended fifty men armed, which they may have for a guard to their persons. But this regulation is not put in execution; for sometimes an elector will bring with him more than five hundred persons, more or less, according to his magnificence or pleasure. The ambassadors, who represent the electors their masters at the election, are obliged upon their arrival to communicate their power, and cause it to be registered in the chancery of *Mentz*, from which a copy of it is delivered to all the other electors. It is to be observed, that if an elector sends several ambassadors, there is only one of them who has a seat in the electoral college, or is present at the deliberations.

THE electors both in going to, and returning from, the election, are conducted and escorted by the princes whose states lie in their road, through every country and territory under the jurisdiction of the empire; besides, the Golden Bull forbids, under express penalties, the troubling them in any manner. The elector, who sets out on his journey, must signify expressly by letters where he desires to be received by the escort; and he who gives the escort, is obliged to give a safe-conduct in form. The electors and ambassadors are no sooner arrived at the place appointed for the election, but they oblige the magistrates and inhabitants of the city to take the usual oath, by which they promise to take under their protection and safeguard, the electors and their retinue; and to cause all strangers, of what rank and quality soever they be, to leave the city (Q). The magistrates make proclamation of this through all the streets of the city, and summon the citizens against next day to the town-hall, where they take the oath to the electors.

THE Golden Bull ordains, that the electors open the electoral diet the next day after their arrival; that the election begin, by the mass of the Holy Spirit; and with the oath, the form of which is prescribed by the Bull itself. It ordains likewise, that they finish the election within a month, counting from the day on which they took the oath; but the electors do not conform to this, but take what time they please for their deliberations; saying, that the time which they spend in the deliberation upon other affairs, ought not to be counted; therefore they begin with protesting, that they have only assembled to deliberate; and when they have agreed upon the person whom they will chuse, and have drawn up the capitulation which they propose for him to sign, they declare that they desire to proceed to the election, and then they follow word for word what is proscribed by the Bull. Thus they sometimes pass six months before they proceed to the election, without fearing to incur the penalties threatened by the Bull, of being reduced to feed only on bread and water. The election of the emperor *Leopold* was thus deferred for more than eleven months; the elector of *Mentz* acting so politically that he prorogued the opening of the diet till that prince had attained his majority. No ceremonies are observed till the election is resolved upon; so that when the electors are agreed upon the person whom they will call to the imperial

(Q) This is not executed literally; the proclamation is, indeed, published; but strangers, nevertheless, do not quit the city. This decree only takes place ac-

ording to the pleasure of the electors, who sometimes, indeed, have put it rigorously in execution.

a throne, they appoint a day for publishing it, and the day being arrived, they repair in the morning to the town-house, without observing any order, attended only with their retinue, and in their ordinary dress.

As soon as they are arrived, they retire each to a particular chamber, where they put on their electoral habits; the three ecclesiasticks wear robes and bonnets of scarlet, lined with ermine; and the secular electors, robes and bonnets of crimson velvet, lined also with ermine. When they come out of the town-house, they mount a-horseback to go to the church (R). There is no regulation with regard to this procession of the electors, therefore they march as they think proper.

THE electors in this cavalcade are preceded by the hereditary marshals of their archbishops, or principalities, or of their courts, who carry the sword before them; the officers of the ecclesiastical electors bearing it in a scabbard, adorned with silver gilded; and those of the secular in a scabbard of red crimson velvet, adorned with silver. The ambassadors of the absent electors have nothing of all this; they have only their ordinary dress, without any officers going before them; but the administrators, or tutors, of electors who are minors, enjoy all the honours and pre-eminencies which the law allows to the electors themselves; and the elector of Saxony has this in particular, that he is not the hereditary marshal of his duchy; but this privilege is enjoyed by the count of Pappenheim, who carries the sword before him.

THE electors being arrived at the church, alight from their horses and enter the choir, where they find chairs prepared for them, and placed according to the rank which they held in the electoral college; each chair is marked with a writing in large characters, containing the name of the elector who is to fill it. When the electors have taken their places, some other princes and counts, and the counsellors of the electors, enter the choir, after which the gates are shut by the count of Pappenheim, who takes possession of the keys: then the prelate, who is to officiate, begins the *Veni Creator*, during which, and during the mass, the officers of the electors stand before them, holding the sword inclined upon their shoulder. There have been elections, at which the officers of the electors have retired during the mass, and have laid the swords upon velvet cushions before the electors. After the music has finished the hymn, the mass begins, during which, the protestant electors formerly retired; but at present they remain, and content themselves with standing uncovered, while the catholicks fall upon their knees: after this mass, *Veni Creator* is again sung.

AFTER these ceremonies the electors rise, and approaching the altar, preceded by their officers, they turn towards the princes who are in the choir, and the archbishop of Mentz invites all the electors, his colleagues, to take the oath ordained by the Golden Bull, before they proceed to the election. After a short discourse, he puts the gospel into the hands of the archbishop of Triers, who dictates to him the form of the oath. The archbishop of Mentz is the first that takes the oath from the hands of the elector of Triers, the other electors afterwards take it from his hand, each in their turn, although after a different manner; for the secular electors put their hand upon the gospel; and the ecclesiastical upon their breast, and take the oath agreeable to the Golden Bull, in these terms:

I———prince elector of the holy empire, swear upon the holy gospels here placed before me, by the faith which I owe to God, and with all the strength of my mind and understanding, that I will chuse for king of the Romans, future emperor, him whom I shall judge in my conscience to be most capable; promising, upon the same faith, that I will give my vote and suffrage in the said election, without any hope of profit, pension, promise, reward, or other acknowledgement of what nature soever. So help me God, and his holy gospel

THE oaths being taken, the archbishop of Mentz takes instruments thereupon by two notaries, or two secretaries authorised for that effect; who take for witnesses, the princes and persons of distinction who have entered the choir. After the oath, the electors resume their places, and the musick sings the *Veni Creator* for the third time; which being finished, the electors retire into the conclave, or place appointed for the election, which the count of Pappenheim shuts, when they have taken their places; after which he withdraws, and puts the keys in a place where the elector may dispose of them. Here they observe, very exactly, the order which the Golden Bull ordains to be observed in this election. According to the intention of this Bull, the archbishop of Mentz ought first to give his opinion, collect the votes, and give his own in the last place. He begins to collect the votes by the archbishop of Triers, next by the archbishop of Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the count palatine of

(R) It has been different almost in all elections, as may be seen in the treaty of the election of the emperor, published by Mr. Wiquefort, in 1698.

the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Brunswick*; after this, the elector of *Triers* demands the opinion of the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the majority of the whole college makes the emperor. It must be observed, that if he who is destined for the empire be an elector, he may give his vote for himself, and thereby augment the number of votes in his favour.

THAT all the ceremonies of the election may be observed in all their forms, the electors cause their chancellors and principal counsellors to come in, as if to ask their advice; afterwards they make them go out, and continue their deliberations. But all these outward forms are mere ceremonies; for, in less than an hour, the election of the emperor is concluded. The election is no sooner ended, but the electors cause their principal ministers of state to enter, with the chancellor of the archbishop of *Mentz*, and chancellor of another secular elector, who, having collected the votes, take instruments thereupon, and draw up a verbal process, which all the electors sign, and cause seal with the great seals of their arms. After which, the electors come out of the conclave, and go directly to the great altar, upon which they cause the emperor to sit, if he is present. The archbishop of *Mentz*, after having recommended to that prince the interests of the empire, and made him sign the conditions upon which he has been called to the crown; obliges him to confirm to the electors all the rights, privileges, sovereignties, prerogatives, and pre-eminencies, which they possess (S).

C H A P. III.

Of the Coronation of the Emperor.

ALTHOUGH the coronation of the emperor gives him no new right, nevertheless it is a ceremony which renders his election solemn and publick, and which no emperor has omitted; therefore we shall mention the particularities observed at this solemnity. When the day and place for the coronation is agreed upon, the elector of *Mentz* gives notice of it to the magistrates of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nuremberg*, and these send by their deputies the imperial ornaments, of which they are the guardians; namely, those of *Nuremberg* keep the golden crown of *Charlemain*, the ring, the sceptre, the shoes, and sword, which an angel, as 'tis said, gave to *Charlemain*; a long albe with a hole, a cane, and a belt. Those of *Aix la Chapelle* keep a shrine covered with diamonds, in which is kept a little of the blood of *St. Stephen*; the ordinary sword of *Charlemain*, with his belt, and a book of the gospels in letters of gold.

At the same time, the church appointed for the coronation, is hung with the tapestry of the elected prince (T). Seats and benches are raised for the emperor, the electors, the princes, the ambassadors, and other assistants. The place of the emperor is a little raised, on which is placed a chair, instead of that of *Charlemain*, which is still used when the coronation is at *Aix la Chapelle*. As to the ornaments of the great altar, the consecrating archbishop furnishes these. On the day of the coronation, the ecclesiastical electors, with the bishops and other officiating prelates, in the morning, repair to the church, where the deputies of *Aix* and *Nuremberg* deposit in their hands the imperial ornaments. When the secular electors, or their ambassadors in their dresses of ceremony, accompany the emperor from the town-house to the church, the elector of *Bavaria* carries the globe, having on his right hand the elector of *Brandenburg*, carrying the sceptre, and on his left the count palatine carrying the crown. Behind them, and immediately before the emperor, walks the elector of *Saxony* alone, carrying the imperial sword. When he is in person at this ceremony, he carries the sword naked, and his hereditary marshal carries before him the scabbard; and when the elector is not present, his marshal carries that sword in the scabbard. Immediately before the emperor arrives at the church, the ecclesiastical electors come out of the vestry, and go to meet him in procession, with the bishops, abbots, and chaplains, as far as the door of the church. The elector who is to perform the coronation is in pontifical habits,

(S) This confirmation of the rights of the electors is so necessary, that, without it, the new elected cannot take upon him the administration of the affairs of the empire. And he is bound to give one to each Elector, in form of letters patent, signed and sealed with the great seal. This confirmation was formerly given near *Coblentz*, between *Rens* and *Capel*, at a place which is still called *Koningstad*, that is, *Royal-Seat*. It was a building raised in an orchard, under seven walnut-trees, where there are seats of cut stone for the emperor and the electors; these seats were raised upon

pillars, and joined to one another by vaults, or arcades of stone. But this building is entirely ruined, and at present the confirmation is given upon the spot, and at the very place of the election.

(T) If it is at *Frankfort*, the ceremony is performed in the collegiate church of *St. Bartholomew*, which is well enough built, but not very proper, the choir not being finished. The coronation of the emperor *Joseph* was performed at *Augsburg*, in the church of the abbey of *St. Udalric* and *St. Afre*.

a with the mitre on his head, and the crozier in his hand; and the other archbishops electors have only their electoral habits. As soon as the emperor is perceived, the officiating elector begins to sing, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*: and after having said the prayer, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, he turns about the walks towards the altar; and the two other ecclesiastical electors place the emperor in the middle between them, and conduct him till he come before the altar to his pew; where, having kneeled down, the electors go likewise to their places, leaving, in the mean time, the imperial ornaments under the guard of their hereditary officers. The elector, who officiates, begins the ceremony by the prayer *Domine filium fac regem*, which is followed with the other ordinary prayers; which being finished, the mass of the Epiphany is celebrated as far as the gospel. Then the royal mantle is taken b from the emperor, and the two ecclesiastical electors conduct him to the altar; where, while he kneels down upon the highest step, the chaplains sing the litanies of the saints, as far as *Ut non exaudire digneris*. After which, the officiating elector continues the particular prayers for the emperor, to which those in the choir answer. This being ended, the emperor speaks to him in Latin, and asks him these six questions. The first, *Will you hold to the holy faith, which Catholick men have taught, and confirmed by just works?* to which the emperor answers, *Yes, I will*. The second; *Will you be a faithful guardian and protector of the holy church, and its servants?* the emperor answers, *Yes, I will*. The third; *Will you justly administer, as your predecessors have done, the empire which is given you from God, and defend c it valiantly?* the emperor likewise answers, *Yes, I will*. The fourth; *Will you preserve the rights, and recover the possessions of the empire, and employ them faithfully to the public good?* the emperor answers, *Yes, I will*. The fifth; *Will you be a just judge of the poor and the rich, and a faithful protector of widows and orphans?* the emperor says, *I will*. The sixth, *Will you adhere and be submissive to the most holy father in Christ the pope of Rome, and the holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church?* to which the emperor having answered, *Yes, I will*; he approaches the altar, and confirms these answers by the following oath, which he expresses in Latin: "I will do all that has been proposed unto me, if God assists me, and the faithful give me their help; and I will faithfully and also truly accomplish it: May God, and the ho'y gospel of God so help me." This done, the officiating elector turns towards d those who are assisting, and asks of them in Latin, *Will you accept of this prince to reign over you, and be faithful to him?* To which an answer is returned three times, *We will, we will, we will*. These words being pronounced, the emperor again places himself on his knees, and the archbishop resumes the prayers, and says this prayer, *Lord, thou who ever rulest all kingdoms, bless our king N. &c.* and this prayer likewise; *Grant, Lord, that the people may continue faithful to him*. After these prayers, the suffragans of the officiating archbishop uncover the emperor to consecrate him, and the archbishop takes the holy oil, saying, *Pax tecum*; and he is answered, *Et cum spiritu tuo*; then he anoints him in form of a cross, in the middle of the crown of his head, between his shoulders, in the neck, on the breast, on the wrist of the right arm; and lastly, in the right hand, saying, at each unction, the prayer e appointed by the ritual of that ceremony, the two other archbishops electors wipe off the oil with cotton.

Then the emperor is conducted by these two electors into a chapel, at the side of the choir, where are deposited the old imperial vestments brought from *Nuremberg*, and there he is clothed with a long albe and stole, which he places after the manner of the priests, with sandals and buskins, from whence they lead him back to his pew, placed a little nearer the altar. Being there, the same two ecclesiastical electors go and take from off the altar the sword of *Charlemain*, brought from *Aix*, and at the time when it is put naked into the hands of the emperor, the officiating elector gives him the blessing, saying; Take that sword, and in virtue of this blessing employ it in the defence of the church of God, for f which his goodness hath appointed it. During this prayer, the sword is put into the scabbard, and the secular electors having advanced, fasten it by the belt to the side of the emperor. Afterwards the ring is taken from off the altar, and the officiating elector puts it upon his finger, pronouncing the ordinary wishes; lastly, the officiating elector having also taken off the altar the sceptre and the globe, he puts them in the hands of the emperor, the sceptre in the right, and the globe in the left; pronouncing the ordinary blessing and prayer. At the end of this prayer, the emperor gives the globe and the sceptre to the electors, who usually carry them; and immediately, two deputies of the city of *Nuremberg* put upon his shoulders the great imperial mantle made like a cope; then the three ecclesiastick electors take the crown off the altar, and place it together upon the head of the emperor, g the officiating elector accompanying the action with prayers and wishes; to which the choir answer *Amen*.

THEN the ecclesiastick electors cause the emperor to approach the altar, where he reads in

the pontifical in the *German* language, the ordinary oath, which all the new elected emperors take over again after their coronation. From thence the emperor being reconducted to his place by the same electors, the mass is continued, the gospel and the *Credo* is sung, and at the offertory, the emperor, having the sceptre and globe in his hands, goes to the oblation, and there presents a piece of gold. As often as the emperor goes to the altar, the crown is taken from him, which is put upon him again at his return; and this office belongs to the elector palatine, as the ecclesiastical electors have the privilege of giving the book of the gospels, and the pix to the emperor to kiss, and of giving him holy water. It is the hereditary officers of the electors who give and take from the emperor the sceptre, the globe, and the sword.

THE emperor communicates at this mass without the crown, being always accompanied by two ecclesiastical electors. After the mass, the emperor is conducted processionally by the three ecclesiastical electors, followed by all the bishops and preceded by the secular electors, to a tribunal (U). There he is placed in a chair appointed for this purpose, instead of that of *Charlemain*, which is at *Aix*; the officiating archbishop pronouncing these words; Take and keep the possession of the place which is given you, not by hereditary right, or that of paternal succession, but by the votes of the electors of the empire of *Germany*; and particularly by the providence of Almighty God, and by our grant, and that of all the bishops and other servants of God; and whereas the clergy are near the altar, so much the more you will remember to give them honour at places convenient. May *Jesus Christ*, who is mediator between God and man, establish you in this imperial dignity, to be on your part as a mediator between the clergy and the people, and cause you to reign with him in his eternal kingdom. This I pray from him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and who being true God, reigns eternally with the Father, and the Holy spirit. So be it.

THE officiating archbishop has no sooner finished these words, than the *Te-Deum* is solemnly begun to be sung, to the sound of drums, kettle-drums, and trumpets, which is followed with the discharge of the cannon and small arms. Then his imperial majesty continuing still sitting, receives the compliment of congratulation, which is made by the elector of *Mentz* in the name of the rest; after which the officiating elector retires with the two other ecclesiastical electors, and going into the vestry, lays aside the habits of the church, and resumes his electoral habit.

IN the mean time, his majesty, accompanied with the secular electors, creates knights; these are, ordinarily, counts and gentlemen of the empire, whom he touches with the sword of *Charlemain*. After which, the emperor gives the sword again to the arch-marshal, and comes down from the tribunal to return to his pew. There a canon of the collegiate church of *Aix la Chapelle* presents himself before his majesty, and having shewn him, that every emperor is received as a canon of that church, according to ancient custom, he supplicates his majesty to be pleased to take the oath; the emperor satisfies him, and pronounces the oath in Latin, by which he obliges himself to protect the church of *Aix*, and to let the chapter enjoy its rights. He besides makes a present to the church of *Aix*, instead of the gift which was formerly given it, of a part of the moveables and ornaments which had served at the coronation, and which that church pretended to claim by an antient right; they consisted in the tapestries, in the cushion, and carpet of the pew, in the mantle and habit in which he was crowned; and in two carpets of gold brocade, the one of which had been used at the throne, and the other at the chair before the altar. The present is fifty-six florins of gold, two tons of the best wine for the church of *Notre Dame*, and one ton for the abbey of *St. Adelbert* (X). The emperor and the electors likewise give a writing, bearing, that the coronation made elsewhere than in the city of *Aix la Chapelle*, shall not, in any manner, prejudice the church of *Aix*, nor the city, in their ancient customs, rights, and jurisdictions.

(U) At *Frankfort*, this tribunal separates the choir from the body of the church, and is very dark.

(X) This church is commonly called imperial, having been richly founded by *Henry II.* emperor and duke of *Bavaria*; but an inundation that happened in *Holland*, where it had great possessions, has destroyed

a part of its revenue. Both of these churches are celebrated in the empire, and considerable for their antiquity. *Charlemain* caused that of *Notre Dame* to be consecrated by the pope, in presence of a great number of princes, dukes, marquises, &c.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Pre-eminencies, Rights, and Prerogatives of the Emperor.

^a **T**H E emperor, elected and crowned by the princes electors of the empire, is, in that quality, sovereign monarch, and acknowledged as such; being, in effect, invested with sovereign authority, holding only of God, and even his imperial crown enclosed and surmounted with the globe of the world, is a symbol of universal monarchy; and gives him the pre-eminence over all other monarchs of *Christendom*, who yield to him on account of his dignity; his precedency among the Christian princes being even acknowledged by the *Ottoman* emperors at the *Porte*. Thus has he preserved all the distinctions of the antient emperors of the West, with the titles of, Always August, Cæsar, Sacred Majesty, First prince of the Christian World, and Rector, or Temporal Chief of the faithful of *Germany*. It is he alone that is acknowledged, and under his name every thing is done, even ^b when the whole empire acts in general; yet it must be observed, that the name of the empire is often used in the publick acts, to shew that the empire equally pretends to preserve its authority. The emperor likewise convokes the diets, and other imperial assemblies; yet, if he fails to convoke them on necessary occasions, the elector of *Mentz*, or the vicars of the empire, in the absence of the emperor, may likewise convoke them; he likewise pretends to the right of proposing the affairs upon which they are to deliberate, but this is disputed by the diets; yet their resolutions are executed in his name. He confirms (Y) alliances, and public treaties, made by his predecessors for the good of the empire, without being bound to pay their debts, as he succeeds to him as elected, and not as heir. He enjoys alone, through all the empire, the right, as it is called, of first prayers; that is, to ^c present, after his coronation, to all the chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches, abbeys, and monasteries, capable and sufficient persons, to fill the first canonicate, or first prebendary, dignity, or other vacant place. He hath even preserved this right, by the treaty of *Westphalia*, over the chapters and monasteries of the confession of *Augsburg*, and over those where any catholick and protestant canons are mixt together. Without examining whether the emperor exercises this right by his own authority, or by the concession of the pope, it is evident, that he hath enjoyed it by an immemorial custom, and that he hath exercised it from the time that he established bishops through all the empire, and had the direction of the affairs concerning religion.

He likewise creates and confers high secular dignities; as that of king, prince, archduke, ^d duke, marquis, landgrave, count, and baron. Thus *Henry II.* erected the duchy of *Hungary* into a kingdom, in favour of *Stephen*, who before had the title of duke. *Wratislaus*, or *Ladislaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, was created king by the emperor *Henry IV.* and as the successors of this *Ladislaus* did not preserve this title of king, the emperor *Frederic I.* conferred it anew upon another *Ladislaus*. The same *Frederic* invested prince *Peter* with *Denmark*, which then held of the empire, under the title of kingdom, and crowned him himself. The emperor, *Otho III.* likewise erected the duchy of *Poland* into a kingdom, in favour of *Boleslaus*. Thus it cannot be denied, but that *Leopold* had a right of creating the elector of *Brandenburg*, king of *Prussia*; although, indeed, it depended upon that prince to make himself be acknowledged as such by other kings and princes, which are not ^e dependant on the empire, over whom the emperor has no right. As to what regards duchies, and other principalities and dignities, there are numberless examples; as the duchies of *Milan*, *Savoy*, *Mantua*, &c. in *Italy*; *Brunswick*, *Holstein*, *Juliers*, *Cleves*, *Berg*, *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Gueldres*, *Pomerania*, and in a word, all the duchies, and other great titles of *Germany*; and this extends not only to the subjects of the empire, but likewise to strangers; as *John of Arundel*, who was made count of the empire by *Rodolphus II.* and *Robert Dudley*, who was made duke of *Northumberland*, by *Ferdinand II.* However, it must be allowed, that this right has sometimes been denied to the emperor by foreign powers.

It belongs alone to the emperor to confer rights of regality, and likewise, the principal ^f fiefs of the empire in the changes which happen to them; the investiture of which is given, namely, to the ecclesiastical princes by the sceptre, and to the secular, by the standard and sword. For this reason, he judges the causes which concern these great fiefs, and which

(Y) During war, the emperor enjoys the right of being sole executor of the *German* decrees, with an absolute power, which dispenses him from taking the advice of the colleges, or of giving an account of his administration. This privilege gives him the means of augmenting his authority; of mortifying those who dare name the laws in opposition to his will; to raise at

his pleasure the *Roman* months: to make himself master of elections; and to put garrisons where he thinks fit, under the specious pretext of securing himself against the malecontents. He finds, besides, in war, a thousand occasions of enriching the princes and generals of all the circles, who are devoted to his interests, by arbitrary winter-quarters.

regard the honour, life, and person of these princes, to the exclusion of the imperial chamber. He authorizes and ratifies the transactions, confraternities, substitutions, and family pacts, which the princes make with one another for the advantage of their houses. The differences which happen between the electors, princes, and other states, with respect to customs, are judged in his name, but regulated in the diets, by the advice of the princes and states of the empire.

It is he also who gives letters of delegation to princes, of which there are many examples; as of the emperor *Wenceslaus*, who gave them to *Otho*, duke of *Brunswick*, in 1318, likewise *Maximilian I.* to *Louis*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and to *Ulric*, duke of *Wirttemberg*; *Rodolphus II.* to *Christian II.* king of *Denmark*; and *Matthias*, to *Charles* cardinal of *Lorraine*, bishop of *Metz*. He likewise gives letters of legitimation through all the empire, and there is only the archduke of *Austria*, and the dukes of *Savoy* and *Milan*, who have the same privilege in their states, as vicars of the empire in *Italy*. He grants letters of respite, reprisals, naturalization, safeguard, sanctuary, confirmation, adoption, emancipation, and other letters of grace.

He has the right of life and death, and of repairing people's honour and reputation, of absolving from oaths, of granting favour, discharge of crimes, remission and pardon, to conclude truces and suspension of arms, to prescribe feasts and holidays, of instituting and confirming universities and academies; so that it was only not to obstruct the peace, that, by the treaties of *Westphalia*, the crown of *Sweden* was allowed to erect one in the states that had been ceded to him in the empire.

He gives the privileges of fairs and markets, and permissions of establishing carriages, by water and land. He grants the rights of a city, and likewise that of staple, which is a privilege that he grants to some cities; in virtue of which concession, they have a right of selling and disposing of certain merchandizes and wares, mentioned in the privilege. There are several cities in the *Low Countries* and in *Germany*, who enjoy this grant. *Middelburgh*, in *Zealand*, has the privilege of selling the wines of *France* and *Spain*; *Dort*, that of the wines of the *Rhine*. The cities of *Germany*, which have this right, are, *Spiers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, on the *Rhine*; *Triers*, on the *Moselle*, *Ratisbon*, *Passau*, *Ingolstadt*, upon the *Danube*; *Hamburg*, and *Magdeburgh*, on the *Elbe*; and *Bremen*, on the *Wejer*.

With the consent of the princes and states of the empire, he disposes of the charges and offices of the chamber of the empire, whose function regards domestic and foreign affairs; but those of the imperial chancery depend upon the elector of *Mentz*, as also those of the marshal of the empire, and other hereditary offices, or vicariats, and great offices of the secular electors. It is to him and the empire, that all the electors and other princes, and generally all the other members and states give the oath of fidelity. As he is the head of the empire, he has the right of supreme appeal, and the revision of processes. Besides, in case of denial of justice by the electors, and other princes and states of the empire, to their vassals and subjects, these may have recourse to the tribunal of the imperial court. The emperor likewise takes cognizance of all the privileges granted without the consent of the princes and states of the empire, and in certain cases, even deprives the imperial cities, and other states, of their privileges; but some emperors, indeed, have made too arbitrary an use of this privilege, which has been restrained by the treaty of *Westphalia*. He can reclaim to the empire, all goods, rights, taxes, or other revenues, usurped or alienated.

As to other rights and powers which the emperor has, but where the advice and consent of the electoral princes is necessary, they consist in establishing, augmenting, proroguing, and granting, to any new state, new customs and rights, under the name of staple, passage, entry, reparation of roads or causeways, or other impositions. These must be communicated with the electors, and they must give their unanimous consent, for the plurality of votes will not suffice. The consent of the electors is likewise necessary when the emperor puts any prince, immediate state, or other rebels, who trouble the public repose, to the ban of the empire; when he confiscates their goods and estates, or when he deprives them of their seat and voice in the diets; likewise, when he grants the right of coining money, and when there is a necessity of mortgaging or alienating the possessions of the empire.

But the general consent of all the states of the empire is necessary, when he would regulate the concerns of religion; make or publish laws, or repeal them; establish, reform, or suppress, tribunals of justice; fix the value of money, regulate the measures and weights; declare, or make war, without, or within, the empire; impose subsidies, taxes, and general contributions; make levies, or appoint quarters for soldiers; build new fortresses, and put troops in antient places; make peace or alliances, within and without the empire; but, when the affair is urgent for the general good, the consent of the electors is only needed. Lastly, the emperor ordains and disposes of every thing that concerns the empire, directly, or indirectly, either by his own will and authority, or by the advice, participation, or consent, of the electoral princes, and even of all the states of the empire: as it is expressed by

the

a the golden bull, the treaties of *Westphalia*, the capitulation, and other imperial constitutions.

Thus of himself, or with the consent of the princes, he enjoys all the rights of sovereignty, which so naturally follows the imperial crown, that in case of absence of the emperor, the king of the *Romans*, if there be one, enjoys these privileges, as perpetual vicar of the empire; that is, designed successor of the empire. And in case of defect, or death of any of these, the two vicars of the empire in *Germany*, namely, the elector of *Bavaria*; or the elector palatine of the *Rhine*, and the elector of *Saxony*, exercise the same functions each in his territory.

HOWEVER these rights and powers of the emperor, of which we have made an abstract, b would have much more lustre, if the imperial dignity were not restricted by the capitulation which the princes oblige the emperor to agree to at his election, and which at present is always observed. This capitulation is a real barrier to his authority, which not only prevents this great power from turning despotick, but reduces it under the bounds of a mixt government. Some authors pretend, that the use of these capitulations has been introduced only since the emperor *Charles V.* and before that time the ordinary constitutions of the empire, in some measure, supplied the place of these capitulations; but that the great possessions which that prince inherited without the empire, making the electors apprehensive that he should violate the *German* liberty, they thought proper to propose certain conditions to him, to which he agreed to submit, and that they have continued to use the same at all elections c of the emperors whom they have since raised to the throne; others alledge, that though there appears no capitulation more antient than the times of *Charlemain*, yet it is not to be presumed, that he, powerful as he then was, and assisted by all his friends, would have allowed a new yoke to be imposed upon him, which so much diminished his dignity.

BUT if the authority of the emperor has received so considerable a diminution, his dominion is reduced to such a degree that it is matter of astonishment. I mean the dominion which the emperor has as emperor, and the revenues which he draws from the empire to support the imperial dignity. In hereditary kingdoms, there is no distinction between the dominion of the king, and the dominion of the crown, but it is otherwise in elective kingdoms, where the son is not sure of succeeding to the crown of his father. For this reason, d the king ordinarily hath his particular dominion, distinct from that of the crown, as may be observed in *Poland*, where the kings have their particular dominion, of which they dispose absolutely and without the permission of the states. The same thing is practised in *Germany*, since the time the empire has begun to be elective, after the death of *Lewis IV.* Thus *Saxony*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Bohemia*, and the provinces incorporated with it; *Luxemburg*, *Holland*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*, have remained to the heirs of the emperors of these houses. But the imperial dominion has always been appropriated to the successors of the emperor, that is, to those who have succeeded to the empire by means of election. This dominion must have been very considerable in the beginning, for in the time of the emperor *Frederic I.* when a good part of *Italy* was detached from the obedience of the empire, e and many of the cities of *Germany* already enjoyed that liberty, which, at present, we see them enjoy, the revenue of the dominion of the empire amounted to eighteen millions of livres, a very considerable sum at that time.

It is impossible to say in what the dominion of the empire consisted, and what was its revenue under *Conrad I.* and *Henry I.* or even after *Otho I.* had reunited *Italy* to the imperial crown, seeing there is not one author of that time who mentions it. We can only say, that the emperors of that time made good their rights of sovereignty, and drew from thence, as well as from the states and cities who were immediately subject to the emperor, wherewith to support their imperial dignity. But *Italy*, by degrees, detaching itself from the empire, and the states and cities of *Germany* having partly purchased, and partly usurped f their liberty, these branches of their revenue have been cut off, as well as many subsidies, customs, services, and rights, which he then possessed.

It is more than 300 years since the emperor *Charles IV.* told the deputies, whom the states of the empire sent to him, that *Bohemia* brought him more revenue than the empire; and the cardinal of *Grandvelle* told the landgrave of *Hesse*, that *Charles V.* his master, almost drew no advantage from the empire, and that the princes of *Germany* ought to think themselves happy to have a monarch, who, from the revenue of his hereditary dominion, had wherewith to support the imperial dignity. In reality, the empire has almost no dominion, and the emperor cannot draw from it even sufficient to pay a part of his officers, so far is he from having enough to support his imperial dignity, to entertain a retinue, and make g a necessary expence proportioned to his quality, and still less has he from that revenue, wherewith to support the troops that would be necessary to be maintained, if his person or the empire were attacked.

THERE is not even a single city in the empire that belongs to the emperor as emperor, because the whole territory is divided among the electors, bishops, abbots, princes, counts, lords,

lords, and free cities; so that if an emperor has no proper dominion of his house in the empire, the bishop of *Bamberg* is obliged to quit his city of *Bamberg* for the residence of the emperor, and to retire himself to *Villac*, a small city in *Carinthia*. It may then be questioned, for what reason the house of *Austria* uses so many efforts, to preserve as long as possible, the imperial crown upon the head of its princes, since drawing so little profits and advantage from the dominion of the empire, the imperial dignity can only be a burden to them. But although the pecuniary advantages be none, there are a great many other real and solid ones; for, besides the advantage which the emperor has of preceding all other Christian princes; and although he cannot of himself declare war, or raise money or soldiers, nevertheless, war being once resolved upon, and the impositions of money, and the levies of men being made, he can advance to the command and leading of the armies, whom he pleases, and can dispose of the money according to his pleasure; so that he has by this means all the troops at his devotion. Likewise the principal fiefs becoming vacant by forfeiture or otherwise, he formerly disposed of them as he pleased, even to the advantage of his own children, a means which the princes of the house of *Austria* have advantageously made use of, in opposition to the constitutions of the empire, with design of making themselves masters by degrees of all the fiefs, and changing the state of the empire from an elective form, into an hereditary monarchy.

In effect, it is by this means that the princes of the house of *Austria* have mounted, within the space of 400 years, to that grandeur in which we see them at this day. *Austria* and *Stiria*, confiscated from *Othogar*, king of *Bohemia*, came into their house, by the gift which the emperor *Rodolphus* I. made of them to his son *Albert*; and a good part of *Suabia*, vacant by the death of *Conradin*, grandson of *Frederic* II. fell to them by the same means. The emperor *Charles* V. finding the dutchy of *Milan* convenient for him, instead of reuniting it to the empire, gave it to his son. Besides the alliances which this family have contracted with the most illustrious houses of *Europe*, and the rich advantages which have fallen to them, make it evident that the imperial dignity procures to those who are possessed of it, advantages much more considerable than are at first imagined. This dignity was the cause of the marriage of *Henry*, son of *Frederic* I. with the heiress of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and of *John*, son of *Henry* VII. with the heiress of *Bohemia*. And it was this consideration alone which annexed the provinces of the *Low Countries* to the states of *Austria* by the marriage of *Maximilian* with *Mary*, heiress of *Burgundy*, which united *Austria* and *Burgundy* to *Spain*, by the marriage of *Philip*, son of *Maximilian*; *Jean*, heiress of the kingdom of *Castile* and *Aragon*; and lastly, which caused the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* to enter into the house of *Austria*; by the marriage of *Ferdinand* I. with *Anne*, heiress of these crowns, which has given occasion to this distich:

*Bella gerant fortes, tu felix Austria, nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.*

Therefore there is no reason to be astonished, that the house of *Austria* has always done its utmost to perpetuate the imperial crown to its descendants, notwithstanding the little revenue that it is pretended it brings, which indeed only consists in extraordinary aids, called *Roman* months, which are payed in troops and in money, according to the matricular book or register; in some ordinary subsidies of the imperial cities, which amount only to about 40,000 crowns a year; and in taxes of the chancery, which amount likewise to verry little money; such are those of the processes, favours, grants, renewing of privileges, creations of titles and dignities, which taxes even the greatest part of the states are exempted from paying; and lastly, in ordinary and extraordinary taxes, which the *Jews* are obliged to pay to the emperor, namely, the extraordinary at his coronation, and the ordinary every year at *Christmas*, which does not amount to great sums. He has likewise the perquisites that are payed at the investitures of the fiefs of the empire given by the emperor; but the advantage of this goes almost wholly to his officers, who assist, and he has nothing but the honour.

As this honourable right of giving the investitures of all the fiefs of the empire, vacant by the death of the last male of the family, or by resignation, and which are bound to be renewed, upon the succession of every heir, is a prerogative of the emperor of great lustre, we shall mention the form of the ceremony used by the emperor at the investiture of *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, when he received the electorate of his cousin *John Frederic*, who was put to the ban of the empire, for being the chief of the *Smalcaldick* league. The emperor was no sooner entered with the electoral princes into a tent of wood, in form of a theatre, raised in the middle of the market-place of *Augsburgh*, than *Maurice* appeared on horseback, accompanied with many princes and lords, preceded by twelve trumpets, and causing to be carried before him ten standards, which signified so many titled lands, of which the electo-

rate

a rate was composed. He alighted at the foot of the stage, and having walked up upon it, with the princes, who accompanied him to do him honour, and who carried the standard; as he advanced, he made three profound bows, and came and placed himself on his knees before the emperor, who was upon a throne, having on his right and left, on other seats leis raised, five electors. Then *Maurice* demanding of him the investiture of the electoral dignity, and the electorate, the emperor declared that he consented to grant it to him. For this purpose, the archbishop of *Mantz* having put the book of the gospel upon the knees of the emperor, read the oath of fidelity, given on those occasions, and *Maurice* repeated it word for word, having his hand upon the gospel. After which the emperor taking the sword held by the count of *Pappenheim*, which is the imperial ornament, carried by the electors of *Saxony* before the emperor, gave it to *Maurice*, and by this means invested him with the electoral dignity, and with the office of grand-marshal of the empire. The emperor likewise took the standards from the hands of those who carried them, and gave them also into the hands of *Maurice*, to invest him also with the principalities. This done, *Maurice* went and placed himself among the electors, and the standards were thrown among the people.

BUT although an elector or other prince, by the death of his predecessor, finds himself in possession of the electorate or principality, and of all the rights belonging to it, in virtue of the first investiture, which the first of the family obtained of it, as well for himself as for all his lawful male descendants in the direct and collateral line, he ought nevertheless within a year and a day after his coming to his states, to demand a new investiture, which is properly only a confirmation of the first, and to pay homage for his states, and take the oath of fidelity that he owes to the emperor and empire, under the penalty, if he has no lawful excuse, to be deprived of his right to his estates. And this is practised upon every succession, whether of emperors or electors, and other princes and counts of the empire. But there is a great deal of difference between the first investiture of a new dignity and a new state, and the renewing of this investiture. The first must be taken in person, and in presence of the other princes and members of the empire; whereas the renewing of an investiture may be demanded and obtained by proxy, in presence of witnesses, because it gives no new right to the heir; for a new elector may, without this, be present at the elections of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, and perform all other electoral functions.

IT must likewise be observed, that this first investiture of a fief is of such force, provided it be given to him who receives it, as well for himself as for his lawful male descendants, in direct and collateral line for ever, that neither the first invested, nor any of his successors, can, to the prejudice of others whom it regards, dispose of the fief, or alienate, sell, or divide it, while this first investiture has place. And as they have properly only the usufruct, it is still less in their power to divest themselves of it to the advantage of another family, without the consent of all those interested, and the approbation and permission of the emperor and empire.

AT the investiture of an ordinary fief, which is demanded and received by an ambassador, the following solemnities are at present observed at the imperial court. A great hall, ordinarily called the chamber of gentlemen, is hung with tapestry, and in the middle of it a throne raised for the emperor. When his majesty is arrived there with the principal officers of his court, and has taken his seat, the ambassadors of the princes and lords who demand the investiture are introduced. Immediately after they have entered the door of the chamber, they salute the emperor by kneeling down on both their knees, which they do a second time in the middle of the hall, and again upon the carpet before the throne, where they remain upon their knees, while the chief among them addresses the emperor, and asks from his majesty the investiture of the fief in the name of his master. The vice-chancellor of the empire approaching the emperor, as if to know whether he thinks fit that a favourable answer be returned, soon after answers in such terms as these, "That his imperial majesty has most favourably heard their demand, although their master has not appeared before the throne as he ought: but as his excuses have been found valid, his majesty consents to grant his request." After this, the ambassadors rise, and are conducted to the foot of the throne, where kneeling down, they place the two first fingers of the right hand upon the book of the gospels, which is supported before his majesty by two of his officers, likewise upon their knees. Then the oath is read to them, which they repeat word for word, and which they swear to observe upon the soul of their masters. It must be observed, that before the ambassadors are admitted to the audience of the emperor, the tenor of this oath is communicated to them, because sometimes the terms of it must be changed, with regard to some of the confession of *Augsburgh*, who say at the end, *So help me God and the holy gospel*. The oath being taken, the marshal of the empire, or in his absence, the marshal of the emperor's court, gives his majesty the sword, the pommel of which the ambassadors must kiss; then they rise, and retiring a little backwards, and placing themselves

again upon their knees, one of them makes a short compliment of thanks, after which they retire, with their faces all the while towards the emperor, kneeling down in the middle of the hall, and likewise at the door, as they did when they entered. It is in this manner that the emperor at this day gives the investiture of fiefs, altho' formerly he sometimes gave it with the sword, and sometimes with the sceptre, and sometimes by receiving from the hands of the person invested, standards, in which were represented the arms of each fief.

As to the perquisites due to the officers of the emperor for an investiture, before the ceremony begins, the sum to which they amount must be consigned into the hands of the great marshal of the court, or of the vice-chancellor of the empire; and the distribution of it is made thus.

To the great marshal of the emperor's court	-	-	-	60 florins of gold.	
To the vice-chancellor	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary marshal	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary chamberlain	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary cup-bearer	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary first cook	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary treasurer	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the hereditary marshal likewise for the horse	-	-	-	60 ditto.	
To the secretaries of the empire, from	-	-	-	24 to 26 ditto.	c
To the taxes of the empire	-	-	-	10 ditto.	
To the keeper of the register	-	-	-	10 ditto.	
To those belonging to the chancery	-	-	-	15 ditto.	
For the principal letters of the fief	-	-	-	16 ditto.	
For the rights of the chancery	-	-	-	6 ditto.	
To the heralds	-	-	-	32 rixdollars.	
To the ushers of the chamber and antichamber	-	-	-	6 ditto.	
To the ushers of the gentlemen's apartment	-	-	-	8 ditto.	
To the archers and halberdiers of the guard	-	-	-	38 ditto.	
To the emperor's upholsterers	-	-	-	12 ditto.	d
To two harbingers of the chamber	-	-	-	12 ditto.	
To the usher of the council-chamber	-	-	-	6 ditto.	
To the ushers of the aulick imperial chamber	-	-	-	4 ditto.	
To the harbingers of the court	-	-	-	20 ditto.	
To the emperor's valet de chambre, who carried the book of the gospels	-	-	-	6 ditto.	
To some officers serving at the investiture	-	-	-	8 ditto.	
To the trumpeters and kettle-drummers	-	-	-	14 ditto.	
To the musicians	-	-	-	12 ditto.	
To those who tax	-	-	-	5 ditto.	
To the keepers of the register, who examine the letters of investiture	-	-	-	4 ditto.	
To him who makes the minute of the letters of the fief	-	-	-	4 ditto.	
To the officers of the chancery	-	-	-	3 ditto.	
To a secretary	-	-	-	1 ditto.	

None are freed from this tax except the electors, and when the death of the emperor and that of the vassal happen at the same time, the tax is doubled.

SINCE we have given a list of the officers of the emperor, who have a share of the perquisites paid for the investiture, we shall likewise mention the other commensal officers of his household, who ordinarily serve near his person, his court, and retinue. The office of grand steward of the emperor is the first of his household; under this charge are the comptrollers, the treasurers, the pursers, the masters and officers of the kitchen, wine-cellar, buttery, pantry, and fruitery.

THE great chamberlain of the emperor has authority over the officers and servants of the rooms, the ushers, halberdiers, and other inferior officers appointed for the service of the rooms, and generally of all that depends upon them.

THE great marshal of the court is likewise one of the most considerable officers; his employment at the imperial court is the same with that of the count of *Pappenheim*, as vicar of the elector of *Saxony*, archmarshal of the empire, when the occasions of performing his office of vicar calls him thither; and in that case, the marshal of the court is without employment. He has under his charge the quarter-master, the marshals of the lodgings, the harbingers, the provost and his officers, and all the artificers following the court.

THE master of the horse has the inspection of, and the authority over, the great and little stable, having under him all the grooms, pages, masters, and teachers of the pages, comp-

a comptrollers, trumpeters, kettle-drummers, coachmen, footmen, and generally all others belonging to the stable.

Among the other principal officers of the emperor, are reckoned also the great huntsman, the great falconer, the captain of the halberdiers, the captain of the horse-guards, the postmaster-general of the court, who have each the direction of all that belongs to their charge. There are besides the ordinary and extraordinary gentlemen of his imperial majesty, who are more than one hundred, and all of great quality, the greatest part of them being at least counts of the empire, or of the ancient nobility, who have been in considerable offices. There are always thirty-five or forty of them who really attend, the rest, who are not so strictly obliged to this actual attendance, serve only when they are at the court, or when they are called there expressly for that purpose.

b BESIDES these, there are a great many other offices very considerable, as among others, those relating to the emperor's chapel, namely, the masters of the chapel and of the music, the confessors, preachers, almoners, chaplains, and others, as also those of the physicians, library-keepers, and others, of which a minute detail would be tedious. We shall only observe, with regard to the great officers of the emperor's household, that when the electoral princes, or in their absence, their vicars, are obliged to serve his imperial majesty, the others are obliged to retire. But whenever the electors or their vicars have performed their services, or are absent, the ordinary officers resume their functions; as happens at the entertainment which the emperor gives after his coronation, where the electors having performed the service ordained by the golden bull, sit down at their own table, and the officers of the household succeed to the exercise of their charges, and serve his imperial majesty during the rest of the entertainment. It may likewise be observed, that the charges of these commensal officers do not depend upon the great officers of the empire, but that the emperor appoints whom he pleases.

c BESIDES the aulic council, the emperor has always with him three kinds of councils: the first is his private council of state, composed of a president and twenty-four counsellors, the president being generally his high steward and first minister, and the counsellors are partly princes and counts of the empire, and partly persons of quality, as his great chamberlain, the great steward of the empress, the chancellor of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, the president of the aulic council, the archbishop of *Presburgh*, the bishop of *Vienna*, the master of the horse, the provincial captain of the country upon the *Ems*, his aulic chancellor, the president of the chamber of *Austria*, the provincial marshal of *Lower Austria*, the vice-chancellor of the empire, the president of the chamber of accounts, and other persons qualified, as he thinks fit. There are besides ten secretaries, the first of whom signs the principal letters of the emperor, and the rest are appointed for the dispatch of all other letters that come out of the secretaries office, which the *Germans* call *German* and *Latin* chancery. It is in this council, where the affairs of state are deliberated upon; other great affairs, and even those which have been already examined in the aulic council, come before the privy council; for which the states of the empire have often made remonstrances to the emperor, declaring what has passed in the aulic council by a plurality of votes, ought not to be changed, or even subject to a new examination.

d THE second council that is near the emperor, is called the chamber of finances, in which is treated all that concerns the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the empire, which come to the emperor, as also what relates to the revenues of his hereditary countries. This council is composed of two presidents, a director, and fourteen assessors, six officers of the chancery, and others.

e THE third council is called the imperial council of war, which consists in one or two presidents, who are generals of the army, and seven counsellors, who are camp-marshals, generals, majors, colonels, and the auditor-general, with keepers of the register, secretaries, commissioners, and others. Besides all these officers, whom we have mentioned, in the service of the emperor as emperor, he has almost as great a number in quality of king of *Bohemia* and king of *Hungary*, who all have their distinct appointments and wages.

C H A P. V.

Of the Titles of the Emperor, and his Marks of Honour.

f T H E titles assumed by the emperors, have not always been the same. *Otho the Great*, in the most part of his edicts, inscribed himself thus; *Otho, by the grace of God, king of the French and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans*. This title, *by the grace of God*, was in use from the year 963, as may be seen by the letters of the same year, containing the privileges granted to the monastery of *Lauris*. Sometimes, instead of these words, *by the grace of God*, these are used, *by the divine will; by the disposition of the divine providence*;

by the favour of the divine goodness ; by the mercy of God. At first it was a form of piety and a humility, by which the emperors acknowledged that they held their empire from God, that they might not appear to attribute to themselves absolute sovereignty. For the same reason, the prelates in the letters they wrote to the emperors, also entitled themselves by the grace of God, to which they afterwards added, by the grace of the apostolick see. But since the tenth century, the secular princes have likewise used the form by the grace of God ; and even the counts of the empire have since used the same form ; and lastly, foreign princes have been observed to give this title to the electors.

By the title of king of the French, is understood eastern France, or the kingdom of Germany ; and by the title of king of the Lombards, is meant the kingdom of Italy. The emperor Henry III. still took these two titles. The title of patrician of the Romans, was given by the inhabitants of Rome, to Pepin and his sons Charles and Carloman, and with the title b they granted them the right of protection over the city of Rome, and over the pope. Charlemain, who not only had received the title of patrician, but likewise had acquired the dignity of it, often entitled himself king of the French and Lombards, patrician of the Romans. Otto the Great, when he was raised to the throne of the empire, also took this title ; and some other emperors, to declare their right against the pretensions of the French upon Lorraine, took the title of king of the Lorrainers, principally when by election and consent of the Lorrainers, they were crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. With the title of patrician, the Romans gave Charlemain the sovereignty over their city, and over the pope, a right which that prince exercised in its full extent, and which distinguished him from subaltern patricians ; c for among the Roman lords, there were some to whom the emperors granted the title of patricians of Rome. Since the reign of Charlemain, it appears that pope Adrian called Charles the Bald, king, patrician, and emperor. Otto the Great, by a treaty, was ordained patrician of Rome, a title which he used even after he was elected emperor. After the death of pope Nicolas, the Romans sent a crown, with other presents, to the emperor Henry IV. and entreated him to cause a pope to be chosen ; upon which, that prince having convoked a council at Basil, solemnly received the crown of the Romans, and was called patrician. Some authors say, that this same prince was ordained patrician of the Romans, and blessed as emperor by pope Clement. The emperor Lotharius was the last that received the patrician crown, that title since his time having become obsolete. Indeed, under the d reign of the emperor Conrad III. the Romans endeavoured to re-establish that dignity in favour of Jordan, son of Peter Leon, upon whom they conferred it, with the same authority that Charlemain possessed, but was at last abolished by pope Eugene III.

Among the titles which are at this day used, the principal is that of the emperor ; a title known from the time the republick enjoyed liberty, and which signified a general of an army. Julius Cæsar retained this title after he had conquered Pompey, and began to lay the foundations of the Roman monarchy ; but he, contrary to common use, put that title before his name. Charlemain assumed, when the clergy, the nobles, and people of Rome gave him the title of Augustus, The great, and peaceable emperor of the Romans. His successors bare it likewise ; Henry the Fowler, after his victory over the Hungarians, was saluted emperor by his army. Otto the Great assumed the same title when he was called to the throne of Germany, and his successors have imitated him. However, the emperors of Constantinople refused them that title, and gave them only the title of king ; as the history of Otto I. and Conrad III. informs us. Since the reign of Henry III. the emperors, when they were yet only crowned in Germany, took, from time to time, the title of king of the Romans, which became a constant practice after the death of Henry V. but after they were crowned by the pope, they took the title of emperors of the Romans. For although the emperors, immediately after their election, had the power of exercising all the rights of the empire, as the decree of Rens *, and that of Franckfort † formally declare ; affirming, that the prince elected by the emperors is true and lawful king and emperor, without needing the consent, f approbation, or confirmation of the pope ; nevertheless, the popes pretended, that the emperors were absolutely obliged to be crowned at Rome, and that they were not emperors before that coronation. In the golden bull, in speaking of the election of the emperor, the king of the Romans is named future emperor. Maximilian I. when at the diet of Constance, he concluded the alliance against the republic of Venice, caused it to be published at Trent, that from henceforth he should not any more be called king, as hitherto had been done, but that he should be called emperor of the Romans ; and he demanded of the states of the empire to be honoured with the title of the elected emperor of the Romans. The pope, Julius II. who dreaded lest that prince should take the road to Rome with an army, and claim again the antient rights of the empire, approved the title by a brief, as though g Maximilian had received the crown from his hands : nevertheless, the title of elected emperor of the Romans is more antient than Maximilian I. for Gregory VIII. gave it Henry VI. in a brief which he sent to that prince *. Although Charles V. after his election, and in his capitulation,

* 1337.

† 1338.

* 1137.

a capitulation, took only the title of king of the *Romans*; yet, soon after, in the first diet which he held at *Worms*, he styled himself 'elected emperor of the *Romans*;' a title, which he still used, after having been crowned at *Bologna*. *Ferdinand I.* during the life of his brother *Charles V.* contented himself with the title of king of the *Romans*; but, after his death, he assumed that of 'elected emperor of the *Romans*.' With regard to the emperors that succeeded him, immediately after their election, they used the title of kings of the *Romans*; and immediately after their coronation in *Germany*, they took that of elected emperor of the *Romans*; the popes, likewise, at this day, grant the title of 'elected emperor of the *Romans*' to the emperors after their coronation in *Germany*. *Clement XI.* wrote thus to the emperor *Joseph* *; To our most dear son in *Christ*, *Joseph*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, elected emperor of the *Romans*.

* 1708

HOWEVER the title of the emperor is not so attached to the emperor of the *Romans*, but that other princes have likewise used it. *Pepin* is called by *Marianus* the first emperor of the *French*; nevertheless, *Charles VIII.* professed that he did not affect that title. The *Turks*, on several occasions, have given it to the kings of *France*; *Alphonfus*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, called himself emperor of all *Spain*. Among the *Anglo-Saxon* kings, *Edgar* took the name of emperor. At present the grand duke of *Muscovy* takes the title of emperor, and the sultan of the *Turks*, the kings of *China* and *Japan*. However, it is certain, that the title of august emperor has been hitherto restrained to the emperor of *Germany*.

c As to the title of august, it subsists since the time of *Octavius Augustus*, who received it from the senate. This word comes from the name of places consecrated by the augures, which were called august, or holy. And this title was so appropriated to the *Roman* emperors, that no king bore it unless the emperors granted it to him. *Clovis*, king of *France*, was complimented with this title by *Anastasius*, the emperor of the *East*; when he sent him the crown of gold, and the imperial tunick, he called him *Consul* and *Augustus* in his letter; the emperor designing thereby to encourage him to expel the *Goths*, and re-establish the empire of the *West*. But at this day the title of august is common to all kings.

It is only the title of always august that has been reserved to the emperors of *Germany*. This title seems to have been used in the time of *Septimus Severus*, who is entitled in a *Latin* inscription, *Propagator urbis, ac Romanæ rei, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus*. *Theodosius II.* in the novels of *Valentinian*, is called *perennis Augustus*. Several emperors both of the *East* and *West* have taken the same title. *Charlemain* has also used it, though rarely, his successors have sometimes been called august, and sometimes august *Charles the Bald* wanted to be called perpetual august. This title varied thus till the time of *Frederic I.* when it became fixed, and the ordinary stile of the imperial court. In the treaties of *Westphalia*, the *French* and *Swedish* plenipotentiaries made some difficulty to grant it to the emperor alone; but the plenipotentiaries of the emperor having insisted upon the antiquity of the practice, there was, at last, no alteration made.

e THE first *Roman* emperors were proud of the title of *Cæsars*; but, in the third century, the emperors declared those *Cæsars* who were appointed to succeed them; but they had neither the imperial ornaments or power. The *Greeks* likewise called their emperors *Καισαρες*, from which the *Germans* have derived the name of *Kayser*. *Maximilian I.* granted this title to *Bezile Iwanowitz*, great duke of *Muscovy*. The same title was likewise granted to *Louis XII.* king of *France*. What is more surprising, is, that pope *Julius II.* endeavoured to make himself be called *Cæsar*, and took that title on many occasions. *Maximilian I.* revived the title of king of *Germany*, which had been used several ages before.

f THE variation which is found in the titles of the emperors proceeds chiefly from the diversity of kingdoms, which they have possessed by hereditary right. *Charlemain* sometimes called himself king of the *French*, with the assistance of God, governing the *Gauls*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, and the neighbouring provinces. *Charles the Bald*, and *Otho the Great*, both bore the title of king of *Lorraine*. *Otho III.* entitled himself the *Roman Saxon*, and *Italian* servant of the apostles, by the blessing of God, august emperor of the *Roman* world [empire.] *Henry VI.* to the title of emperor, added that of king of *Sicily*. *Frederic II.* stiled himself emperor and king of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*; to which *Conrad IV.* joined the title of duke of *Suabia*. *Charles IV.* and *Wenceslaus*, entitled themselves likewise kings of *Bohemia*; *Sigismund* called himself king of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Servia*. *Frederic III.* took the title of emperor of the *Romans*, always august, duke of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, count of *Tirol*. *Maximilian*, to the title of the elected emperor, and king of *Germany*, joined that of the provinces of the *Low Countries*. *Charles V.* still gave a greater extent to his titles, to which he joined all those of the kingdom of *Spain*. His successors have used the titles of the hereditary kingdoms, provinces, and principalities, which they possessed. And lastly, *Charles VI.* found means even to preserve to himself the title of king of *Spain*.

THE following epithets were antiently conferred upon the emperors; namely, *Picus*, *Happy*, *Grand*, *Pacifick*, *Victorious*, *Triumphant*, *Illustrious*, *Most Christian*, *Most Picus*, *Most Serene*, *Most Sacred*, *Most Glorious*, *Most High*; which are likewise common to other kings. But the epithet of *Most Invincible* is solely appropriated to the emperors. The origin of it is carried up as far as the emperor *Tiberius*. Afterwards *Charlemain* entitled himself, *Most Invincible King of the French*. The *Othos* imitated him, and the succeeding emperors have used it in the same manner. The emperor is likewise called, *The Vicar of Christ*. In the golden bull, he is called, *The Temporal Chief of the Christian people*.

IN the time of *Charlemain*, the title of *Majesty* was given to the emperor alone, not only by the states of the empire, but by foreign kings. However, from time to time, many states granted it to the kings of *France*. *Francis I.* obtained it in the treaty of peace of *Crepi*. *Louis XIII.* refused to ratify the treaty of *Ratisbon*, because the title of *Majesty* was not given him. The states of the empire, assembled at *Ratisbon*, in 1641, were going to treat that prince with the title of *Royal Dignity and Majesty*; but upon the protest made by the emperor's envoy, the word *Majesty* was suppressed. But at last, in the treaties of *Westphalia*, the kings of *France* and *Sweden*, not contenting themselves with the title of *Royal Dignity*, that of *Majesty* was granted them, which is now enjoyed by all other kings.

THE marks of honour, and the jewels of the empire, which are used at the coronation of a new emperor, consists in relicks, in imperial ornaments and dresses. The relicks have been preserved for many ages, and are said to have been transferred to *Aix la Chapelle* in the time of *Charlemain*. On the day of the emperor's coronation, they are placed on the altar, and are as follows; a part of the manger in which our Saviour lay; an arm of *St. Anne*, a tooth of *St. John the Baptist*, a part of *St. John the Evangelist's* cloak, some links of the chains with which *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. John the Evangelist* were bound; a piece of the cloth, on which our Saviour celebrated the supper with his disciples; a piece of the cloth with which he was girt when he washed his disciples feet; five thorns of our Saviour's crown; a piece of the true cross; the spear with which the body of *Jesus Christ* was pierced; a little box with some drops of the blood of *St. Stephen*; the book of the gospels which *Charlemain* used, written in letters of gold.

UNDER the name of marks of honour of the empire which serve at the coronation, are comprehended the crown, the sceptre, the imperial globe, three swords, two of *Charlemain*, and one of *St. Maurice*; three tunicks, among which is the albe or dalmatick, the stole, the girdle, the copes, the buskins, and the sandals. It is said all these served *Charlemain*; but some affirm, that they are not more antient, than *Charles IV.* because the lion of *Bohemia* is seen engraved upon one of the swords; but as the historian *Wittikind* asserts, that that sword came from the antient kings of *France*; and the emperor *Charles IV.* himself attributes these marks of honour to *Charlemain*; it is probable, that *Charles IV.* caused a lion to be engraved on the sword when he had these regalia in his possession at *Prague*, and wanted to secure the empire to his family.

BY the crown is meant the *German* crown, which the emperors have always received first. It is of pure gold, and weighs fourteen pounds. From the cincture of this crown are raised eight plates, which bend circularly, and unite at the top. Each being a particular piece they are all fastened within by means of a circle of iron, of the breadth of one's little finger. Four of these eight plates are adorned with precious stones and unpolished pearls. On the others, are figures painted, and sentences described: this crown is surmounted with a cross, enriched with seventeen brilliant stones. Behind the cross is a semicircle, supported by the crown, adorned with pearls, and having this inscription; *Conradus Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus*.

THE crown of *Milan*, which is the crown of the kingdom of *Lombardy*, or *Italy*, may likewise be reckoned among the marks of honour of the empire. The *Italians* make mention of two crowns of this name; the one of gold more antient than the other, which was kept at *Monza*; the other of iron, which was kept at *Milan*, in the church of *St. Ambrose*. This last is a circle of gold, adorned all over on the outside with stones of a great value; the inside is wholly covered with a thin plate of iron. This circle, contrary to the fashion of other king's crowns, is neither surmounted with flower work, nor rays, nor half diadems. Some carry the origin of this antient crown as high as the reign of *Theodolind*, queen of *Lombardy*, about the end of the sixth century. They pretend that she caused the circle of iron to be made of one of the nails of our Saviour's passion; and for this reason, in the thirteenth century, this crown got the name of the crown of iron. But it is probable, this crown had another origin, for as no emperor had caused himself to be crowned in *Italy* from *Frederic II.* to *Henry VII.* the inhabitants of *Milan* had found means, during that time, to seize upon the antient crown of *Lombardy*; so that *Henry VII.* caused make a new one of polished steel gilt, enriched with precious stones, with which he was crowned, and

a afterwards trusted the keeping of it to the abbot of the monastery of St. *Ambrose*. Some years after, the antient crown was restored to the inhabitants of *Monza*; but the following emperors, namely, *Lewis of Bavaria*, *Charles IV. Sigismund*, and *Frederic II.* having been crowned at *Milan*, in the church of St. *Ambrose*, it is probable that they used on these occasions the crown made by the orders of *Henry VII.* But *Charles V.* was crowned at *Bologna*, by *Clement VII.* with that crown which was kept at *Monza*. The inhabitants of *Milan*, envious of the preference given to the other crown, and desirous of extolling their own, insisted upon its antiquity, and called the other a crown of straw; which has made some authors believe, that such a crown was really kept at *Monza*.

b THE *Roman* crown has likewise been one of the marks of honours of the empire, and was the last which the emperors received, Pope *Leo VIII.* crowned *Charlemain* with a particular crown, which was very rich. Although *Lewis the Debonnair* was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, while his father was yet alive, yet pope *Stephen* afterwards crowned him at *Rheims* as emperor, and put upon his head a beautiful golden crown, enriched with precious stones of great value, which he brought with him from *Italy*. The crown, with which the emperors were crowned at *Rome* was not always the same. The popes sometimes furnished it, and sometimes the emperors themselves, or else carried with them the crown of *Germany*, which served for their coronation at *Rome*, which was the case with the emperor *Sigismund*.

c BESIDES the three crowns already mentioned, there is a fourth, which is the proper crown of the emperors, and is called in *German*, *Die Haus Crone*; it having been used since the time of *Charlemain*, who was even buried with such a crown. The emperor, *Henry II.* gave a crown of this kind to the monastery of *Cluny*. That of the emperor *Rupert* is preserved in the treasure of the palatin-house. *Rodolphus II.* caused make a very precious one, which has served the emperors of the house of *Austria*. This particular and family crown always served the emperors in those ceremonies, in which they appear with the crown on their head, because the crown of *Germany* was too weighty. However, the late emperors sometimes, instead of this crown, have worn the crown of *Bohemia*.

d THE imperial globe is but small, not being so large as a man's fist. It is made of a plate of gold, and filled with earth. It is likewise girt with a circle set with precious stones, and surmounted with a cross of gold.

THE imperial sceptre is very large; it is made of silver gilt, and without ornaments, excepting that it is terminated with six oak leaves, three of which is turned upwards, and three downwards, and surmounted with an acorn.

AMONG the imperial marks of honour are found two rings, the one large, with a large carbuncle, together with four sapphires, and four pearls: it is believed to be a present of a duke of *Brunswick*. The other ring is enriched with a ruby.

e OF the three swords which serve at the coronation, the first is very large, and upon the pommel of the handle, which is round, are seen on one side an eagle, and on the other a lion with a forked tail; the scabbard is of silver gilt, enriched with precious stones and pearls; on the broadest part of the blade these words are engraved lengthwise, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*. Then *Christus vincit, Christus regnat*. A fabulous tradition reports, that an angel brought this sword from heaven to *Charlemain*. In the other sword, which, as it is said, the martyr St. *Maurice* used, the pommel of the handle is in form of a heart. One of the sides of this pommel has no figure; the other represents the figure of a demi-half eagle, accompanied with three leopards above one another. On one side of the blade are these words, *Benedictus dos des*, and on the other side these, *Deus qui docet manus*. These two swords are kept at *Nuremberg*, the third is kept at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. It is said, likewise, to have been used by *Charlemain*. It is in the form of a sabre, and is that which the emperor carries at the coronation. The imperial habits, which serve f at the coronation, are for the most part of silk, enriched with pearls and precious stones.

They are not sacerdotal habits as some pretend, but only made in imitation of those of priests, because the emperors are the protectors and defenders of the Christian religion. Of the three tunicks, the first is a violet colour, and has the sleeves embroidered with gold and pearls; the second is of a purple colour, having the sleeves likewise embroidered as the first; the third is white, and is called the albe. It is made like the albe of priests, and is likewise called the dalmatick, because that kind of robe was first invented in *Dalmatia*; its sleeves are adorned with pearls and precious stones. The imperial stole is composed of two large bands, and resting upon the shoulders it crosses over the breast; one of the bands is embroidered with gold, and enriched with pearls and precious stones. The buskins are g adorned in the same manner, and the sandals are embroidered with gold and pearls. The stockings and breeches are likewise reckoned in the number of imperial habits.

THESE marks of honour were formerly in such veneration, that at the treaty of the emperor *Charles IV.* pope *Innocent VI.* ordained, that not only through all *Germany*, but also in

in *Bohemia*, the feast of the Spear and the Nails of our Saviour should be celebrated on the thirteenth day after *Easter*. The emperor *Sigismund* ordained, that during the solemnization of the funerals of an emperor, these relics should be exposed to the veneration of the people; which was practised at the death of *Sigismund*, and at that of *Albert*. But after the city of *Nuremberg* embraced the reformed religion, this exposing of the relics ceased, as well upon account of the outcry against them, as to prevent them from being worn by the often touching.

ANTIENLY the emperors themselves kept these marks of honour, excepting those which are preserved at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. They sent them to those who were appointed to succeed them; or else the heirs of the deceased emperor sent them to the new emperor. *Henry V.* wanting to dethrone his father, caused these marks of honour to be taken away by force; but *Albert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, persuaded *Matilda*, the widow of the same *Henry*, to send them back. After the death of *Lotharius*, *Henry the Proud*, his son-in-law, wanted to retain them, but the emperor *Conrad III.* forced him to surrender them. In the year 1189, *Frederic Barbarossa* going for the holy land, gave them to his son *Henry VI.* at whose death, his brother *Philip* retained them. Upon the death of *Otho IV.* his brother *Henry of Brunswick*, sent them to the emperor *Frederic II.* And they were given in the city of *Mentz* to *Henry of Habsburg*.

HOWEVER, certain emperors thought proper that those marks of honour should be kept in certain places, and by certain persons to whom they trusted them. *Otho III.* gave them in keeping to *Herbert*, archbishop of *Cologn*. The emperor *Philip* deposited them in the hands of *Conrad*, bishop of *Spire*; but that prelate, who had put them in the castle of *Trifels*, refused to render them to *Otho IV.* till that prince had confirmed him in his office of chancellor of the empire. *Henry V.* finding himself dying, ordered them to be shut up in the castle of *Hamerstein*. *Frederic II.* trusted them to the keeping of *Eberhard de Tanne*, baron of *Walburg*, his steward. *Otho IV.* after having been crowned at *Rome*, trusted them to the city of *Milan*. *Agnes*, daughter of the emperor *Albert I.* secured them in the castle of *Kyburg*. *Lewis of Bavaria* kept them at *Munich*, the place of his residence; however, his son, *Lewis of Brandenburg*, sent them to the emperor *Charles IV.* for the cession of the march of *Brandenburg*, and upon condition that they should be sent back either to *Nuremberg* or *Frankfort*; nevertheless, that prince, wanting to secure the empire to his family, caused them to be carried to *Prague*, and afterwards placed them in the fortress of *Karlstein*. The emperor *Sigismund*, fearing lest the *Hussites* might seize upon them, transferred them from the fortrels of *Karlstein* to that of *Wicegrad* in *Hungary*; but not thinking them in safety in that place, with the consent of pope *Martin V.* he caused them to be carried to *Nuremberg*, where he ordained them to be kept for the time to come. When they approached the city of *Nuremberg*, the magistrates were informed of their arrival; immediately the clergy went out about half a mile to meet them, and on the 16th of *March**, that treasure was received with great veneration in the city of *Nuremberg*, and was at first deposited in the church of *St. Sebald*, where it remained for some time under the guard of the two provosts of *St. Wilibald*, and *St. Laurent*, and the oldest of the burgomasters, in such a manner, that one could not open them without the others. But when the new hospital of *St. Esprit* was compleated, and consecrated by the bishop of *Bamberg*, *Sigismund* ordered the treasure to be transferred thither, and to remain under the guard of the same persons. Here it has continued ever since, and hangs from the roof of the church in an iron chest. The popes *Pius II.* and *Nicolas V.* have confirmed the privilege of being perpetual guardians of this treasure to the city of *Nuremberg*; which right at first granted by a bull from pope *Martin V.*; *Pius II.* and *Nicolas V.* have added this exception, provided the city do not wholly become heretick.

WHEN the city of *Nuremberg* embraced the Protestant religion, the *Roman* catholicks complained, that that city having become heretic, would infallibly plunder the sacred treasure, and that they had rendered themselves unworthy to keep it; and two years after they renewed the same complaints. Lastly, at the time of the coronation of *Charles VI.* the city of *Aix-la-Chapelle* represented, that they ought to have the keeping of that treasure, as well because it had the prerogative of being the first throne of the empire, a right confirmed to it by the emperor *Frederic II.* as upon account of having the keeping of the four principal marks of honour of the empire, in consequence of a privilege granted by the emperor *Rickard*. But the city of *Nuremberg* opposed this claim, and to support its rights, it published a writing, in which it made appear, that they were protected by a privilege of the emperor *Sigismund*, by the bulls of the popes, and by a possession of 300 years, without ever having been molested either by the emperors or electors.

WE shall conclude this article of the marks of honour of the empire, with a few words concerning the eagle, that is in the arms. In the first ages of the *Roman* empire, the emperors caused their image to be engraved upon their seals, but afterward they placed an eagle.

* 1424.

- a eagle. The arms of the empire are only a simple eagle, and not a double one, as some have written. The eagle of the empire is at present black, or sable, with two heads, having the bill and the feet red or gules, each of its heads is crowned with an imperial crown, and it is placed displayed in a field of gold. The first emperors used only an eagle with a single head; *Louis of Bavaria* is supposed to be the first who put upon his seal, an eagle on each side of his throne, with their heads turned to each other; and it is only from this time, that the use of an eagle, with two heads, has been introduced. *Charles IV.* imitated *Lewis of Bavaria*, but it was only towards the end of his reign that he used the eagle with two heads. *Wenceslaus*, and his successors, likewise used the eagle with two heads; yet, after their election, and before their coronation in *Germany*, they used the arms of their
- b houses: from their coronation in *Rome* to the coronation in *Germany*, they assumed an eagle with a single head; and after their coronation at *Rome*, they used the eagle with two heads. But since *Charles V.* the emperors, immediately after their election, have used the eagle with two heads. This use of the eagle with two heads, seems then not to have proceeded either from the *Romans*, nor from the two *Roman* eagles which *Arminius* took from them, nor from the division of the empire into eastern and western, but seems rather intended to signify the union of the kingdom of *Germany* with the *Roman* empire.

C H A P. VI.

c Of the King of the Romans.

- A S the title of king of the *Romans* has been often mentioned in this history, we shall mention the different acceptations, in which it hath been taken at different times. In the time of the first emperors this title was quite unknown in the sense in which it is at present understood, and even to those of the house of *Charlemain*; during which time, the emperors were, in fact, kings of the *Romans*, that is, sovereign princes of the city of *Rome*. Wherefore we have seen, that *Charlemain* having designed his eldest son to the succession of the empire, gave him the title of king of *Italy*; and that *Lewis the Debonnair* his son, and *Lotharius I.* followed his example, and gave likewise to their presumptive heirs
- d the title of kings of *Italy*, which signified at that time, what was intended by the word *Cæsar* under the first emperors, and what is meant by the title of king of the *Romans* at present.

- THIS last quality began only to be used in the time of *Otho I.* when a new kind of devotion had persuaded the princes, that the pope alone could give the crown and title of emperor. For this reason *Otho*, not daring to give the title of emperor unto his son at his coronation, he gave him the title of king of the *Roman*, which he could dispose of because he was sovereign prince of the city of *Rome*. And upon this account likewise, many emperors, though sovereigns of *Rome*, and in full possession of the empire and imperial dignity, in virtue of election, have only taken the title of king of the *Romans*,
- e till after they were crowned by the pope. And it is in this sense that the text of the golden bull must be taken, when it makes mention of king of the *Romans*; for it means him, who after the death, voluntary renunciation, or deposition of the emperor, was named by the electors to the succession of the empire, and who, although emperor in effect, yet did not take the title till after he was crowned by the hands of the pope.

At present, he is called king of the *Romans* who is chosen by the electoral princes during the life of the emperor, to have the conduct and administration of affairs, in his absence, as vicar-general of the empire, and to succeed after his death to the name and dignity of the emperor, without there being any need for another election or confirmation.

- THE golden bull has made no mention at all of the king of the *Romans* in this last signification, nor of his election. The reason is, that *Charles IV.* having no other design in publishing the golden bull, than to render the empire purely elective, and to lay the firm foundations of the electoral power and dignity, was far from making any mention of the election of a king of the *Romans* during the life of the emperor, which secures the succession of the imperial crown, and renders the empire in some measure hereditary. For this reason, the elector of *Saxony*, and the confederates of *Smalkald*, protested against *Charles V.* desirous of having his brother *Ferdinand* elected king of the *Romans*, and demanded, that before they proceeded to the election, that the emperor, with the advice of the electors, explaining the constitution of *Charles IV.* should make an edict to serve for a perpetual regulation; so that in time coming, no mention should be made of electing a king of the *Romans*
- f during the life of the emperor, unless the electors, and six other princes of the empire, should judge it necessary for the public good. That in such case, and not otherwise, the archbishop of *Mentz* might convoke the other electors, and six other princes of the em-
- g

pire, in a place proper to determine the affair; and when an election shall be judged necessary, and declared such by a decree in good form, the electors by themselves shall proceed to the election of a king of the *Romans*; who, nevertheless, shall not have the power of the government and administration of affairs, but under the authority of the emperor, to whom alone the princes and states of the empire shall be obliged by their oath to obey, and not the king of the *Romans*; that likewise none but a *German* should be made king of the *Romans*, and that three of the same family should not be elected after each other. To which the elector of *Saxony* and the other confederates added, besides, several other demands upon the same subject; but all this was moderated by an agreement concluded at *Schweinfurt*, between *Charles* and the electors and the other princes. But even this regulation of *Schweinfurt* has not been observed, and this by the intrigues of the emperors of the house of *Austria*, who have always endeavoured to elude the putting it into execution.

AN election of a king of the *Romans* was held at *Augsburgh*, about the end of the year 1689. His imperial majesty, considering his advanced age, desired to provide a successor, in order to prevent the troubles that his death might otherwise bring upon the empire, at a time when the *Turks* threatened Christendom. The electors meeting at *Augsburgh*, except those of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, who only sent their ambassadors, assembled several times in the town-house, and at last came to an unanimous opinion, and agreed upon the day of election. His majesty being informed of this deliberation again, by means of one of his gentlemen, renewed his instances with the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, that they might appear at the assembly; but they judging their presence necessary in their states, contented themselves with sending, besides their ambassadors, the princes of their house, to make their compliments to his imperial majesty, the elector of *Saxony* sending the electoral prince, and the elector of *Brandenburgh* sending his brother prince *Philip*. On the day of election, the electors who were present, and the ambassadors of the absent, assembled in the town house, and after their final deliberation, and their being clothed with the ornaments usual in this ceremony, they took the road of the church of the *Benedictines* of St. *Udalric*, the three ecclesiastic electors going first, after them the electors of *Bavaria* and the palatine, who were followed by the three ambassadors. The grand chancellor of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, who was deputed by his imperial majesty to represent the king of that kingdom, went in the middle, having on his right hand the ambassador of *Brandenburgh*, and on his left that of *Saxony*. These ministers had no electoral ornament, but were on horseback as the electors, and all magnificently dressed in black with their hats on their heads. This electoral assembly determined in favour of prince *Joseph*, already king of *Hungary*, in consideration of his imperial majesty, who had employed the armies of the empire with much success against the forces of the *Turks*, whom he had repulsed from *Germany*, more than a hundred leagues. It was these reasons and many others that induced the present electors and the ambassadors of the absent, to declare for the archduke *Joseph* king of *Hungary*, and eldest son of his imperial majesty, and to chuse him unanimously king of the *Romans*. When the news was at first brought him, and he was entreated to repair to the assembly there, to take possession of that dignity, he thanked the electors for their affection towards him, and that they had thought him not unworthy of being one day the head of *Germany*, and at the same time made appear to them, that being yet a minor, and under the power of the emperor his father, he could not dispose of himself; but that he would follow the will of his imperial majesty, so that a deputation of the members of the electoral college was sent to the emperor, not only to inform him of the election, but also to entreat him to agree to the choice which the electors had made in the person of his son the king of *Hungary*. His imperial majesty thanked the electoral assembly for the affection which they testified for his family, and said, that although the new elect, upon account of his tender age, was not in a condition to be of service to the empire, yet he ought to yield to the strength of their votes, and to the good will of the electors, and believe, that they, continuing in the same sentiments, would always contribute to assist this new king rightly to govern the state. His imperial majesty on his side also promised, that during his life he would omit nothing for the education of his son, to render him expert and worthy of the sovereign dignity which was destined for him. It was thus that his imperial majesty answered to the determination of the electoral assembly, whither he repaired an hour after with the king *Joseph*, and again repeated the same things. The new king of the *Romans* was then complimented and reconducted under a canopy to the palace by the electors, who all had their ornaments. The emperor had his imperial crown and habit, and the emperor *Joseph* was dressed after the *Hungarian* fashion, having on his head the crown of that kingdom, for he did not receive that of king of the *Romans* till the 26th of *January* in the year after, in the cathedral church of *Augsburgh*, being then twelve years of age.

BESIDES all that has been said of the formalities of the election of an emperor, and of the

- a the ceremonies of his coronation, is almost wholly observed at the election and coronation of a king of the *Romans*: among other things there is this particular, that after the election of the king of the *Romans* is made, and before it be proclaimed, the emperor is entreated by the electoral princes to come to the assembly to agree to it and ratify it. Moreover, the king of the *Romans* is not crowned with an open crown, which is called *Roman*, and no oath of fidelity is taken to him, till after the death of the emperor; and likewise he has only the title of *august*, and not that of *always august*, which is reserved for the emperor, and the eagle displayed, which he bears in his arms, has only one head. But the king of the *Romans* is without dispute, by virtue of this title, successor of the emperor after his death, and during the life of the emperor, he is the only and universal vicar, the second head and agent of the empire. When the emperor is absent from the kingdom, the king of the *Romans* has the supreme command in virtue of his dignity, on account of which, any suits that may be raised against him for debts or otherwise, are submitted, as those against the emperor, to the jurisdiction of the count palatine, and he cannot be obliged in those cases to appear before the emperor.

THE king of the *Romans* has many advantages that are common to him with the emperor, as that of presiding at the diets, of calling them with the consent of the electors, and of dismissing, of making counts and barons, of giving letters of ennobling, of granting privileges to universities, of putting rebels to the ban of the empire; and with the ordinary formalities, of recalling proscribed persons, of exchanging penalties, &c. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the emperor for his superior, and takes care as much as possible to act only in the name and by the order of the emperor. And even in the imperial capitulations, which he is made to sign at his election, it is expressly stipulated, that he shall have no administration or authority while the emperor lives.

IT must be observed, that when one is elected king of the *Romans*, who is not eighteen years of age, he is subject to this condition, that in case the empire happens to become vacant before he attains that age, he shall only act as emperor under the authority of the vicars of the empire, who shall serve him as guardians till he has acquired the years of majority stipulated by the golden bull, with this restriction, nevertheless, that all acts and ordinances pass under his name.

- d IT may likewise be remembered, that the king of the *Romans* has not all the rights, honours, and prerogatives, abovementioned, but in case of the absence of the emperor; for when the emperor is in the empire, he has no office, unless in the name, with the consent, or by the order of the emperor, to whom he is obliged to refer every thing.

THE king of the *Romans* is entitled as royal majesty by all the princes, and in processions or other ceremonies, he marches on the left hand of his imperial majesty a step or two behind him. When he is alone, the marshal of the court carries the sword before him only in the scabbard, whereas it is carried naked before the emperor. The same king entitles the emperor majesty, and calls him his lord, but the emperor gives him only the title of
e dilection.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Vicars of the Empire.

THE power of the emperor ceasing by his death, by his abdication, and by his deposition, vicars have been established, who, in such cases, are to take the reins of government into their hands, and charge themselves with the administration of the empire. These vicars are of two kinds, some are established during the life of the emperor, upon
f account of absence or other hindrance; others are only during the vacancy of the empire. During the life of the emperor, the king of the *Romans* is by right vicar-general of the empire, and exercises this office either by the concession of the emperor, or when the emperor is prevented by some hindrance. The other vicars are those of the kingdom of *Germany*, of the *Roman* empire, of the kingdom of *Italy*, and the kingdom of *Arles*; although in the last interregnum the vicars of the kingdom of *Germany* have exercised the rights of vicariate in *Italy*.

g ANCIENTLY indeed, under the *Saxon* emperors, neither law nor custom had yet established perpetual vicars. When the emperors went into *Italy*, or when they undertook any other journey without the bounds of the empire, they either caused their sons to be declared kings of the *Romans*, or they named some other persons to be provisors of the empire. Thus *Otho the Grand* being called into *Italy*, trusted to *Herman Billing* the administration of his duchy of *Saxony*, a province then so large, that bestowing that government upon him, was in a manner bestowing upon him the government of the whole empire. The same emperor,

emperor, when he went against the *Hungarians*, trusted the care of the empire to his brother *Bruno*; and when after the death of *Bruno*, he went a second time into *Italy*, he established *William*, archbishop of *Mentz*, as vicar of the empire; lastly, before his third expedition into *Italy*, he appointed a diet at *Worms*, where he caused his son *Otho II.* to be elected king of the *Romans*, and declared his successor. Thus likewise *Otho III.* before he went to *Italy*, put the government of the empire into the hands of *Mathilda*, abbess of *Quedlinburgh*, his aunt. This princess even assembled two diets, the one at *Dornburgh*, the other at *Merseburgh*, although the dukes of the provinces of *Germany* appear to have exercised, each in his district, the rights of vicariate of the empire during the absence of the emperor.

UNDER the *French* emperors, vicars of this kind may likewise be observed. *Conrad II.* proposing to go into *Italy*, appointed his son *Henry*, yet an infant, as his successor, and put him under the guardianship of *Bruno*, bishop of *Ausburgh*, to whom at the same time he trusted the government of the empire. During the minority of *Henry IV.* the empress *Agnes* his mother was regent of the empire, and conducted herself chiefly by the councils of *Henry* bishop of *Augsburgh*. After *Henry* was taken from under the guardianship of his mother, it was regulated that each bishop, in whose diocese the young king should be, should provide for the publick good, and judge the affairs that were brought before the court of the prince. But during the troubles which arose under the reign of *Henry IV.* the power of the counts palatine of the *Rhine* increased. *Henry IV.* when going upon his expedition into *Italy*, established *Henry du Luc*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, as vicar of the empire. However, *Henry V.* trusted the government of the empire to his brother-in-law *Conrad*, duke of *Suabia*, and *Frederic*, duke of *Franconia*.

THE emperors of the house of *Suabia* likewise established vicars according to their pleasure. *Frederic I.* when he went to be crowned at *Rome*, named *Uladislaus*, king of *Bohemia*, as vicar of the empire. *Frederic II.* when he was about to undertake the same journey, left *Engelbert*, archbishop of *Colegn*, as provisor of the empire; the same emperor afterwards established *Henry Raspon*, procurator or regent of *Germany*. And during the interregnum, when the emperor *Richard* returned into *England* *Werner*, archbishop of *Mentz*, *Philip* of *Falkenstein*, and *Philip* of *Hohenfels*, were each declared vicars in the different provinces that were assigned them.

NEVERTHELESS, it may be observed, that under these same emperors of the house of *Suabia*, that the authority and power of the counts palatine gradually encreased. Under the reign of the emperor *Henry IV.* the credit of the count palatine was very considerable at the court; and by the *German* law, the count palatine of the *Rhine* enjoys not only during the absence of the emperor, but likewise during a vacancy of the empire, the right of the ban, beyond the *Rhine*, till within a mile of the city of *Metz*, and as far as the *Ocean*, as well as in *Flanders*. However, this right of the ban has not been granted to him by the emperors. There is likewise an antient ordonnance, in which the office of count palatine is mentioned, it bears that the count palatine is always by right the representative or lieutenant of the kingdom. Lastly, how great the power of the counts palatine was, may be understood from this; that in the election of *Rodolphus* of *Habsburgh*, and in that of *Henry VII.* the other electors promised to acknowledge him as emperor whom he should name.

ALTHOUGH the power of the counts palatine had, as it were, secured to them the vicariate of the empire; nevertheless, the emperors still reserved to themselves the right of establishing vicars. *Henry VII.* at the diet of *Spire*, trusted the government of the empire to his son *John*, king of *Bohemia*. The emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* granted to *Theodoric*, count of *Cleves*, the vicariate of *Westphalia* between the *Rhine* and the *Wefer*. The same emperor established *Otho* of *Austria* vicar of the empire; and in 1338, at the diet of *Frankfort*, he created *Edw.* king of *England*, vicar-general thro' all *Germany*. *Ch. IV.* established *Rodolphus II.* count palatine, and his brother-in-law, as vicar through all *Germany*, and likewise granted the same title to *Rupert the Old*; and although by the golden bull he ordained, that the elector palatine and the elector of *Saxony* should be vicars of the empire at the death of the emperor, yet some years after, he named his brother *Wenceslaus*, duke of *Luxemburgh*, and *Prenslaus*, duke of *Tschen*, vicars of the empire. At last, in the year 1375, he granted the vicariate of the empire to the palatine by a particular decree. Nevertheless, the emperor *Wenceslaus* established new vicars according to his fancy. But as he abused his power, the electors, while he was prisoner, named *Rupert* count palatine, as vicar of the empire; at the same time, they determined that the right of chusing such a vicar did not belong to the emperor, but to the electors of the empire.

In the year 1401, the emperor *Rupert* established his son *Lewis the Bearded*, vicar of the empire, with this clause, That hitherto it had been observed, and the electors palatine had the right, as they have still, of exercising the vicariate of the empire, in *Germany*, *France*, and

- a and the kingdom of *Arlus*, during the absence of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, when they went into *Italy*. Nevertheless, the emperor *Sigismund* gave *Frederic*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, the title of vicar, with full power in the empire; and when he carried his arms into *Bohemia*, he established *Conrad III.* archbishop of *Mentz*, vicar of the empire. However, *Lewis* count palatine having protested against this disposition, the archbishop of *Mentz* renounced the vicariate in presence of *Otho*, archbishop of *Triers*, and *Theodoric*, archbishop of *Cologne*, who had been chosen as arbiters in this affair. When the same emperor went to be crowned at *Rome*, he left *Lewis* count palatine as vicar of the empire, who nevertheless took only the title of vicar, in the countries which follow the law of *Franconia*. Under the reign of the same emperor, it was proposed to establish four vicars for the support of the public peace, to each of which vicars a standard of the empire should be given; but this scheme never took place. When *Frederic III.* went into *Italy* to his coronation, *Frederic* count palatine, in virtue of the right of his palatinate, exercised the vicariate, and was confirmed in that exercise by the electors. And when it was deliberated in the diet of *Worms* *, about establishing a regency in the empire, to administer the government during the absence of the emperor, *Maximilian I.* granted to *Philip* count palatine, that he, his heirs and successors, should enjoy the vicariate in the empire without any opposition. However, at the diet of *Constance* *, the emperor *Maximilian I.* granted to *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, the right of exercising the general vicariate, when the emperor should be absent; however, he gave him as assistants, some princes of the empire.
- c But the elector palatine *Philip*, who was then proscribed, protested against this concession. The same emperor, eight years afterwards, established the king of *Hungary* his vicar-general, and that of the empire. But afterwards the vicariate was confirmed to the counts palatine of the *Rhine*, by several privileges of *Charles V.* *Rodolphus II.* and *Maximilian II.*

* 1495.

* 1507.

- THE time is not agreed upon when the elector of *Saxony* began to enjoy the vicariate. Some authors affirm, that the dukes of *Saxony* were from the beginning vicars of the empire; they found their affirmation on this, that the *Germans* have always been divided into *Franks* and *Saxons*, and likewise, that *Herman Billing*, duke of *Saxony*, was settled provisor of the kingdom of *Germany* by the emperor *Otho I.* But although *Charles IV.* seemed to have regard to that distinction in the golden bull, yet it cannot be from thence concluded, that the first dukes of *Saxony* enjoyed the vicariate, since under the *French* emperors, and under those of the house of *Suabia*, there was no law that established vicars in the empire. It is more probable, that the dukes of *Saxony* have arrived at the dignity of vicars by means of the power and authority of the office of arch-marshal, which in the twelfth century was united to their duchy. In effect, the marshal of the empire had the direction of the troops, and his office gave him a great power, especially in the absence of the emperor. From whence it happened, that while the count palatine regulated the public and civil affairs, the direction of the troops by degrees procured to the marshal the right of vicar in the empire. However, there was this difference between the duke of *Saxony* and the elector palatine, that the last was vicar in virtue of very ancient titles, whereas the duke of *Saxony* enjoyed it only by concession.
- c

THE elector of *Saxony* then exercises this right of vicar as arch-marshal of the empire, according as it is expressed in the *German* law. But this prerogative is not attached to the duchy of *Saxony*, or else the other dukes of the empire might pretend to the same right; nor is it attached to the right of palatinate of *Saxony*; for anciently the title of palatine was given to counts, and at the time when the *German* law was committed to writing, the land-graves of *Thuringen* enjoyed the same right. By degrees the office of arch-marshal acquired to the electors of *Saxony* the privilege of vicar, till *Charles IV.* confirmed it to them by the golden bull.

- BUT although by the golden bull the vicariate has been granted to the elector palatine and that of *Saxony*, at least during the vacancy of the empire, nevertheless the emperors ever since that time, have named other vicars, when they have undertaken any journey out of the empire. In this case, the electors palatine and of *Saxony* took precautions to secure their vicariate, and procured a writing, bearing that this disposition should not in any manner prejudice their right; and even when *Maximilian* went into *Italy*, and established *Frederic III.* called *the Wise*, as his lieutenant, and that of the empire, he gave a writing to the two electors, in which he declared, that he did not pretend in any manner to prejudice them in the vicariate, which still more confirmed their right. Lastly, *Charles V.* did the same when he went into *Spain*, and at the time of his expedition into *Africa*.
- f

- ANCIENTLY, after the death of the emperor, the elector palatine enjoyed alone the vicariate of the empire; however, he exercised it very rarely, because the greatest part of the emperors took care to make their sons be acknowledged as their successors. The original of their right seems to be owing to this, that sometimes the counts palatine were charged with carrying the marks of honour to the new emperor, as count *Eberhard*, who
- g

carried them to *Henry the Fowler*; and count *Henry*, who presented them to *Frederic II.* a
 This right might likewise proceed from this, that the count palatine was the only one beside the archbishop of *Mentz*, who could convoke to the election under the pain of the ban. However, it is thought that the first confirmation of this right was only given by *Rodolphus of Habsburgh*; for although pope *Clement V.* claimed this vicariate by a particular constitution which he published, the diet of *Francfort*, and the emperor *Lewis of Bavaria* vigorously opposed this encroachment. And when *John XXII.* claimed the same right, *Charles IV.* opposed him by the golden bull. The same emperor confirmed the vicariate to the elector palatine and the elector of *Saxony*. *Maximilian I.* did the same, and *Charles V.* approved the concessions of those two emperors. *Charles IV.* ordained by the golden bull, that as oft as the Holy Empire should become vacant, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, b
 arch-steward, shall be provisor or vicar of the empire in the division of the *Rhine* and of *Suabia*, and in the countries which follow the law of *Franconia*, upon account of the principality and the privilege of the county palatine; and the elector of *Saxony*, arch-marshal of the empire, shall be provisor in the countries which follow the *Saxon* law.

By this division, *Charles IV.* seemed to have in view the antient division of the people of *Germany* into *Franks* and *Saxons*, because the law of *Franconia*, and the *Saxon* law, were the laws most followed in *Germany*. In consequence of this division, the rights of the vicariate of the count palatine extend over all where the law of *Franconia* was formerly received; and according to the division at present used in *Germany*, they extend over the seven circles of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, the *Upper Rhine*, the *Lower Rhine*, and c
Burgundy. But the countries of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, and *Burgundy*, have withdrawn themselves from the vicariate of the count palatine; the two first under pretence that they never followed the law of *Franconia*, and the last, pleading the transaction of *Augsburgh* *; by which transaction they affirm, the right of vicariate over *Burgundy* was granted to the king of *Spain*, although in reality the terms of that transaction rather imply, that the lands of *Burgundy* should be under his protection, keeping, and defence, as the other princes and states of the empire. Besides, some time after, *Charles V.* demanded the vicariate of the *Low Countries* for his son *Philip*, without being able to obtain it.

THE vicariate of *Saxony* comprehends the circles of *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, and that of *Westphalia*; so that it extends over all *Saxony*, and over the *Marche*, *Westphalia*, *East-* d
Friseland, *Thuringen*, *Misnia*, *Pomerania*, *Holstein*, *Bohemia*, *Lusace*, and *Moravia*. The vicariate of the elector of *Saxony* is not at present disputed by any one; but the elector of *Bavaria* not a long time ago claimed both the electorate and vicariate of the count palatine. The *Bavarian* pretended that the rights of the electorate belonged anciently to the house of *Bavaria*, and by the translation of the palatine electorate into his house, these rights acquired a new force; and as the vicariate was united to the electorate, the electors of *Bavaria* could not be invested with the other. The palatine pleaded, that the vicariate was not united to the electorate, but to the county palatine, which had not been transferred to the house of *Bavaria*, and that he having been re-established in that country by the treaty of *Westphalia*, the investiture given to the duke of *Bavaria* was annulled by this e
 same peace. During the whole interregnum, this difference was often debated with much eagerness, and occasioned great disturbance in the electoral college; however, nothing was then decided, unless that the elector of *Saxony* and the imperial chamber acknowledge the vicariate of the elector of *Bavaria*. In the year 1670, *William Egon of Furstemberg*, proposed a certain project of union, and *Maximilian Henry*, archbishop of *Cologne*, having been chosen for mediator with *Philip William*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, it was proposed to create a third vicariate; but this not succeeding, it was proposed a new to render the vicariate common betwixt the two electors, which likewise did not succeed, so that the question is still undecided.

THE rights of the vicars of the empire are fixed by the golden bull; they are to be provisors of the empire, with power to administrate justice, to present to ecclesiastical benefices, to order the collection of the revenue and public money, to give the investiture of fiefs, and to receive the oaths of fidelity for, and in the name of the empress. However, they have appropriated to themselves several other rights, in virtue of the privileges which they have obtained, or by means of the customs which have been introduced. But what is not granted to the emperor, cannot be permitted to the vicars; in particular, they are prohibited from alienating or mortgaging the possessions of the empire, two, things which at the time of the golden bull, were not forbid to the emperors by any perpetual law.

THE first right that belongs to them is the exercise of justice. As soon as the emperor is dead, the aulic council is shut up, and the vicars, each in their district, cause an edict to be published, by which they give notice, that they will administrate justice to every one. Each vicar then informs a council in his court, which is called the regency of the vicariate, and which exercises the rights of the aulic council, even in cases which concern royal fiefs.) g

a fiefs. But the imperial chamber, which equally depends upon the states of the empire, and whose jurisdiction extends over all *Germany*, is continued under the name of the two vicars. All dispatches which come from it are sealed with their seal, and signed by the president of the chancery, and the first secretary. The chamber of *Rotweil*, and the rest in *Franconia*, act only under the authority of the palatine, under his name and seal, because their jurisdiction does not extend over the lands of this vicariate. The right of proroguing the diets with the consent of the electors, and that of publishing decrees, ought likewise to be added to the rights of the vicars.

By the second right, which consists in presenting to ecclesiastic benefices, is ordinarily understood the right of first prayers, which the vicars of the empire may exercise, in case b any benefice become vacant during the interregnum. However, as this right of first prayers has always been reserved to the emperor, and the exercise of it claimed by *John George*, elector of *Saxony*, during his vicariate *, remained without effect by the opposition that it met with from the new emperor; and besides, as it is opposed by the treaty of *Osnaburgh*, which ordains the first prayers to be regulated according to the custom of the year 1624; some affirm, that by this right of first prayers, is meant only the right of patronage, which belongs to the emperor over the prebends of *Aix la-Chapelle*, *Spire*, *Bamberg*, *Strasburgh*, and *Rome*. Nevertheless, in the last interregnum, as well as in others, the vicars of the empire have enjoyed the right of first prayers, which they have addressed to the chapters within the bounds of their vicariate; but indeed this right of first prayers only takes place c over the prebendaries which become vacant during the interregnum.

THE third right of the vicars of the empire, authorizes them to collect the revenue and public money of the empire. As it is a public collection, it follows, that it must not be turned to their own advantage, but undertake it gratuitously for the good of the empire, for the advantage of which they may employ this money, but are still bound to give an account of it to the new emperor.

THE fourth right, which is the power of giving the investiture of the fiefs of the empire, and to receive the oaths of fidelity, for, and in the name of the empire, suffers an exception. The fiefs of the princes, counts, and barons of the empire, are exempted from their jurisdiction of the vicars, and the investiture of these belongs only to the emperor, or king d of the *Romans*.

BESIDES, other rights are attributed to the vicars of the empire, of which no mention is made in the golden bull. For instance, 'tis said they may create nobles, legitimate bastards, grant privileges, &c. The rights are supported by particular privileges, such as those of the emperor *Rupert* granted to *Louis*, elector palatine, or upon long established customs. The power of the vicar expires upon the return of the emperor to the empire, or when a new emperor is elected. However, the presence of the new elected is requisite; for, from the death of *Maximilian I.* to the arrival of *Charles V.* the vicars continued to exercise their rights in the empire, and this is likewise confirmed by the last capitulation, which ordains, that the powers of the vicars shall continue till the emperor has signed the capitulation, e against which clause, however, the other states of the empire protested. When the emperor is present, the vicars resign the empire into his hands, and give him the register of the acts which have been made during the interregnum; and the emperor is bound to approve and ratify all that they have done. The capitulation of *Charles V.* contains the ratification of what passed during the vicariate; this ratification is omitted in the capitulations of the emperors *Leopold* and *Joseph*, but it has been inserted in that of *Charles VI.*

THE vicars of the *Roman* empire, and the kingdom of *Italy*, were distinguished from the vicars whom we have mentioned. Some, even contrary to the truth of history, have attributed to the popes the right of vicariate; but it appears, that the counts of the palace of *Lateran*, who were charged with defending the rights of the emperor, were the ordinary vicars of the *Roman* empire, for sometimes extraordinary vicars were established. In the time of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the principal senators of *Rome* were called vicars, and it was them who crowned that prince. If *Benedict XII.* after having excommunicated *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, took the title of vicar of the *Roman* empire, the decree of the diet of *Frankfort* fully derogated from that pretended right. In the last interregnum, the vicars of *Germany* regulated also the affairs of *Italy*. f

SEVERAL emperors established other particular vicars. *Otho III.* established *Hugh*, marquis of *Tuscany*, vicar of *Italy*: *Thomas*, count of *Savoy*, called himself the vicar of *Frederic II.* in the *Romagna*. The same emperor left in the *Marche* of *Italy*, count *Gevehard*, of *Saxony*, and count *Theatin*, to take care of the affairs of the empire in that province, and g named the bishop of *Turin* as his vicar. In the time of *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*, *Rodolphus* *Hobence* and *Pinzival Elise*, were created vicars of *Italy*, and *John d'Arenis*, vicar in *Tuscany*. *Adolphus* of *Nassau* sent *John de Gabilon* into *Tuscany*, with the commission of vicar. *Henry VII.* established vicars at *Turin*, at *Rist*, and *Padua*. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* granted the vicariate

* 1657.

vicariate of the city and county of *Pistoya* to *Castruccio*, and established *Otto* of *Austria*, a vicar at *Padua*. In a writing of the emperor *Sigismund*, *Burnor de Secla* is called vicar-general of *Verona*. Under the reign of *Rupert*, *Nicholas*, marquis of *Est*, entitled himself vicar for the holy *Roman* empire in the city and territory of *Medena*; and at the same time, *Francis de Carra* was vicar of the empire at *Padua*.

THE vicariate of *Milan* still continues at this day. *Matthew*, viscount of *Milan*, was established vicar of the emperor through all *Lombardy*, by *Adolphus* of *Nassau*; and all the people of that country were enjoined to obey him as proxy of the empire, an office confirmed by the emperors *Albert* and *Charles IV.* In the year 1373, *Charles IV.* revoked the office of vicar of *Savoy*; but in 1422, *Lewis*, duke of *Savoy*, obtained of the emperor *Sigismund*, the vicariate of the empire over all the cities, fortresses, castles, towns, dominions, and territories, which he possessed in *Piedmont*. And although in the act then made, there was no mention made of his successors, this prince, however, assumed the title of perpetual vicar of the holy *Roman* empire. *Maximilian I.* granted to *Philibert the Fine*, duke of *Savoy*, the vicariate over the bishoprick of *Lyons* and its neighbourhood; and by a privilege of *Ferdinand II.* this vicariate was extended over the other territories of *Savoy*, especially over those which, by the peace of *Ratisbon**, have been dismembered from the marquisate of *Montferrat*, and ceded to the house of *Savoy*. In the last century, *Charles III.* duke of *Mantua*, having taken the party of the emperor and king of *Spain*, *Ferdinand III.* gave him the title of vicar of the empire. But the duke of *Savoy* having protested against this disposition, and at the time of the election of the new emperor, having demanded that this vicariate of *Mantua* might be suppressed, he obtained by the capitulation what he desired. The office of vicars of *Italy* consisted in representing the emperor, as well during his life as after his death; in receiving the homages of vassals, in deciding differences, and in exercising several other rights of this nature. Besides, all rights of superiority were ceded to them within the bounds of their vicariate; however, they could not exercise them as lieutenants and delegates.

THE kingdom of *Arles* has also had its vicars. Among others, mention is made of two, *Charles*, dauphin de *Vennois*, who was established vicar during his life, and the count of *Savoy*. *Charles IV.* established *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*, vicar of the empire through all the extent of his country; but only during the good pleasure of the emperor. *Sigismund* confirmed to *Amadeus VIII.* all the rights which his predecessors had granted him. *Maximilian I.* and *Charles V.* confirmed the same vicariate; adding, that the dukes of *Savoy* ought to be true vicars of the empire, especially in the cities and dioceses of *Lyons*, *Macon*, and *Grenoble*, as far as they are subject to the empire, and under the jurisdiction of the duchy of *Savoy*; so that all the vassals of the empire should pay the homages for their fiefs in the name of the empire, and carry their appeals to the tribunal of the said duke. This same vicariate was afterwards extended to the other territories of *Savoy* by the emperor *Charles V.* *Ferdinand I.* and *Rodolphus II.* which was confirmed by the emperors *Matthias* and *Ferdinand II.* *Charles*, duke of *Burgundy*, demanded likewise to be established vicar of the empire in the territories of *Burgundy*, and offered to restore to the empire all the lands which formerly were under its dominion; but *Frederic III.* refused his demand, under the pretence that it could not be granted without the consent of the electors. Lastly, we shall observe, that by the capitulation of *Joseph*, king of the *Romans*, the guardianship of that prince was trusted to the vicars of the empire till he arrived at the age of eighteen years; whereas, formerly, the nearest relations were chosen for guardians to the emperors and kings of the *Romans*, during their minority.

THE HISTORY of the IMPERIAL CITIES.

SOME distinguish the cities of the empire into Free Cities, Mixt, and Municipal. They call those Free Cities which hold immediately of the empire, and which have a seat and voice in the diets; those are called Mixt Cities which have put themselves under the protection of some prince, and have neither seat nor voice in the diets, but are exempt from the jurisdiction of their protectors, to whom, nevertheless, they pay a quit-rent, and promise fidelity: lastly, the Municipal Cities are those which are entirely subject to the states.

If antiquity be searched, it will be granted that there has been Mixt Cities, as well as Imperial and Municipal Cities. The cities of *Erford*, *Brunswick*, and *Magdeburgh*, are examples of this; they did not hold immediately of the empire, and yet were not subject to any

a any particular state. But at present the cities are only either Imperial, when they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the states, and hold of the empire; or Municipal, when they depend upon some particular state. It is thus that the cities of Germany, are distinguished in the records of the empire.

SOME of the Municipal towns enjoy several privileges, which they have obtained from their lords by money, or which they have preserved since the alliance of the Hans towns; of which number are the cities of *Stralsund*, *Wismar*, *Brunswick*, *Rostock*, *Hildesheim*, *Osnaburgh*, &c. although they enjoy many immunities.

o LIKEWISE those ought not to be called Mixt Cities, which, although holding immediately of the empire, upon account of criminal jurisdiction, or some duties, yet depend upon a neighbouring prince, by virtue of a particular convention, or by the title of advocacy, or imperial prefecture. As they are entirely immediate, and have a seat and voice in the diets, they are purely Imperial cities. In effect, we see even principalities and counties, which, although other states exercise several rights in them, yet are acknowledged as purely immediate. *Cologne* and *Wetzlar*, consequently, are Imperial cities; although the criminal jurisdiction be exercised in the first by the elector of *Cologne*, and in the second by the landgrave of *Darmstadt*.

c THERE are cities appointed for the general affairs of the empire; for example, *Frankfort upon the Main* is appointed for the election of the emperor; *Aix-la-Chapelle* for the coronation; and *Nuremberg* for the first diet which the new emperor holds: they have a power of reversion granted to them, in case these solemn acts are done in other cities. There are also cities that have the right of convocation, that is, to demand an assembly as oft as necessity requires it; these are, *Strasburgh*, *Nuremberg*, *Frankfort*, and *Ulm*; but the first does not depend at present upon the empire. Lastly, the city of *Rutlingen*, by a privilege of the emperor *Maximilian*, enjoys the right of a general sanctuary of the empire.

d THE interest of all the imperial cities, which are divided, as has been seen, into those of the bench of the *Rhine*, and those of the bench of *Suabia*, consists in the peaceable enjoyment of their franchises, rights, immunities, privileges, and especially of their immediate-interest in preserving and protecting them against those who would trouble them. The emperor, in truth, considers these cities as states which support his authority, and which counterbalance that of the electors and other princes; besides, it is those cities alone which pay into the coffers of the empire the greatest part of the *Roman* months, and of the tax of the chamber of *Spire*. It is upon this account also, that this chamber follows, and selection, upon all occasions, the intentions of the emperor, to concur with him in their proposals laws, customs, and statutes, coin money with their arms; have a right to lay upon themselves what is to supply their publick wants, and to regulate the taxes and contributions. In short, they do within themselves, and in their territories, whatever the princes of the empire can do within the extent of their states. To speak properly, they are aristocratical republics, mixt with democracy; the principal citizens compose the senate, whose authority is moderated by the tribes. Yet the city of *Nuremberg* must be excepted, which ought to be considered as a pure aristocracy. All authority there is in the hands of a certain number of patrician families, who form the senate.

The Cities of the Bench of the *Rhine*.

f THE city of *Cologne*, the first and greatest of this bench, is also the most constant in the *Roman* religion, having inviolably preserved the ancient doctrine of the church; here is likewise the most famous university of Germany.

g THE magistrates, at the expence of the citizens, support the fortifications and garrison; and as the particular interest of this city depends upon the continual vent which they have of commodities going up and down the *Rhine* to Germany and *Holland*, its principal correspondence towards the head of the *Rhine*, is with the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Strasburgh*, and *Frankfort*; as that which it hath towards the mouth, is with the *United Provinces* and *Low Countries*. In the time of the *Romans*, it was called *Colonia Ubiorum*, a colony of the *Ubii*; because it was inhabited by a people called *Ubii*, who had been brought on the side of the *Rhine*, there to inhabit after having taken the oath of fidelity. It was after that called *Colonia Agrippina*, either upon account of *Agrippa*, the great and wise captain, who had commanded the *Roman* armies towards the *Rhine*, and who was son-in-law to the emperor *Augustus*, or upon account of *Agrippina*, daughter of *Germanicus*, and mother of *Nero*, who was born in this city.

THE emperor *Otto III.* made *Cologne* an imperial city, and granted it in the year 993, at the diet of *Worms*, all the privileges which it enjoys (Z). Nevertheless, we know that *Conrad of Hensbat*, *Engelberg of Valkenburg*, *Sigfrid of Weßerburgh*, and many other archbishops have contended about its liberty, till the year 1297. But then, under the reign of the emperor *Adolphus*, the inhabitants presumed to march a body of troops against their archbishop, as far as *Weringen*, in the country of *Brabant*, there having offered him battle, and thrown the keys of their city upon the field, as the reward of the victory; they gained it, and with it their keys and their liberty. They celebrate the memory of this every year with a great deal of ceremony.

THE government of this city is in the hands of tribes, at the head of each of which are two tribunes; the office of consul is the chief: there are six of them, two of which are consuls regent every year. There are also particular magistrates for the civil and criminal administration. All these magistrates are changed every year. But the two syndics and two secretaries of state are during life. The militia is divided into eight battalions, which are composed each of eight companies.

Aix-la-Chapelle.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE was so called upon account of the devotions which the emperor *Charlemain* commonly paid at the solemn feasts in the great church which he had caused to be built and endowed to the honour of the Holy Virgin, in which he kept a chapel, as the emperors his successors have practised, and still practise in the places where they have their residence. We have said already that in *Latin* it was called *Aquisgranum*, upon the account of very healthful hot baths, which one *Granus* had found there, and caused to be fitted up. It has been the most magnificent of all the imperial cities; it has been called also the Royal City, because, perhaps, the golden bull ordains, that the emperor shall there receive the first crown. There is still preserved *Charlemain's* sword, with the sword belt, and the book of the gospel in gold letters, which usually serve for the consecration of the emperors, as they served in the year 1658, at *Frankfort* for that of *Leopold*, and at *Augsburgh* for the consecration of *Joseph*, in 1690. The government is in the hands of the great and little senate; the first is composed of 129 persons; it judges criminal affairs, and the different interests of particular persons. The two consuls regent are at the head of that council, and collect the votes. The little senate has 41 members; the affairs of the police, and those that concern trades and commerce are carried before it; it is also charged with the administration of the publick revenues. The duke of *Brabant* has the right of protection of the city. The duke of *Juliers* is named burgomaster, or perpetual mayor of the burghers, and the trades name every year to the offices of consuls, senators, sheriffs, and other magistrates. The inhabitants profess some the Catholic religion, and others the Protestant, according to the treaty of the peace of *Westphalia*.

Straßburgh.

STRASBURGH, that is, Town of the Street, through which is the passage from *France* into *Germany*; inasmuch as *Attila*, after having ruined the city, made a high-road of it. It hath been always called in *Latin*, *Argento ratum*, and some have also called it in *German*, *Silbertal*, that is, Money-Town, because the *Romans* kept their publick exchequer of the tribute there. It is the richest and most regular fortified city of *Germany*. The river *Ill*, which passes through the middle of it, divides it into two parts, which have a communication with one another by several bridges. The city also maintains a wooden bridge of piles over the *Rhine*, which brings in a great revenue for the toll, and it has a very fine magazine. As to religion, the magistrates and rectors of the university all profess the confession of *Augsburgh*, and were formerly in possession of the cathedral church, and of all the other churches; so as that the Catholics had only a small church of the commandery of *St. Anthony*, where they had the exercise of their religion. But things are altered there with regard to this, since the Most Christian king has made good his pretensions to that city, and likewise to the other states, which, like it, depend upon the *Lower Alsace*. He made himself master of it the first of *October*, 1682, by the lucky and prudent negotiation of the marquis *de Louvois*: it has been since yielded to him by the truce of 1683, and by the treaty of *Ryswick*.

Lubeck.

LUBECK (A), an imperial city, the antient abode of the *Sclavonians* and *Henetes*,

(Z) These privileges consist in this, that there is no appeal from the decisions of its magistrates, unless the action be for a sum above 3000 florins of the *Rhine*; that there is no appeal from their sentence likewise for penalties or corporal punishments; in an entire exemption from the paying of toll by its inhabitants, those of *Doppart*, *Werden*, and *Doußburg*; and that no fortress, or redoubt, shall be built between *Reindorff* and *Sudendorf*, upon the two banks of the *Rhine*.

(A) This city was built at the entry of the *Limbric Cherfonesus* by *Adolphus*, count of *Holstein*, in the time

of the emperor *Conrad III.* *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, having taken it shortly after, founded a bishoprick there, according to an inscription which is read upon the front of the castle of *Eulin*, where that bishop resided. After the death of this duke, *Lubeck* returned to the count, then fell to *Cannute*, king of *Denmark*. The *Danes* after that being expelled, it became an imperial city under *Frederic II.* It is governed aristocratically, and *Hamburgh* by a mere democracy.

- a and at present the chief of the hans towns, is situated in *Lower Saxony*, in *Wagria*, between the rivers *Trave*, *Stucknis*, and *Wacknis*. This place having been seized sometimes by the duke of *Saxony*, sometimes by the king of *Denmark*, was, at last, restored to its liberty by the authority of the emperor *Fredric II.* after the *Danes* had been expelled; and thus the city was declared free and imperial in the year 1209; since then it has become elegant and rich, although it has suffered greatly by fires, and from the furious attacks of those that wanted to seize upon its liberty; and, for the better preservation of this, it keeps up its fortifications with great care. Its principal traffick is with the cities of the *Baltick-Sea*, and with the northern countries, by the means of the port which it has at the mouth of the *Trave*, commanded by a fort called *Travemunde*. The Catholics have neither a church, nor the public exercise of their religion there.
- b All the inhabitants of the towns and villages around follow the confession of *Augsburgh*, as do also the bishop and canons of *Lubeck*. Its government is, in some manner, aristocratical; for only the principal families have the privilege of a seat in the senate; it is composed of twenty-two members; namely, four burgomasters, two syndics, and sixteen counsellors, each of which has his distinct department. Ecclesiastical affairs are determined by the consistory, which is composed of a syndick, who presides, of a superintendant, five ministers, and four counsellors. The appeal from their decisions is carried before the senate. This city manages its commerce and its interests so prudently with the kings of the North, and the houses of *Brunswick* and *Hulstein*, that it makes itself respected by the other princes and neighbouring states, as well
- c as by the emperor. Its principal privileges are, the having the liberty to present alternately, with the circle of *High* and *Low Saxony*, an assessor for the imperial chamber, and to judge in the last resort as far as 500 florins.

WORMS is a pretty considerable city of note, upon account of its antiquity, and situated on this side the *Rhine*. In the time of the *Romans*, it was known under the name of *Borbetomagus*. It was almost entirely ruined in the war of 1688. And the losses which it suffered were estimated at almost nine millions. The Catholics there are in possession of the cathedral churches, with some monasteries; but the magistrates, and the most of the citizens, are of the confession of *Augsburgh*. The senate of this city is composed of twenty-five members, thirteen of whom are perpetual. There is an appeal from their judgments to the council of the bishop; but that prelate, by an agreement with the city, must send the appeals to be laid before the imperial chamber. The elector palatine has the right of protection of this city, which nevertheless pays homage to its bishop.

Worms.

SPIRE is a pretty large city, situated likewise on this side the *Rhine*. It is principally noted for the imperial chamber, which assembled there (B). The Catholics, as at *Worms*, are in possession of the cathedral church, with some monasteries; and the magistrates, as well as the most of the citizens, are of the confession of *Augsburgh*. The government is in the hands of tribes. The bishop appoints the pretor, together with the officers of the mint and customs. The city even swears allegiance to him, yet upon condition that he shall make no attempt upon their privileges and liberties; on his side the prelate is bound, before he makes his entry, to shew to the magistrates his bulls from *Rome*, and the emperor's patents of investiture in the original. The city had obtained from the emperor *Charles IV.* the privilege of hindering any castle or fort from being built within the distance of three leagues of its walls; and this privilege was confirmed to it by the emperor *Sigismund*. Yet *Philip Christopher*, elector of *Triers*, and bishop of *Spire*, caused the fort of *Philipsburgh* to be built, without meeting with any opposition from the emperor or empire. It preserves, among other privileges, that of freedom in its commerce with *Mentz* and *Cologne*. This city, and that of *Worms*, remain in peace, or at least a neutrality, in case of war, that they may enjoy their liberties and privileges.

Spire.

FRANKFORT is an elegant and large city (C), and well fortified, which the river *Main* divides into two. The greatest parts retains the name of *Frankfort*, where the golden bull assigns the electors their place of assembling, when there is to be an election of the emperor, as was observed in the election of the emperor *Leopold* (D). Here are held two celebrated free fairs for five days, in spring, and in autumn. The other part of the city is called *Saxenhausen*, serving as a citadel for the other. They have a communication by a stone-bridge over the *Main*. The government is in the hands of two senates: the first judges of important affairs; the second of the police, and of the differences which arise in commerce. The people, and artificers, are at this day

Frankfort.

(B) Since the war of 1688, the imperial chamber has been transferred to *Wetzlar*, as we have before mentioned.

(C) It was antiently called *Teutoburghin*, and *Helionopolis*, which signifies, The passage of the *Franks*; because it served them for a retreat when they returned

from the *Gauls*.

(D) In the city of *Frankfort*, over the gate of *Saxenhausen*, there is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Leopold*, in which he is called *Trismegistatos*, that is, Thrice most mighty.

excluded from these two councils. The troubles of 1616, gave occasion to the magistrates to revoke, under the imperial authority, all the rights and privileges of the tribes. The magistrates and citizens are Protestants (E), and are in possession of the churches; except those of St. *Bartholomew*, of *Our Lady*, of *Lifraberg*, of St. *Leonard*, of the *Carmelites*, *Dominicans*, and *Nuns Hospitallers* of the order of St. *Anthony*, and of the *Teutonic* order, in *Saxenhausen*, where the Catholics have their exercise. The *Calvinists* have no publick exercise of their religion there.

Wetzlar.

WEIZLAR, a Protestant city in *Weteravia*, is situated at the confluence of the rivers *Dile* and *Lohn*. The senate is composed of twenty-four members, from which every year are chosen two burgomasters, who govern the states. The provostship of the city (F) belongs to the landgrave of *Darmstadt*, and therefore he intrusts it to a mayor, who is always one of his creatures, and, in his name, presides over the justice of the place: since the war of 1688, the imperial chamber has been transferred to this place from *Spire*.

Gelenhausen.

GELENHAUSEN, situated in *Weteravia*, is also a Protestant city. The elector palatine and the counts of *Hanau* pretend to the superiority of it, having acquired the rights for 8000 florins, from *Gunter*, count of *Schwartzenburgh*; to whom the emperor, *Charles IV.* had mortgaged that city in 1349; the process is still depending between the parties before the imperial chamber (G).

Haguenau.

HAGUENAU is the first of the cities of *Alsace* depending upon the prefecture, whose tribunal was established in the same city. After the treaty of *Munster*, the king of *France*, in imitation of the landgraves of *Alsace*, his predecessors, had at first preserved this provincial council, in which his great baillie, or lieutenant presided; but as it was entirely ruined in the late war, the Most Christian king has transferred this council to *Brisac*. This city then, as well as the other nine, acknowledged the king for protector, upon the same conditions that they acknowledged the emperor and the princes of *Austria* in that quality, without derogating from their immediateness, by virtue of which these ten cities pretended to remain free states of the empire. But they have submitted to the right of sovereignty, with which the king of *France* is invested, and have renounced this immediateness.

THE other nine cities are, *Colmar*, *Schlestat*, *Weisssemburgh*, *Landau*, *Oberbenheim*, *Kaiserberg*, *Munster*, in the valley of St. *Gregory*, *Rocheim*, and *Turchein*.

Dortmond.

DORTMOND has always been an imperial city (in *Westphalia*) in the county of *Marck*; but the elector of *Brandenburgh*, to whom the county belongs, at this day pretends to the sovereignty over it, as over a municipal town depending upon his country (H).

Friedberg.

FRIEDBERG, in *Weteravia*, is still a free state, like other imperial cities, and depends immediately upon the empire (I).

The Imperial Cities of the Bench of Suabia.

Ratisbon.

RATISBON is called by the *Germans* *Regensburgh*, from the river *Regens*, which runs under a fine stone-bridge, and throws itself into the *Danube* below the city, as the rivers *Luber* and *Nab* mix with it above the city. The *French* call it *Ratisbon*, in imitation of the *Latins*; it hath formerly been subject to the kings of *Bavaria*, who made it the place of their residence; but it was declared free by the emperor *Frederic I.* which does not hinder the dukes of *Bavaria* from dividing the toll with the citizens, according to an agreement between them. These princes have also the criminal jurisdiction, for which the magistrates of the city pay them homage. It is the first city of the bench of *Suabia*, and contains at present within its walls five different free states of the empire; namely, the bishop, the abbot of St. *Emmeran*, the abbesses of the *Low* and *High Munster*, and the city. The inhabitants of *Ratisbon* have the privilege not to be cited before other tribunals, unless for actions above 400 florins. The senate is composed of seventeen members, and there is a council of ten, which is charged with the government of the state. The citizens have a right to elect a chief, who judges of the affairs of the police. The Catholics have the exercise of their religion in the cathedral church, and others, and the Lutherans in three churches, which they have built.

(E) All the citizens are not Protestants; those of the confession of *Augsburgh* are only the greatest number.

(F) This dignity was given by the emperor to the house of *Nassau*, who have yielded it since to the house of *Hesse*.

(G) It enjoys almost the same privileges as the city of *Friedbourg*.

(H) The empire hitherto has had no regard to the pretensions of that prince. The city *Dortmond* holds

of the empire in chief the county of the same name? and among other privileges, enjoys the freedom from entries and tolls through the whole extent of the empire. It hath an university, founded in 1543.

(I) This city enjoys great privileges granted to it by the emperor *Fredric II.* They consist in safe-conducts, in the receipt of tolls and entries, and in the rights of bridges and marches.

a THE magistrates and officers of the city are all Protestants; and it is to be remarked, that although there are about two and twenty Catholick churches, yet there are very few Catholick citizens, the magistracy not allowing the freedom of the town to be given to Catholicks living there.

As this city is large, elegant, and full of magnificent houses, it has been chosen many years for the place of holding the diet, upon account of the conveniency, to many neighbouring princes and states, of sending their provisions by land and water, without great expence.

AUGSBURG, or the city of *Augustus* (K), so named, because the emperor *Augustus* had established a *Roman* colony there, after having reduced it by *Germanicus*. It is very large Augsburg.

b and very magnificent; its churches and other buildings are stately; and it is embellished with several fountains, which keep the houses and streets very clean. The river *Lech* runs nigh the city, over which are two large stone bridges. The town-house is a magnificent palace, where *Ferdinand IV.* was elected king of the *Romans*, the ceremony having been performed the third of *May*, 1653, in the church of the abbey of *St. Ulrick*. The Lutherans call their confession of faith by the name of this city, because here it was composed and published. It still preserves the exercise of it as in the year 1624, at which time there were in the magistracy as many Catholicks as Protestants. As to single offices, they are administrated alternately by the Catholicks and Protestants, I mean, a Catholick succeeds a Protestant, and a Protestant a Catholick. The citizens are for the most part merchants and artificers, especially in works of gold and silver, in which they excel; its manufactures are so esteemed, that they are exported through the whole world. And as the city is very populous, and well fortified, it endeavours to maintain itself by its own resources, living in good understanding with its neighbours, to avoid all insult.

(SINCE the year 1548, the authority of the tribes has been quite annihilated in this city, by a decree of the emperor *Charles V.* The government is in the hands of the patrician and noble families. They are distinguished into two classes; the old, who filled the offices in the year 1668, when the people revolted and changed the form of government; and the modern families, who have only entered into the magistracy since the reign of *Charles V.* The senate is composed of forty-five members, who divide among themselves the whole d administration of affairs. But there is another senate more numerous, consisting of 260 persons, patricians as well as plebeians; but it has the management of no affairs, and subsists only to preserve in the state a form of a republick.)

It was in this city, in the year 1690, the late emperor *Joseph* was elected and crowned; when during the life of the emperor *Leopold* his father, that prince was chosen king of the *Romans*. This city is esteemed for its cleanliness, and the only one in *Germany* which approaches nighest to the cleanliness of those in *Holland*.

c NUREMBERG, or rather *Norimberg*, has been so called upon account of the hill upon which stands the castle, called in Latin *Castrum Noricum*, round which the city was begun to be built, and where the emperors formerly lodged; and here they lodge still when they pass by that city. They there preserve, as precious relics, the crown, sceptre, cloaths, buskins, and other ornaments of *Charlemain* (L), which served also the emperor *Leopold*, when he went thither after his election, to receive the homage of the city. The small river *Regnitz*, which runs through it, and those of *Regnitz* and *Schwarzack*, which pass by its walls, furnish the inhabitants, besides other advantages, with the means of making all sorts of stuffs, dyes, and other manufactures (M), and toys, which are carried and sold even in the *Indies*. Nuremberg.

THERE are certain families called patricians, which to the exclusion of the rest possess the offices of the senate, composed of forty-two persons (N), and over which two castellans,

(K) In this city the construction of two towers is admired, which raise the water, and convey it through the whole city by more than three hundred canals, which can afford a fountain to every house. The night-gate, through which there is a passage for horse and foot, is of a very curious construction. Four or five gates open and shut after one another of their own accord, without any one putting a hand to them. Its arsenal is very fine, and its streets very neat.

(L) These ornaments are a mitred crown, enriched with rubies, emeralds, and pearls; the dalmatic of *Charlemain*, richly embroidered; the imperial mantle powdered with embroidered eagles, and its border thick set with large emeralds, sapphires, and topazes; the buskins covered with plates of gold; the gloves embroidered: the apple, the golden sceptre, and sword. The ancient custom of the empire is, that the emperor

is bound to assemble in this city the first diet that he holds after his election and coronation.

(M) There is in *Nuremberg*, and in the neighbouring villages depending upon it, an infinite number of workmen, very ingenious in making several kinds of toys of wood, which are carried through all the fairs of *Germany*, and from thence through all *Europe*. These toys are called *Nurembergs*, and they have so great a sale, that it even exceeds description. This employment affords a livelihood to the greatest part of the inhabitants of the city; and although the prices are very low, they make a very considerable profit from this traffic.

(N) Of these forty-two members, there are only thirty-four chosen from the patrician families; the other eight are taken from among the burghers, and make even in a manner a small separate body.

or perpetual seneschals, preside, the first of whom has his residence in the castle. These^a castellans assemble sometimes in the castle with five or six of the chief members, to hold a secret council (O). And as this city glories in being one of the first which embraced Lutheranism, it preserves the privilege of that in civil matters, not admitting any Catholics to the magistracy or freedom of the town; the Catholics there having the liberty only of remaining under the protection of the rest, and performing their religious worship in a commandery of *Malthe*, and this but at certain hours, not to disturb the Lutherans, who likewise assemble there, although in possession of all the other churches.

THIS city is particularly noted for its antiquity, grandeur, fortifications, its triple walls of hewn stone, its large and deep mote, its fine houses, large churches, its wide streets, always clean, and for its curious and large library, and its magazine stored with every^b thing proper for its defence. It likewise renders itself respected by the other cities and bailliages, which it hath acquired from the electors palatine, and other princes of the *Rodolphe* branch, either by mortgage, or by pure and simple purchase, in the *Iligh Palatinate*; such as *Altorf*, a fine city, with an university, *Herbrouck*, *Lauf*, *Engental*, *Gravenberg*, *Hilpoltstein*, *Hobenstein*, *Leichtenau*, *Petzenstein*, *Reicheneck*, and *Welden*, which at once serve both for the support and retreat of the principal families of the city.

Its particular interest is first to defend itself from the electors of *Bavaria*, and the princes of the *Willielmine* branch, who pretend to claim all these bailliages and cities, because they were alienated without their assent. And in the second place, to regulate the right of conduct, which the marquis of *Anspack*, burgrave or lord of *Nuremberg*, endeavours to extend even as far as the city itself, over all persons and merchandize, which go out or come in.^c This right consists in providing for the security of the people, of the attendants baggage, and goods of those who go to *Nuremberg*, or who come there, and pass through the lands of the Burgraviate. This occasions it to cultivate and espouse the authority of the emperor as much as it can, against all these pretenders, who, besides the power which the imperial dignity gives him, is their neighbour by the kingdom of *Bohemia*.

Ulm.

ULM has its name from the Latin word *ulmus*, that is, an elm, upon account of the great number of elms growing nigh that city. It is situated upon the *Danube*, and has a very fine stone bridge over that river, which begins at this place to be navigable (P). It is rich, populous, trading, regularly fortified, and embellished with a great number of^d fountains. It was formerly but a town, which *Charlemain* gave to the abbey of *Reichenaw*, and which *Lotharius II.* caused afterwards to be destroyed. But the inhabitants of the country settling there again, purchased from the abbey of *Reichenaw*, for a sum of money, their liberty and independency, and got themselves matriculated among the imperial cities; so that it has become the first of the province of *Suabia*: it keeps itself in favour not only with the emperor, but with all the other princes its neighbours. The Catholics are not very numerous there, and have only two churches, the Protestants having got possession of all the rest in the city. The senate is composed of forty-one persons, the two eldest and five of the chief of which compose the secret council, in which the Catholics are not admitted.

(THIS city has many fine privileges: it hath the keeping of the archives of all the imperial cities of *Suabia*, it is the place of their assemblies alternately with the city of *Spire*. Its inhabitants, like those of *Nuremberg*, cannot be cited to foreign tribunals. Its decisions are without appeal to the imperial chamber, as far as the sum of 600 florins. It can lay taxes upon the ecclesiasticks of its territory; and the empire can neither mortgage, sell, nor alienate it.)^e

Memingen.

MEMINGEN, (a very ancient city of *Algau*) hath this privilege, that a citizen may join to its ordinary judges a supernumerary judge, taken from one of these cities, namely, *Augsburg*, *Ulm*, *Ravensburg*, *Biberach*, or *Kempten*, which happens when a process is to be judged in the first instance. It has also the privilege of affording a sanctuary to those who are condemned to the imperial ban. The magistrates, who govern it, are chosen partly^f from the ancient families, and partly from the privileged tribes. They are all Protestants as well as the citizens.

Kaufbeuren.

KAUFBEUREN, (in *Algau*) as to the public offices, is like the city of *Augsburg*, some Catholics, some Protestants.

Esslingen.

ESLINGEN owes to the emperor *Frederic II.* its liberty and privileges, among others that of not being dismembered from the empire by sale or by mortgage. Its inhabitants

(O) This secret council is composed of seven principal chiefs of the republic, and for that reason is called *septemvirate*. It determines the most important affairs; and it is the depository of the precious stones of the empire, of the imperial crown, the ensigns, seals, and keys of the city.

(P) This city, though small, possesses a great extent

of territory, and forty bailliages and lordships depend upon it; its riches have been always admired, which consist in ready money; so that there is a *German* proverb, which says, that the ready money of *Ulm*, the clearness of *Augsburgh*, the industry of *Nuremberg*, and the arsenal of *Straßburgh*, are the most considerable things of *Germany*.

cannot

- a cannot be called before a foreign tribunal; and no ecclesiastick can purchase land estates within the extent of its territory. The form of its government is purely democratical; its magistrates are chosen from the tribes. It is under the particular protection of the duke of *Wurtemberg* (Q), a protection not hereditary.

REUTLINGEN likewise owes its liberty to the emperor *Frederic II.* and like *Eßlingen*, it has voluntarily put itself under the protection of the duke of *Wurtemberg*. For acknowledgment, in time of war it ordinarily furnishes him with an aid of seventy men, and sometimes this subsidy is encreased according to the occasion. The government is in the hands of a council, composed of twenty-eight members, at the head of whom are the three burgomasters, who rule each four months in the year; nevertheless, the tribunes of the people have admission into the council, where they take care of the interests of the publick: they have also the inspection of the different tribes, and of the trades-people. This city is Lutheran.

The city of *Nortlingen* is famous upon account of two great battles fought in its neighbourhood. (It is also considerable of itself, especially for its greatness; it obtained its liberty from the emperor *Conrad*, about the year 1251. Its senate is composed of fifteen counsellors and twelve superior judges, at the head of which are three burgomasters, who change every four months. It glories in being the first imperial city that embraced the doctrine of *Luther*.)

DONAWERT has been yielded to the elector of *Bavaria* (R).

- c *DINKENSPIEL*, (in *Suabia*) is governed as to the offices of the city, like *Augsburgh*; that is, by two burgomasters, or first consuls, the one Catholick, the other Protestant, and by four counsellors, two of whom are Catholick, and two Protestant; and in single offices, the one succeeds the other alternately. (The magistrates in all are sixteen in number, one half Catholicks, and the other Protestants. It is remarked, that within the territory of this city, are found as many lakes and ponds, as there are days in the year.)

BIBERACH is governed likewise as to its offices, like the city of *Augsburgh*. According to the treaty of *Westphalia*, it ought to have as many Catholicks as Lutherans in the senate. This city was known in the year 751, under *Pepin*.

- d *AALEN* is so called, upon account of the river *Kocher*, which runs through it, and is in that place full of eels, which in *German* are called *Aalen*. (This city is Lutheran: antiently it was under the dominion of the kings of *Bohemia*, and had the counts of *Dettingen* for lords. These sold it to *Ebberhard*, count of *Wurtemberg* (S). *Aalen*, as also the other cities remaining to be mentioned, endeavour to raise themselves from their ruins, to render themselves considerable, as they were before the last wars. They preserve, nevertheless, their franchises and immunities with care.)

POPFINGEN is little worth note, unless for its privilege of being in the number of imperial cities. It is Protestant.

GINGEN belonged formerly to the counts of *Helffenstein*, to whom the empire gave it in mortgage. It hath since purchased its liberty. It follows the confession of *Augsburgh*.

- e *ROTENBERG*, or *Rotenburgh*, is one of the most antient cities of *Germany*. It was part of the dominion of the antient dukes of *Franconia*. After the extinction of that house, it returned to the empire. The emperor *Henry V.* made a present of it, with the duchy of *Franconia*, to his nephew *Conrad III.* duke of *Suabia*, who took the title of duke of *Rotenburgh*. But that prince dying without issue in 1628, that city returned again to the empire. It was declared an imperial city by the emperor *Frederic I.* who established a prefect or superior judge there; and lastly, *Charles IV.* suppressing that prefect, restored to the inhabitants their perfect liberty. Their senate consists of forty members.

- f *HALL* was formerly the ordinary rendezvous for the tournaments and single combats; it had its liberty at the same time with the city *Aalen*, and upon the same occasion; that is to say, when *Ebberhard*, count of *Wurtemberg*, their lord, was put to the ban of the empire. The emperor keeps a prefect in the city, who presides at all the assemblies. Their council judges without appeal, to the sum of 400 crowns,

ROTWEILL is chiefly remarkable for a chamber or imperial chamber, called the chamber of *Rotweill*. This chamber was not fixed antiently; it was the emperor *Conrad III.* who settled it at *Rotweill*, in reward for the city's fidelity to him, and having given him

(Q) Every new-year's-day the city of *Eßlingen* sends the duke of *Wurtemberg* a hundred florins of gold in a green velvet purse, in acknowledgement of his protection.

(R) This city was put to the ban of the empire in 1607, upon account of a corpse, which the burghers of the city would not allow to be buried with the ceremonies of the *Roman* church, by which it fell into the power of the duke of *Bavaria*. The 9th of *June*,

1700, there was presented to the diet of *Ratisbon* a decree, by which the emperor *Joseph* restores *Donawert* to the rank of imperial cities, and gives it a seat and voice in the diets.

(S) This small city belonged formerly to the counts of *Wurtemberg*, and was lost by *Ebberhard the lame*, in the war which he had with the cities of *Suabia*. (The emperor *Charles IV.* against whom *Ebberhard* had revolted, declared it restored to the empire.)

assistance

assistance against *Lotharius*. The emperor *Maximilian I.* confirmed that disposition in 1496. ^a
 This chamber depends upon the emperor alone, and its jurisdiction is confined to the circles of *Austria*, *Suabia*, the *Rhine*, and *Franconia*. It does not only extend to the states and immediate members, but extends also to their subjects : it concurs also with the ordinary magistrates ; and it even enjoys the right of prevention. But some states, by particular privileges, or by convention, or by virtue of prescription, are free from this jurisdiction. Of this number are the electors, the princes of the house of *Austria*, the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Wurtzburgh*, and *Strasburgh*, the counts palatine, the margraves of *Brandenburgh*, the dukes of *Wirtemberg*, and several prelates, counts, imperial cities, and immediate nobles ; yet there are certain affairs in which the privilege of exemption cannot take place, excepting only with regard to the electors, the princes of the house of *Austria*, the bishop of *Straf-* ^b
burgh, and the duke of *Wirtemberg*.

THE judge or president of this jurisdiction is appointed by the emperor ; and although anciently that office was arbitrary, since the emperor *Rupert* the counts of *Sultz* possess it. In 1687, after the death of *John Louis*, the last of the counts of *Sultz*, *Mary Anne*, his daughter, wife of *Ferdinand*, prince of *Schwartzenberg*, inherited the county of *Sultz*, and her children obtained the hereditary dignity of president of this tribunal. The vice-president, who must be a count, or baron, is in the nomination of the president ; the assessors are chosen partly from the senators and septemvirs of *Rotweill*, and partly from the body of the nobility ; but neither of them are received, before the president and assessors already in place have examined them. ^c

THIS tribunal is reckoned an ordinary jurisdiction, which makes it at the death of an emperor continue its sessions under the authority of the vicariate palatine. There is an appeal from its judgments, either to the imperial chamber, or aulic council ; but in case of delay, or denial of justice, nullity, or other such objections of that kind, the appeal is only to the aulic council.

THE states have often complained against this tribunal ; they even demanded the entire suppression of it, at the time of the treaty of *Westphalia* ; but that affair was left to the following diet. In 1653, at the diet of *Ratisbon*, it was moved again to abolish that jurisdiction ; but the count of *Sultz*, and the senate of *Rotweill*, presented a memorial, in which they made appear, that that tribunal had been established in the city of *Rotweill*, as a compensation, and that the office of president had been given under the title of a fief to the counts of *Sultz*. Since that time, the electors in the capitulations obliged the emperor *Leopold* and his successors to promise to abolish the abuses which were committed in that tribunal, as well as in the jurisdictions of the empire. In truth, the reformation of that tribunal belongs to the emperor alone ; and although the decree of the diet of *Ratisbon* in the year 1532, bears that the reformation shall be made by the deputies of the imperial chamber, that ordinance was granted only with the consent of the emperor, who remitted his prerogative at the entreaty of the states. ^d

As the city *Rotweill* is fortified, and an object of jealousy to its neighbours, especially to the duke of *Wirtemberg*, it has made an alliance with the *Swiss Cantons*, which has continued since the year 1519. The magistracy and inhabitants profess the Catholick religion. ^e

Uberlingen. *UBERLINGEN* upon the lake *Constance*, has been looked upon as a considerable place ; its moats being cut out of the rock, and of an extraordinary depth : it professes the Protestant religion. Its senate is composed of patrician and plebeian families ; there is no appeal from its decisions, but to the superior tribunals of *Friburgh*, *Rotweill*, and *Ravensburgh*. It has the right of protection over the imperial city *Buchorn*.

Pfullendorff. *PFULLENDORFF* was given to the empire in 1180, by *Itba*, daughter of the last of the counts of *Pfullendorff*, and wife of *Adelbert III.* count of *Habsburgh*.

Weil. *WEIL*, in the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, obtained its liberty and privileges from the emperor *Frederic II.* It is famous for the battle fought there in 1688. Its religion is the Catholick. ^f

Hailbron. *HAILBRON* upon the *Neckar*, has its name from the salutary springs which are found there in more than 200 fountains ; it follows the confession of *Augsburgh* ; there is but one Catholick church, which is a commandery of the *Teutonic* order. This church has privileges, and serves for a sanctuary to criminals, except declared murderers. The city has the same privileges for fairs as *Frankfort*.

Buchorn. *BUCHORN*, after the extinction of the counts of *Altorff* and *Ravensburgh*, was united to the empire. It is the staple of the merchandize which comes from *Switzerland* into Germany by the lake of *Constance*.

Wangen. *WANGEN*, in *Algau*, is famous for its woollen manufactures ; it hath preserved the Catholick religion. ^g

- a **GEMUND** (T) became an imperial city at the death of the last duke of *Suabia*. It was formerly governed by the nobles; the burghers taking the opportunity of their dissensions, seized upon the magistracy, which they have still preserved. The Catholics alone can stand candidates for offices. Gemund.
- LINDAU** is called the *Venice of Germany*, by reason of its situation in an island of the lake *Constance*. It has a communication with the continent by a bridge of 100 paces. The members of its senate are chosen among the nobles and tribes. It can neither be alienated nor mortgaged by the empire. The abbots of *Lindau* has great pretensions upon that city, but they never have had any effect. Lindau.
- b **RAVENSBURGII**, in *Algau*, became an imperial city during the interregnum of the empire. Its government is divided like that of *Biberach*, among the Catholics and Protestants. Ravensburgh.
- WINSHEIM**, in *Franconia*, had been mortgaged by the emperor *Sigismund*; and in consideration of having paid off the mortgage itself, it obtained the privilege of never being alienated or mortgaged. Its religion is Protestant. The senate is composed of twenty-four members, and there is no appeal from its judgments in criminal matters. Winheim.
- WIMPHEN**, antiently *Cornelia*, is situated upon the *Neckar*: it is famous for the battle fought there in 1622, between general *Tilly* and the margrave of *Baden-Durlach*. All the members of its senate are of the confession of *Augsburgh*, although some of the citizens are Catholics. Wimphen.
- c **OFFENBURGH**, in *Ortnau*, owes its origin, as is pretended, to an *English* knight, called *Offen*. It hath preserved the Catholic religion; and is under the protection of the house of *Austria*. Offenburgh.
- ZELL**, in *Ortnau*, is also Catholic, and under the protection of the house of *Austria*. Zell.
- BUCHAU**, in *Algau*, has a nunnery, and all the nuns must be countesses or baronesses; they may all marry, except the abbots. Buchau.
- LEUTKIRCK**, in *Algau*. Its senate is composed of twelve members, and both the religions are professed there. Leutkirck.
- SCWEINFORT**, in *Suabia*. Its government is in the hands of four colleges; the first, composed of six members, is the superior tribunal; the second is also composed of six members, each of which have their department for the public good. The third consists of twelve persons, who enter into the assemblies, to watch over the interests of the people, especially with regard to taxations. The fourth is composed of eight members, who make a kind of chamber of accounts. Scweinfort
- d **KEMPTEN** depended upon the abbots of *Kempten* till 1525, when it redeemed itself, and became an imperial city. In 1530, it embraced the Protestant religion. Its senate is composed of fifty-eight members, who have two consuls at their head. Kempten.
- WEISSENBURGH**, in the *Nortgau*, has been mortgaged to *Nuremberg*; it redeemed itself in 1360, and hath since preserved its liberty and privileges. The decisions of its magistrates are without appeal, as far as the sum of 300 florins. Weissenburgh.
- e **GINGENBACH**, in *Ortnau*, professes the Catholic religion. It has within its walls an abbey; the abbot, who is a state in the empire, is under the protection of the house of *Austria*, as well as the city. Gingenbach.

Of the Republick of the *Swiss*.

f **THE** *Swiss Cantons* being a part of *Germany*, formerly made a very considerable part of the empire; and although at present they pay but a very small submission to it, yet they acknowledge it in some measure; and demand of the emperor the confirmation of the privileges and liberties, which they only hold from their predecessors. Their state is composed not only of thirteen cantons, which are all sovereign, but also of their allies. The cantons are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Ury*, *Schuitz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Basil*, *Friburgh*, *Soleure*, *Schafhausen*, and *Appenzel*. Their allies are the abbot and city of *St. Gal*, the *Grisons*, the bishop of *Sion*, the country of *Valais*, the cities of *Rotweil* upon the *Neckar*, of *Mulhausen* in *Sundgau*, of *Bienne*, *Geneva*, and the county of *Neufchatel*.

It must be remarked, that the cities of *Basil* and *Schafhausen* are not situated in the ancient *Swisserland*, nor are their allies, excepting the abbot of *St. Gal*, and the city *Bienne*, and that a part of the cantons of *Ury* and *Glaris* are in the *Alps*, and among the *Grisons*.

It cannot be denied, that the three cantons of *Ury*, *Schuitz*, and *Underwald*, belonged formerly to the empire, which gave them their provosts, who judged sovereignly in crimi-

(T) This city is called in Latin *gaudia mundi*, upon account of the many tournaments which the lords of *Suabia* formerly celebrated there.

nal causes; not but that they had always very large privileges, confirmed by several emperors, and particularly by *Frederic II.* upon account of the services which they had done him in his quarrels with the holy see: but that did not hinder them from acknowledging the empire; for notwithstanding the alliance which the towns of *Ury*, *Schultz*, and *Zurich*, made between themselves in the year 1251, that is, a hundred years before the canton of *Zurich* allied itself with the three, the emperor *Rodolphus I.* failed not to give them governors, in the name of the empire; and the act of the year 1291, is still to be found, by which the same emperor confirmed their privileges, calling them people of free condition.

ALBERT of *Austria*, son of *Rodolphus*, declared himself a sworn enemy to their liberty, as well upon account of the hatred which he bore to *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, who had favoured it, as to encrease his dominions on that side, which made many prelates and lords, who depended immediately upon the empire, begin to acknowledge the house of *Austria*. The cantons of *Ury*, *Schultz*, and *Underwald*, not being able to bear the yoke of that house, shook it off in the year 1301, and made an alliance with one another for two years, which they changed to a perpetual one in the year 1315, after the victory which they obtained at *Morgarten* over *Leopold* of *Austria*, son of *Albert*, in the month of *December*, 1314.

The emperor *Louis* of *Bavaria* continued to give them governors, but it was with the provision of letting them enjoy their liberty, and not alienating them from the empire. These letters are dated upon *St. John's* day, 1329, and have been confirmed by the emperors his successors in the most authentick form.

LUCERNE seeing itself threatened on all sides with the loss of its liberty, made an alliance with the three cantons on the *Saturday* before the feast of *St Martin* in 1332.

ZURICH was formerly subject to two collegiate churches, which were within its own walls; but after the death of *Bertold*, last duke of *Zeringen*, who was provost of these churches and of the city; *Frederic II.* received them into the protection of the empire, upon condition that it never should be alienated. It was from this, that *Richard* of *Cornwall* having been raised to the imperial throne, declared by his letters given at *Haguenaw* the 20th of *November*, 1262, that the city of *Zurich* depended immediately upon the empire, against the pretensions of *Conradin*, grandson of *Frederic II.* who affirmed, that the property of it belonged to him. Since that time, *Louis* of *Bavaria* intending to give it with the cities of *Schaffhausen*, *Brizach*, *Rhinfeldt*, and *Newburgh*, to *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, in payment of the money which he had promised him, to oblige him to renounce the empire, those of *Zurich* and *Schaffhausen* opposed it, and remonstrated to him, that they were so incorporated with the empire, that they could upon no account whatever be alienated from it. The dukes of *Austria* did not cease to persecute the city of *Zurich*, so that not being able to hope for assistance from the emperor *Charles IV.* it allied itself in the year 1351, with the four cantons, continuing still annexed to the empire, from whom it received its judges; till in the year 1400, it bought from the emperor *Wenceslaus* the privilege of appointing a criminal judge for itself from their body. *Ulric Zuinglius* preached the reformed religion there in the year 1419, and in the year 1514, images were taken out of their churches. Although the city of *Zurich* be the fifth in the order of the alliance, yet it holds the first rank, upon account of its greatness and wealth; it convokes the assemblies or diets, and also it is to its magistrate that the ambassadors of foreign princes address themselves, when they demand these assemblies.

GLARUS was conquered by the five cantons, and honoured with their alliance in the month of *November*, 1351.

ZUC was besieged and taken the following year 1352, and likewise received into the alliance.

BERNE (U), built by *Bertold*, last duke of *Zeringen*, was by him given and submitted to the empire under the reign of *Frederic II.* who ratified that donation of the duke in the year 1218. The civil wars which harrassed the empire after the death of *Frederic*, obliged that city to put itself under the protection of the dukes of *Savoy*; but in the year 1352, it made an alliance with the three small cantons, yet in such a manner, that those of *Zurich* and *Lucerne* were comprehended in it, seeing the three small cantons had obliged themselves to bring these two last to the assistance of the *Bernois*, if they were required; the

(U) *Berne* is situated in a peninsula, formed by the *Aar*, and almost all built of *Ashlar* stone. It was called *Berne* upon account of a bear which was taken there when they were laying the foundations; *Berne*, in *German*, signifying bears: it bears one in its arms, and always maintains one. In its arsenal, the statue

of *William Fell*, citizen of *Schultz*, is to be seen, who, with an arrow, struck off the apple put upon his son's head by the governor *Grifler*, and by that means saved his life, which occasioned the beginning of the *Swiss* republick.

same

a same three cantons likewise had engaged themselves to bring the *Bernois* to the assistance of the cantons of *Zurich* and *Lucerne*.

FRIBURGH having been built a little time before *Berne*, by the same duke of *Zeringhen*, after his death fell into the hands of the counts of *Kyburg*, who sold it to *Reudolphus*, king of the *Romans*; and thus it remained two hundred years under the dominion of the house of *Austria*. It did not fail in the year 1403, to make a perpetual alliance with the *Bernois*.

SOLEURE (X), a very ancient city, and therefore called the sister of *Triers*, has been a long time an imperial city; yet so, that the bishop of *Geneva*, and some collegiate churches there enjoy the same rights which we have said those of *Zurich* enjoy in their city; but having been oppressed by many lords, it made in the year 1551, a perpetual alliance with the *Bernois*, and friendship with the other cantons, with whom afterwards it allied itself more particularly.

BASIL, the capital city (Y) of the country of the *Rauraci*, is the greatest in all *Switzerland*; it was in the number of the free cities of the empire, in consequence of great privileges which it had long before obtained of the *Roman* emperors. As it was in the neighbourhood of the *Swiss*, the better to secure their friendship, it made at once a perpetual alliance with all the cantons.

SCHAFFHOUSEN, antiently an abbey, has likewise been one of the free cities of the empire, after having shook off, by the authority and privileges of the emperors, the yoke of the abbot's dominion, who was lord over part of the city. But the emperor *Louis* of *Bavaria* sold it to the dukes of *Austria*, who possessed it eighty-five years; after which, the emperor *Sigismund*, having confiscated it from *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, re-united it to the empire. Yet the princes of *Austria* having afterwards raised their pretensions to it, the city of *Schaffhausen*, seeing itself vigorously pressed by them, for its defence made an alliance at first with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Schuitz*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; afterwards, being engaged in new wars, it entered into a perpetual alliance with all the cantons in the year 1501, and made the twelfth canton.

APPENZEL is a village which gives the name to the whole canton, and which formerly depended upon the abbot of *St. Gal*, from whom it purchased its liberty for ready money, and thus began to acknowledge the empire immediately. Afterwards it was received into the number of cantons in the year 1513.

But it ought to be observed, that the cantons are not equally allied with one another, nor obliged to assist one another indifferently (Z). That of *Zurich* is particularly allied with the six cantons, and with that of *Berne*; and consequently, they are obliged mutually to assist one another (A). The *Bernois* are particularly allied with those of *Ury*, *Schuitz*, and *Underwald*; those of *Lucerne* with these three small cantons, and they with all the rest; the canton of *Zug* with *Ury*, *Schuitsz*, *Underwald*, and *Lucerne*; that of *Glaris* with *Zurich*, and the three small houses.

MOREOVER the three small cantons, and that of *Glaris*, cannot make alliance with any one, without the permission of the rest.

e THE rest may make new alliances, provided they be not contrary to the old one.

THE cantons formerly subject to the empire, as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Ury*, and *Schuitz*, protest, in all their treaties, that their alliances shall not prejudice what they owe to the empire. Also those of *Zug* and *Lucerne* except in all their treaties the house of *Austria*.

WITH regard to the allies of the thirteen cantons, we will begin with the abbot and city of *St. Gal*. The abbot was formerly a very powerful prince of the empire; but although his power, since that time, has received a remarkable diminution, yet he is still very rich and considerable. He was the first ally of the cantons, and this alliance was made with four cantons in the year 1451, in the time of *Gaspard* of *Landberg*, fifty-seventh abbot. The city of *St. Gal*, an imperial city, imitated his example, and made one also with six cantons in the year 1454.

(X) *In Celtis nihil est Soloduro antiquius, unis Exceptis Treviris, quarum ego dicta soror.*

(Y) The town-house is adorned with three fine pictures; nigh the burying place of the *French* church, the famous *John Holbens'* dance of the dead is to be seen. It is a picture of many figures as big as the life, of every age and quality, which *Death*, who leads the dance, is conducting to the tomb.

(Z) It is a mistake: the thirteen cantons compose together only one body. By the first perpetual alliance, the three first cantons are united together by a solemn act. They admitted afterwards five other cantons into the alliance, and to the same conditions. Lastly, the

five other being likewise joined to the first eight, accepted of the same conditions; they cannot any longer but make the same body, since they are allied by the same treaty. They have not needed to make a general treaty, and a relative one betwixt one canton and another, since it was sufficient for them to enter into the first, and accept of its conditions.

(A) If any canton was attacked by a foreign power, an assembly of all the cantons should immediately be called, who should all concur in giving that mutual assistance which they reciprocally owe one another. *Etat & Delices*, &c. Tom. 1. p. 319.

* *Les Etats & les Delices de la Suisse*. Tom. 2. prem. pag. 323. & suiv.

THE *Grisons* are divided into three leagues (B). The first called the High League, comprehends nineteen communities, as does the second, called the League of the House of God; and the third, called the League of Ten Jurisdictions, comprehends ten communities. The High League made a perpetual alliance with seven cantons in 1497, and that of the House of God assented to it in the year following. The third is not allied with the cantons, but continues to live in good intelligence and friendship with them.

THE people inhabiting from the source of the *Rhine* to the lake of *Geneva*, are called the *Vallois*, or the *Vallerians*, and the country the *Pays de Vallois*. They have the bishop of *Sion* for their prince, who is their temporal and spiritual lord, and they are divided into seven communities, five of which made their first alliance with *Lucerne*, *Ury*, and *Underwald*, in the year 1417. But in 1475, they all made an offensive and defensive league with the *Bernois*, and renewed it a hundred years after, namely, in 1575. A long time before this renovation, that is, in the year 1533, they had made a particular alliance with the seven catholic cantons, *Lucerne*, *Ury*, *Schultz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, *Friburgh* and *Soleure*, for the culture and conservation of the *Roman* religion, against those who wanted to deprive them of the exercise of it by violence.

ROTWEIL is an imperial city, honoured with a chamber of justice for the neighbouring country. It made its first alliance with the *Swiss* in the year 1463, which was changed into a perpetual alliance with all the cantons in the year 1513.

MULHAUSEN was likewise an imperial city, situated in the *Santgaw*; it made its first alliance with the cantons of *Berne*, *Friburgh*, and *Soleure*; and by the mediation of the *Bernois*, seven cantons took it under their protection in 1464. In the year 1506, it was received into the corporation of *Basil*; and on the 19th of *January* 1515, it made an alliance with the thirteen cantons.

BIENNE was formerly subject to the bishop of *Basil*; it made its first alliance with *Berne* in 1303, it renewed it in 1352, and since in 1555.

GENEVA hath always maintained a friendship with the *Swiss*, often making treaties of alliance (C) with *Berne* and *Friburg*, for a certain time, as occasion required. But at last it made a perpetual alliance and confraternity with the *Bernois*, which they confirmed in 1536.

THE county of *Neufchatel* is allied with the cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Friburgh*, and *Soleure*, but more particularly with *Berne*.

BESIDES these allies, there are bailliages which are governed in common, as that of *Baden*, of which the cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Ury*, *Schultz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Berne*, are lords. The same cantons, excepting that of *Berne*, are also lords of the bailliage of *Turgow*.

THE *Free Provinces*, situated upon the river *Reus*, acknowledge the cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Ury*, *Schultz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

THE country of *Sargans* is also subject to the *Swiss*; yet it enjoys the privileges of electing its own magistrates, and administering justice in its own name.

THE *Rhental* acknowledges for lords, the cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Ury*, *Schultz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzel*, which send thither their bailiffs each in its turn.

THE four bailliages which the *Swiss* call those beyond the mountains, namely, *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendrize*, and *Lawal-Madia*, were given to the *Swiss* by *Maximilian Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, in the year 1513, and are subject to all the cantons, except to that of *Appenzel*, which had not then been admitted into the number of cantons.

THE city of *Bellizone* belonged formerly to the counts of *Misfauch*, who sold it to the counts of *Ury*, *Schultz*, and *Underwald*; but a duke of *Milan* took it from them in 1422; yet they got possession of it again in 1500; and *Maximilian Sforza*, when he gave them the four bailliages above-named, confirmed them in the possession of *Bellizone*, which is composed of three bailliages, named *Bellizone*, *Walbrune*, and *Riviere*, and governed by the three cantons in their turn, each canton sending a bailiff to each bailliage.

THE state of *Swisserland* is popular, and governed aristocratically.

WHEN any affair concerning the common good of all the cantons, is to be deliberated upon, general assemblies are called, to which they all send their deputies, who have a deliberative voice.

(B) *Burnet* says, in the first part of his travels into *Swisserland*, that the three leagues have each their government separate; but by a confederacy like that of the *United Provinces*, or *Swiss* cantons, they make but one body, whose affairs are treated of from time to time in a general diet composed of sixty-seven votes. That the *Grisons* league sends twenty-eight, the League of the House of God, twenty-four, and that of the Ten Jurisdictions fifteen; and the general diet is held by turns in the capital of each league. From twenty to

twenty years, this diet executed a chamber of justice for the examination of the nobility and magistrates, of which the people complained.

(C) Those of *Geneva* are allied with the *Swiss*, and particularly with the cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne*. They have a magazine well fortified, in which are kept with care, the scaling-ladders which the *Savoyards* raised against the walls of the city to surprise it the 22d of *Dec.* 1602.

a If the affairs regard only the bailliages, governed by the seven or eight first cantons, none but they send their deputies there ; but if it is for the affairs of the bailliages of *Italy*, all the cantons assemble.

SINCE religion has begun to divide their affections, they begin likewise to make other particular assemblies, namely, the Protestants, which are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basil*, and *Schaffhausen*, and part of *Glaris* and *Appenzel*, at *Arau* ; and the Catholics, sometimes at *Lucerne*, sometimes elsewhere.

THE general assemblies are ordinarily held about the middle of *June*, in the town-house of *Baden* ; and it is, as has been said, the canton of *Zurich* which calls them, and there makes the first propositions.

b ALTHOUGH they have an hereditary alliance with the princes of the house of *Austria*, they have one likewise with the crown of *France* (D) ; and as their country is so well-peopled, that if they did not dismiss their young people by sending them abroad to serve in war, they would not have within themselves sufficient to subsist them, they freely permit these crowns to make considerable levies of troops among them. By this policy they manage these foreign powers so well, that they live in peace, and enrich themselves at the expence of their neighbours (E).

The HISTORY of BOHEMIA;

Whose King is a Prince of the Empire, first Secular Elector, and Chief Cup-bearer.

c THE kingdom of *Bohemia* is quite surrounded on every side with mountains and woods, as with a natural rampart, being bounded by *Moravia*, and part of *Silesia*, towards the east ; towards the north, by *Lusace* and *Upper Saxony* ; by *Franconia* towards the west ; and by *Bavaria* towards the south. Although this country is situated in the middle of *Germany* and its king be an elector of the empire, nevertheless, it has its particular assemblies, customs, and language different from the *Germans*. *Prague* is the capital city of this kingdom ; the other cities are *Cuttenberg*, *Konigingretz*, *Pilsen*, *Czastaw*, *Budweys*, *Egra*, *Glatz*, *Tabor*, and a great number of others, for they reckon more than an hundred cities ; among which, there are almost forty which have the title of royal. The name *Bohemia*, in the *German* language, signifies, the home or abode of the *Boii*, a people of ancient *Gaul*, who under their leader *Segovesus*, settled in that country about 590 years before the Christian æra. These *Boii* were soon after expelled by the *Marcomanni*, a nation of the *Suevi*¹, who were afterwards subdued by the *Slavi*, a people of *Scythia*^m, whose language is still spoken in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. Notwithstanding the expulsion of the *Boii*, the present inhabitants are still called *Bohemians* by foreigners ; but the natives call themselves *Zechs*. At first, they were governed by dukes, but the emperor *Otto I.* conquered the duke of *Bohemia*, and reduced the province under the empire. Afterwards *Henry V.* gave the title of king to *Ladislav*, duke of *Bohemia* ; and since that time, these kings have been electors and chief cup-bearers of the empire, and the kingdom has been elective ; which privileges have been confirmed by the Golden Bull. Formerly the kings of *Bohemia* received the kingdom as a fief of the empire, which ceremony was performed upon the frontiers ; after which, the standards of the principalities of which it is composed, were given to them, without being torn and given to the people, as is done with the ensigns of the other fiefs of the empire. *Ferdinand I.* of *Austria*, having married *Anne*, sister of *Louis*, last king of *Bohemia*, who died without issue, and being elected king, that kingdom has remained ever since in his family. But the crown is conferred with some appear-

The bounds of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The ancient inhabitants.

A. C. 1085. The kingdom is declared elective by the Golden Bull,

but rendered hereditary in the house of Austria by the treaty of Munster

¹ AVENTINUS, Ann. Boiorum, l. i. p. 24.

^m HEISS. l. 6. DUBRAV. Hist. Bohemia, l. i. p. 3.

(D) The *Swiss* have no hereditary alliance with *France*. The peace which they have with that crown is called hereditary, and was made in 1516. Indeed, the kings of *France*, *Louis XI.* *Charles VIII.* and *Louis XII.* made alliances with the *Swiss* ; *Francis I.* made one which was to last all his life ; and even three years after his death. Each king since has done the same. *Henry IV.* when renewing that alliance, treated for him-

self, and for *Louis XIII.* his successor : *Louis XIV.* renewed the same alliance ; and *Louis XV.* at present reigning, has continued for these several years past a pretty difficult negociation, for the renewing of the same alliance.

(E) They are so many adventurers scattered in the different courts of *Europe*. See *l'Etat. & Delices de la Suisse*. Tom. I. pag. 342. & *suiv.*

ance of election, which right the states of that kingdom still pretend to claim, notwithstanding, by the treaty of *Westphalia*, *Bohemia* is declared hereditary in the house of *Austria*. a

THE king of *Bohemia* is the first secular elector, and gives his opinion after the elector of *Cologne*, but he does not assist at the assembly of electors but at the election of an emperor. For these two hundred years past, the kings of *Bohemia* have not appeared at the collegiate assemblies, or even at the imperial diets. However, in 1708, the emperor caused one of his deputies, in quality of king of *Bohemia*, to enter into the college of electors at the diet of *Ratisbon* by the form of re-admission, together with the deputy of the elector of *Brunswick*. The states of *Bohemia* have never been comprehended in the government, or in the circles of the empire; they are not subject to any of its jurisdictions, nor to the *Roman* b months, taxes, or publick contributions; and they owe nothing to the empire but what the emperor *Leopold* voluntarily imposed upon himself, which amounts to 6000 livres a year for the imperial chamber. The king pays homage to the emperor and the empire for his states as first secular elector, otherwise he has a right to exercise, through all the extent of his dominions, all authority that the royalty can give, provided he do not violate the laws of the kingdom, according to which he cannot raise contributions or taxes but at the time when the states are assembled, the appointing of which is entirely in their own power.

BOHEMIA was divided by the emperor *Charles IV.* into twelve provinces, in each of which he ordered two captains to be appointed every year, for the administration of the government. The same emperor caused the church of *Prague* to be erected into an archbishoprick, c with this advantage, that the archbishop of *Prague* should have the prerogative that the archbishop of *Mentz* enjoyed formerly, of crowning the king of *Bohemia*. The duchy of *Silesia*, the marquissate of *Moravia*, and that of *Lusace*, formerly held of this crown, but at present only *Moravia*, which is incorporated with the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and is in the possession of the house of *Austria*. This province draws its name from the river *Marc*, or *Maravaba*, which runs through the country from north to south, and throws itself into the *Danube*. *Moravia* has towards the north *Silesia*, *Hungary* towards the east, *Austria* towards the south, and *Bohemia* towards the west.

THE government of *Bohemia* is different from that of all other states, the affairs of the kingdom being managed by six different courts. First, the council of the regency, or the d great royal council, in which presides the great judge, or burgrave of *Bohemia*; and who has under him eighteen lieutenants of the king, and other assessors. Secondly, the council, or superior chamber of justice, at which the great master of the kingdom is president. Thirdly, the chamber of fiefs. Fourthly, the new tribunal to judge the appeals of the *German* vassals, in their differences upon account of fiefs: which court has also its president, vice-president, and assessors. Fifthly, the royal chamber of finances, which has a president and vice-president. Sixthly, the chancery, which always follows the court. Besides, every circle of *Bohemia* is governed by two bailiffs, who administer justice in their prefecture, of which there are eighteen. The states are composed of the clergy, lords, nobles, and burghers. As to *Moravia*, there is a grand bailiff who governs it in the name of the e king of *Bohemia*, as margrave of *Moravia*; he is at the head of the royal council, which is composed of three assessors, and in which all is transacted in the name of the king; this province is divided into five circles, each of which has its bailiff. There are, besides, other officers of justice, who have a right of judging only at certain times, and in particular cases, where an appeal is allowed.

THE antiquities of this country are greatly wrapt up in fables, and there is no credit to be given to the authority of their history, till almost the time of the emperor *Charlemain*. The *Boii*, the first inhabitants, were expelled by the *Marcomanni*. These being greatly weakened by their wars with the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Tiberius*^a, were afterwards f subdued by the *Sclavi*, a nation of the *Sarmatians*^o, who, like the other *Scythians*, wandered from place to place with their families and cattle; and, as *Strabo* writes, even in the time of *Augustus Caesar*, lived promiscuously with the *Thracians*. Afterwards spreading themselves westward, in a few centuries they possessed *Illyricum*, *Poland*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia*; but continuing their ancient manners, they neglected to build cities, and inhabiting the country very thinly, they minded only pasturage and the care of their flocks. As all the *Sarmatians* used the same language to distinguish themselves from the other inhabitants of the countries which they possessed, they called themselves *Slowi*, from the word *slowe*, which with them signifies speech.

A. C. 552.

THE first whom history mentions as their ruler or chief, was one *Czechius*, who, having committed some remarkable murder in *Croatia*, quitted that country with his family and g dependants, and went towards *Moravia* in search of a new settlement. The *Moravians* in-

^a VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

^o DUBRAV. Hist. Boh. l. i. p. 3.

- a forming him that there was a country, surrounded by the *Hercynian* forest, not very distant and but thinly inhabited, *Czechius* quitted *Moravia*, and entering *Bohemia*, found it wholly covered with wood, and possessed rather by herds of wild cattle than by men. *Czechius* settled his small colony, and taught the few inhabitants he found to cultivate the lands and sow corn; while his brother *Leches*, who had attended him from *Croatia*, went over into *Poland*, and first settled that kingdom. *Czechius* dying, the *Bohemians* continued for several years without a ruler or judge; but being now assembled in villages, their ancient popular form of government was at last found ineffectual to repress injuries and oppressions, which began to be more frequent than during their pastoral life; therefore, they chose a young man named *Croc*, remarkable for his prudent conduct. This governor restored peace and order, and supported the authority of the laws. He was succeeded by the youngest of his three daughters, *Lybussa*, who was respected for her skill in the art of divination, and governed the country alone for fourteen years; but, being pressed by her subjects to marry, she chose for her husband a country labourer, named *Premislaus*; who, being called from the plough to the dignity of a governor, carried his shoes along with him as memorials for his posterity, to prevent their being elated with the prosperity of their condition. *Premislaus* founded the city of *Prague*, and divided the people into different ranks; but his wife *Lybussa* dying, his government was disturbed by an insurrection of the women, who being used to the same exercise as the men, claimed the privilege of commanding them. Having quelled this tumult, he reigned peaceably to his death. On his death-bed, he ordered his cloak and shoes to be deposited in a religious place, and only to be shewn at the election of a governor, which last will of his has been solemnly observed, not only by the pagan princes, but even by the Christian kings.

Czechius,
first ruler.

Croc.

Lybussa.

Premislaus.
A. C. 635.

- NEZAMISLIUS* succeeded his father with the universal consent of the people; and, after reigning twenty years, was succeeded by his son *Mnatha*, who neglected the government, and, for the three first years of his reign, addicted himself wholly to hunting of stags, boars, and other wild beasts, leaving the care of the government to a citizen of *Versovicum*, who seeing the indolence of the prince, proposed himself to the people as their governor; but failing in his attempt, he was put to death; and *Mnatha* himself died soon after of a contagious distemper. *Vogenus* succeeded his father, though then only a child. During his minority, his guardian greatly oppressed the country, for which he was afterwards put to death. *Vogenus* after reigning twenty-eight years, left the government to his eldest son *Wenceslaus*, and *Lusatia* to his youngest son *Wratislaus*. These brothers lived in great unanimity, and gave assistance to each other against *Charlemain*, who then attacked the *Saxons*, *Veneds*, and *Bohemians*. *Wenceslaus* was succeeded by his son *Creuomyslius*, who after reigning nineteen years left the government to his son *Neclan*, who, being of a fearful and cowardly disposition, was attacked by his cousin *Ulatislaus* from *Lusace*. *Neclan*, afraid of meeting his enemy, prevailed upon one *Siderius*, who resembled him in person, to command his troops and oppose the invaders. *Siderius*, who was of a martial spirit, willingly accepted of the command, and defeated *Ulatislaus*, but was killed himself by some of his own men, who were envious of his honour. The weak government of *Neclan* soon after tempted a young man, *Crasnitius*, to rebel; but being defeated, he fled to *Hormidurum*, king of *Moravia*, who being desirous of conquering *Bohemia*, sent him back to that kingdom at the head of a great body of men; but, being opposed by the *Bohemians*, he was entirely defeated, and killed near the town of *Czastavia*. *Neclan*, soon after dying, was succeeded by his son *Hostivitus*, whose brother *Mislubogius* rebelled against him, because no part of the kingdom had been left to him: but an arbitration being agreed to, the province of *Gurimum* was ceded to him for his life. *Hostivitus* was soon after disturbed with another insurrection, of which *Succeslaus*, governor of *Bilina*, was the chief; but he being defeated and taken, his feet and hands were cut off, and he himself afterwards thrown into the river of *Egra*. About this time, the duke's brother, *Myslubogius*, invaded *Moravia*, the king being then absent at the court of the emperor *Arnolphus*. *Myslubogius* having penetrated into *Moravia*, surprised many of the inhabitants, and returned with many prisoners and much spoil. Having afterwards made a second irruption into *Moravia*, he was opposed by *Nosilaus*, whom he defeated; but dying soon after, a peace was concluded betwixt the king of *Moravia* and his brother *Hostivitus*.

Nezamislus.
Mnatha.
A. C. 715.

Vogenus.
A. C. 735.

Wenceslaus I.
A. C. 763.

Creuomyslius.
A. C. 785.
Neclan.

Hostivitus.
A. C. 809.

- BORIVORIUS* succeeded upon the death of his father, and in the beginning of his reign going to *Moravia* to renew the alliance with that king, he was there converted to Christianity, and baptized with his wife *Ludruilla*, with many other *Bohemians* of his retinue. But returning to *Bohemia*, he was despised by his subjects, upon which he chose a voluntary exile in *Moravia*. In his absence, rapine and oppression prevailing in his dominions, the states recalled *Stoymirus*, a brother of *Succeslaus*, governor of *Bilina*, who had been banished to *Bavaria* thirteen years before; but he having forgot his native language, they were soon

Borivorus.
Syl. C. 1. p. 16.
A. C. 850.

- tired of him, and sent him back into *Bavaria* with some presents. Assembling again in the fields near *Prague* to chuse another prince, the favourers of *Borivorius* going secretly armed, after a warm dispute obliged the other party to consent to the recalling of their exiled prince. *Borivorius* returning to his dignity, after an absence of ten months, brought with him *Methudius*, who converted many to the Christian faith. Several churches were built, and schools erected; but the *Bohemians* objecting to the performing of the service in the Latin tongue, a language which they did not understand, *Methudius* represented this objection to pope *Nicholas the Great*, who allowed the prayers to be said in the vulgar tongue. But some years after, a bishop being sent into *Bohemia*, the Latin tongue was again ordered to be introduced into all their churches. *Borivorius* afterwards abdicating the government, his son *Spiligneus* succeeded him; but he dying in two years, his father prevailed with the states to chuse his young son *Wratislaus*, whose education he himself directed. *Wratislaus* afterwards married *Drabomira*, of an illustrious family, but a pretended convert to the Christian faith. By her he had two sons, who both succeeded him in their turns. He assisted the *Moravians* against the *Hungarians*, who invaded them, and dying soon after, *Drabomira* took upon her the administration of the government during the minority of her sons. She immediately discovered her hatred to the Christians, and committing the government of the city to pagan magistrates, she massacred above 300 Christians in one night, afterwards burnt their temples, and ordered them to deliver up all their arms. But *Wenceslaus*, who had been educated under his grandmother *Ludruilla*, coming to the government, the Christian religion was again encouraged; and in order to prevent disputes with his brother *Boleslaus*, who had been educated under his mother, he ceded to him all that part of *Bohemia* beyond the *Elb*. *Wenceslaus* spending much of his time in praying and fasting, one of his subjects was tempted to rebel against him, and advanced with an army towards *Prague*. *Wenceslaus*, to spare the lives of his subjects, offered to fight him in a duel in presence of the two armies. *Radislaus*, the rebel, accepted of the challenge, and both parties appearing in the field, history relates, that *Wenceslaus* being miraculously assisted from heaven, got the victory without a blow. The news of this victory reaching *Germany*, the emperor *Otho the Great* sent for *Wenceslaus* to the diet at *Worms*, where he entertained him with great respect, and offered him the title of king, which he refused; asking only the arm of *St. Vitus*, which had been brought from *France*, and deposited in the monastery of *Corbeia*, in *Saxony*. Returning to *Prague* with this relick, *Wenceslaus* caused a church to be built for its reception, which was consecrated by *St. Wolfgang*, bishop of *Ratisbon*. His pious life excited the envy of his brother *Boleslaus*, who, with the consent of his mother, soon after murdered him, and succeeded to the government, which he administrated with great cruelty, persecuting the Christians, and obliging them to fly the kingdom. But the year following, the emperor *Otho* entering *Bohemia* with an army to revenge the death of *Wenceslaus*, he forced *Boleslaus* to submit to the following terms of peace; namely, to use all means to expiate his guilt; to recal the Christians; to pay a yearly tribute of 120 chosen oxen, and 500 marks of gold; and to pay homage to the emperor upon the same conditions with the other princes of *Germany*. *Boleslaus* was afterwards twice invaded by the *Hungarians* and *Moravians*, whom he repulsed; and now being inclined to Christianity, refused his daughter *Dombrava* to the prince of *Poland*, unless he should first embrace the Christian religion. He likewise sent to *Rome*, desiring that a bishop might be settled in *Bohemia*; but the division then betwixt the popes prevented his message from being attended to. His eldest son *Strachyquas* taking on the monkish habit at *Ratisbon*, he was succeeded by his second son *Boleslaus*, surnamed *the Pious*. He founded and endowed twenty churches, and obtained leave from pope *John IX.* to create a bishop at *Prague*. With the consent of all the priests, he appointed *Detmarus*, a *Saxon*, bishop of *Prague*, who was succeeded by a native named *Adalbertus*. He reproving the people severely for not abstaining from work on Sunday, and for marrying and divorcing their wives according to their pleasure; they formed a conspiracy against him, and took possession of a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, from whence the Christians, with the assistance of the *Jews*, expelled them, and obliged them to remain in peace. For this service, the *Jews* were allowed to build a synagogue in *Prague*. *Boleslaus* afterwards being invaded by the prince of *Poland*, in return, entered that kingdom with an army, and made himself master of *Cracow*, while the *Poles* were engaged in opposing the *Russians*, who had invaded another part of their kingdom. The king of *Poland* having concluded a peace with the *Russians*, marched with his army to recover *Cracow*; but the *Bohemian* garrison being well provided, obliged the *Poles* to raise the siege.
- ABOUT this time *Boleslaus* dying, he was succeeded by his son of the same name; he being of a covetous, selfish disposition, neglected to supply the garrison of *Cracovia*, by which means that city again returned to the *Poles*. *Boleslaus* being afterwards persuaded by the king of *Poland* to come to *Cracovia* to visit him, he was there perfidiously deprived of his

Spiligneus I.

Wratislaus I.

A. C. 908.

Wenceslaus II.

A. C. 916.

Boleslaus I.

the Cruel.

A. C. 922.

Boleslaus II.

surnamed the Pious.

A. C. 927.

Boleslaus III.

the Blind.

A. C. 929.

- a his flight, and then sent back to *Bohemia*. Finding himself unfit to govern, he resigned the kingdom to *Hiaromirius*, his eldest son. *Cobanus* of *Versevicum*, who had aspired to the government, being thus disappointed, formed the design of destroying *Hiaromirius*, and having enticed him to hunt in his woods, he, with the assistance of some associates, tied the prince to a tree, after which the conspirators shot at him with their arrows. But his attendants coming up, the conspirators were interrupted and fled, whilst the prince being loosed from the tree, was found miraculously cured of all his wounds. *Cobanus*, the chief conspirator, flying into *Poland*, there declared that he had killed *Hiaromirius*; upon which information, the king of *Poland* immediately raised an army and entered *Bohemia*, where he burnt and destroyed the villages and castles, and at last made himself master of *Prague*; while *Hiaromirius* retired to his castle of *Wifgrade*. *Udalricus*, his brother, who was then with the emperor *Henry*, privately left that court, came to *Bohemia*, and assembling some forces, recovered the city of *Prague*; but, being ambitious of the government, which he thought he had a right to upon account of his conquest, he put out his brother's eyes, and kept him prisoner.

Hiaromirius.
A. C. 1012.

- UDALRICUS* having taken upon himself the government, fell in love with a young country-woman, who was washing cloaths at the side of a river, when he was returning from hunting. Having married her, he had by her next year a son named *Bretislaus*; but the joy occasioned by his birth, was interrupted with the news of another invasion from the king of *Poland*, who had advanced to *Glatz*. The *Poles* having sat down before that town, were obliged to raise the siege upon account of a contagious distemper that had attacked their army. About this time, *Udalricus* repenting of what he had done to his brother, by the mediation of the bishop was reconciled to him, and afterwards governed the kingdom conjointly with him. *Bretislaus*, being now come of age, was created marquis of *Moravia* by his father, and taking the government of that province, he repulsed the *Poles* who invaded it, and took so many prisoners, that he sold them by hundreds to the *Hungarians*. Afterwards going to *Ratisbon*, under pretence of visiting the relicks of *St. Wolfgang*, he carried off *Jutka*, the daughter of the emperor *Otho*, who was placed there in a nunnery. To revenge this rape, *Henry II.* marched into *Bohemia*; but before any hostilities commenced, the contending parties were reconciled by the mediation of *Jutka*, who, soon after, was delivered of a son who was called *Spiligneus*. *Bretislaus* being absent assisting the emperor in his wars against the *Hungarians*, *Udalricus* his father died, upon whose death he succeeded to the government in conjunction with his uncle *Hiaromirius*. The *Poles* at this time being without a king, *Bretislaus* thought it a proper opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his grandfather, and entering *Poland* with an army, took *Cracow*, and likewise made himself master of the castle of *Sydeca*, whither the nobility had fled. Having taken several other towns, a great number of prisoners, and much spoil, he returned to *Bohemia*, but was soon informed that the emperor *Henry* was preparing to invade him with two armies, one from *Saxony*, and the other commanded by himself, from the mountains of *Bavaria*. *Bretislaus* sent *Procopius* to oppose the *Saxons*, and watched the motions of the emperor himself, who, trusting to the number of his troops, and marching without any discipline, was surprised by *Bretislaus* before he had got out of the woods. The *Saxons* had better success on the other side of the kingdom, for they returned with much spoil, without having an engagement with the *Bohemians*, for which *Procopius* was put to death. The emperor *Henry*, to revenge his late disgrace, again entered *Bohemia* with an army, laid siege to *Prague*, and obliged *Bretislaus* to sue for peace, which he obtained upon condition of giving homage to the emperor, and paying 1500 pounds of silver. *Bretislaus* afterwards defeated the *Hungarian* robbers that ravaged *Moravia*, and concluded a perpetual peace with *Casimirus*, king of *Poland*. He left five sons, the eldest of whom, *Spiligneus*, inherited *Bohemia*, and *Moravia* was divided among the four youngest.

Udalricus.
A. C. 1027.

Bretislaus.
A. C. 1043.

- f *SPILIGNEUS* succeeded to the government immediately, and by an edict ordered all the *Germans* to depart the kingdom within three days, not excepting his own mother, who afterwards married *Peter*, king of *Hungary*. Hearing, likewise, that his conduct was blamed in *Moravia*, he marched into that country, and took his brothers, *Conrad* and *Otho*, prisoners; but their elder brother *Wratislaus* flying into *Hungary*, there married *Adelheid*, the king's sister, which *Spiligneus* being informed of, he was reconciled to his brother, fearing lest the king of *Hungary* should espouse his quarrel. *Spiligneus* dying, was succeeded by his brother *Wratislaus*, who divided *Moravia* betwixt his brothers *Conrad* and *Otho*, his youngest brother *Hiaromirius* being designed to succeed to the bishoprick of *Prague*. The *Poles*, about this time, preparing to invade *Bohemia*, *Wratislaus* assembled an army at *Glatz*; but his wife *Adelheid* being dead, he concluded a peace by marrying *Suatava*, the king's sister, and ended all disputes about *Silesia*, which was entirely ceded to *Bohemia*. A dispute soon after arising betwixt the emperor *Henry* and his son, *Wratislaus* assisted the emperor, and defeated *Leopold*, marquis of *Austria*, who had invaded *Moravia*. But *Henry*,

Spiligneus II.
A. C. 1055.

Wratislaus II.
A. C. 1061.

- the emperor's son, having taken his father prisoner, shut him up in prison, where he died, and succeeded himself to the imperial throne. Soon after holding a diet at *Mentz*, and considering the great possessions of *Wratiflaus*, he declared him king of *Bohemia*; and as a favour to *Hiaromirius*, now called *Gerard*, bishop of *Prague*, he joined *Olmütz* to that bishoprick. The inhabitants of *Lusace* threatening a rebellion, he sent his eldest son *Bretiflaus* to quell them, who defeated them in several skirmishes; but afterwards refusing obedience to his father, he was banished to *Pannonia*, and his younger brother *Conrad* succeeded to the kingdom, but enjoyed it only seven months. Upon his death, the states assembling continued for some time doubtful, whether they should recal *Bretiflaus* from his banishment, or confer the kingdom upon the sons of *Conrad*; but *Bretiflaus* approaching the frontiers, they sent deputies to him with an offer of the crown. *Bretiflaus* arriving at *Prague*, made himself very popular, and married *Lucretia*, daughter of the palatine of the *Rhine*. Afterwards he published an edict against sorcery and witchcraft, which again began to prevail in the kingdom; and the *Poles* having taken possession of *Silesia*, he recovered that province from them, and enriched his exchequer by the confiscated estates of many of the lords who had favoured the *Polish* invasion. He likewise seized upon the riches of the *Jews*, and having defeated the sons of *Conrad*, who from *Austria* made incursions into *Moravia*, he afterwards received the investiture of his states from the emperor at *Ratisbon*, but was soon after killed by an arrow when he was hunting. *Borivorius*, his brother, succeeded him, and met with great disturbance in the beginning of his reign from *Udalricus*, the son of his eldest brother *Conrad*, whom he had set free from his imprisonment in the castle of *Glatz*. *Udalricus* was no sooner forced to submit, than *Suatoplucus* his cousin, pretended to the kingdom, whose faction prevailing, *Borivorius* was forced to fly to *Poland*, and from thence to the emperor; but he had no redress, his competitor being settled in the government with the consent of the states. *Suatoplucus* afterwards attending the emperor in his wars in *Hungary*, was assassinated by a traitor in his camp. *Uladiflaus*, third son of *Wratiflaus*, succeeded his cousin; but going to receive the investiture of the crown from the emperor, his exiled brother *Borivorius* privately entered *Prague*, and assumed the government. Being informed of this, *Uladiflaus* returned from his journey, and, after some skirmishes, the dispute was referred to the decision of the emperor, who determined in favour of *Uladiflaus*. Soon after *Sobieflaus*, his youngest brother, pretended to the crown, and with the assistance of the *Poles* invaded the kingdom; but the two brothers being reconciled by their mother, *Lusace* was ceded to *Sobieflaus*, and *Borivorius* was likewise called to a partnership of the throne; but shewing a partiality to the *Germans*, he was afterwards obliged to fly into *Hungary*. *Uladiflaus* dying, left three sons, but his youngest brother *Sobieflaus* succeeded to the crown. His cousin *Otho* complaining to the emperor *Lotharius* of the injury done him by the *Bohemians*, that emperor marched at the head of a powerful army into *Bohemia*, where he was defeated by *Sobieflaus*; and *Otho* the competitor dying, a peace was concluded, and *Sobieflaus* assisting the emperor against *Bavaria*, *Lotharius* confirmed *Lusace* to the duke's son, and was guarantee of a peace between *Sobieflaus* and the king of *Poland*. After the death of *Lotharius*, *Conrad* having got himself fixed in the imperial throne, by the assistance of *Sobieflaus* and other princes of *Germany*, he, at the desire of *Sobieflaus*, gave the investiture of *Bohemia* to *Uladiflaus*, eldest son of his late brother. *Uladiflaus*, succeeding his uncle, was soon disturbed in his government by *Conrad*, who pretended to the crown; but the emperor marching to the assistance of *Uladiflaus*, *Conrad* was defeated, and afterwards being reconciled to the emperor, went to the Holy Land against the *Turks*.
- ABOUT this time, *Henry*, bishop of *Olmütz*, went to *Rome* to complain of the irregularities daily committed by the priests, and returned with a legate of pope *Eugenius III.* having full power to enquire into, and redress the abuses. *Frederic Barbarossa* being elected emperor, and going to *Rome* to be crowned, he left *Uladiflaus* as a vicar of the empire in his absence; afterwards inviting him to his marriage, he crowned him king of *Bohemia*; for which favour *Uladiflaus* attended the emperor into *Lombardy*, and assisted at the siege of *Milan*. Upon his return from *Lombardy*, he brought an *Italian* architect with him, by whose direction a bridge of twenty-four arches was built over the river *Muldaw*. The city of *Milan* again rebelling, *Uladiflaus* sent assistance to the emperor, under the command of his son *Frederic*, and his brother *Theobald*; and when they returned, he retired into a monastery, and resigned the government to his son *Frederic*, who, not obtaining the investiture of the emperor, was obliged to go into banishment in *Pannonia*, while *Udalricus*, on whom the emperor confirmed the kingdom, resigned it to his elder brother *Sobieflaus*; but he soon displeasing the emperor, *Frederic* again recovered his dignity. *Frederic* soon after going to the diet at *Ratisbon*, *Sobieflaus* in his absence endeavoured to recover the kingdom, and twice defeated him in his return; but by the assistance of the inhabitants of *Prague*, *Frederic* at last entirely routed him. The emperor soon after summoning *Frederic* to another diet at *Ratisbon*, in his absence another pretender seized the government; but the

- a the emperor giving him the investiture of the kingdom, sent him back with a sufficient force to expel his rival *Conrad*, who afterwards went to the Holy Land. Upon his return, *Frederic* dying, he was elected king; but going soon after to *Naples* to assist the emperor in the siege of that city, he died there of a contagious distemper. Upon his death, two relations, *Wenceslaus* and *Premislaus*, disputed the crown: *Wenceslaus* was favoured by the inhabitants of *Prague*; but fearing the power of his rival, he went to beg the assistance of the emperor, and in his return was taken prisoner by the marquis of *Lusace*. *Premislaus* then seized the government, but being summoned by the emperor to give an account of his usurpation, he left *Bohemia*, and retired into *Moravia*. The states afterwards chose their bishop *Henry* for their king, who administered the government with great prudence;
- b but desiring to resign upon account of his age, *Premislaus* returned from *Moravia* with his brother *Uladislaus*, in order to seize the government; but the people, from their affection to *Henry*, defeated the invaders, took *Uladislaus* prisoner, whom they confined, and obliged *Premislaus* to fly; but *Henry* again assembling the states, resigned the government into their hands, and retired to *Egra*, where he died. Upon his death, the states took *Uladislaus* from his prison, and declared him king. His elder brother *Premislaus*, who was reduced to be an assistant to some masters at *Ratisbon*, hearing of his promotion, returned immediately to *Prague*, where an agreement was concluded betwixt them, *Premislaus* being put in possession of the kingdom, and resigning *Moravia* to his brother. Soon after, at the persuasion of the king of *France*, he declared for *Philip*, who was then disputing the imperial dignity with *Otho*; however, he quickly changed his party, and favoured *Otho's* cause so zealously, that he got the name of *Othobisgar*, turned afterwards by the *Bohemians* to *Othogar*. He again embraced the party of *Philip*, who gave his daughter *Cunegunda* in marriage to his son *Wenceslaus*, and at last obtained the quiet possession of the empire. He being assassinated at *Bamberg*, and *Otho* succeeding to the empire, *Premislaus* was again reconciled to him, and promised him 300 men to attend him during his expedition to *Rome* to receive the imperial crown. The new emperor having a rupture with the court of *Rome*, was excommunicated by the pope, who prevailed with the electors to chuse *Frederic II.* at whose election *Premislaus* was present, and obtained from him the privilege of being absent from the diets of the empire, unless when they were held at *Bamberg*, *Nuremberg*, or *Ratisbon*, and an exemption from paying any taxes. Towards the end of his long reign, he caused his son *Wenceslaus* to be crowned, in order to secure the succession to his family, and soon after died at *Prague*.

Conrad II.
A. C. 1190.

Henry.
A. C. 1193.

Uladislaus
III.
A. C. 1196.

Premislaus.
A. C. 1196.

WENCESLAUS was surnamed *Othogar*, and in the beginning of his reign was engaged in repelling an invasion of the *Austrians*, who ravaged *Moravia*, but were defeated by the *Bohemians* under the command of *Premislaus*, the king's son. Soon after, he gave assistance to the marquis of *Brandenburgh* against the bishops of *Magdeburgh* and *Halberstadt*; but having oppressed his subjects with heavy taxes to support his great profusion, he raised a general disaffection to his government; so that, at the instigation of the nobles, his own son *Premislaus* rebelled against him. This rebellion, however, was soon quelled; for *Wenceslaus* marching against the rebels, entirely defeated them, and took his son prisoner. Not long after, he had a more formidable enemy to contend with; for the *Thacari*, or *Thattari*, a people of *Scythia*, had left their own country, to the number of 500,000, and after over-running *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Russia*, invaded *Moravia*, and besieged *Olmütz*. He marched with an army to the relief of the city; and in some skirmishes with the barbarians having killed one of their generals, they thought proper to raise the siege, to evacuate his dominions, and to march into *Hungary*.

Wenceslaus
IV.
A. C. 1123.

- WENCESLAUS* dying, his son *Premislaus* succeeded to the kingdom, and took the name of *Othogar*. After settling his affairs in *Bohemia*, he went to take possession of *Austria*, where he had been chosen duke upon the death of *Frederic*, the last of the *Austrian* line. While he continued in that duchy, he purchased from *Udalricus*, duke of *Carinthia*, a part of *Carinthia*, all *Stiria*, and the port of *Naor*, in the *Adriatic*. Marching afterwards to oppose the *Prussians*, who had declared war against the Christians, he defeated them in several engagements; upon which success, many of those people consented to abandon paganism, and two of their chiefs were baptized. Having established his government in *Prussia*, and built *Konigsberg*, he returned with his army to *Stiria* to repel an invasion of the *Hungarians*. He at first agreed to a truce with the invaders, which they basely violated, and hoping to surprize him, attacked his camp in the night; but they were repulsed with loss, and entirely defeated. Upon the news of this victory, the cities of *Verona*, *Feltri*, and *Trevise*, sent an embassy to him, desiring his protection. After his return to *Bohemia*,
- g he received an offer of the imperial crown, which he is said disdainfully to have rejected, which refusal in the end proved his ruin; for *Rodolphus*, count of *Hapsburgh*, who had formerly been great-marshal of his court, having been elected, he in disdain refused to do him homage, and to take the investiture of his states from him. At last, he found the necessity

Othogar.
A. C. 1255.

cessity of complying, and according to the custom, on his knees delivered five standards to the emperor for the five fiefs which he possessed. But *Rodolphus* only returning him two, and keeping those for *Carinthia*, *Austria*, and *Stiria*, which he alledged he had no right to, a war ensued, in which *Othogar* lost his life.

Wenceslaus
V.
A. C. 1273.

WENCESLAUS succeeded his father *Othogar*, and being only eight years of age, was put under the guardianship of his uncle the marquis of *Brandenburgh*. In his fifteenth year he was declared of age, and soon after married *Judith*, the emperor's daughter. As the kingdom of *Poland* about this time was torn to pieces by the factions of the nobles, *Wenceslaus* obtained possession of the provinces of *Sandomir* and *Cracow*; and *Premislaus*, who was some time after chosen king of *Poland*, being killed immediately after by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, in an engagement in *Pomerania*, he succeeded him in that kingdom. After his coronation at *Cracow*, he left the administration of the government of *Poland* to a viceroy, and returned to *Bohemia*, when he proposed to commit the laws of the kingdom to writing; for which purpose he sent for one *Gotius*, a celebrated lawyer, from *Orvieto*, in *Italy*; but his design, for what reason is uncertain, was opposed by the states. About the same time, he received an offer of the crown of *Hungary*; but not chusing to go himself into that kingdom, he sent his young son thither, who was also chosen king. Soon after, hearing that his son only enjoyed the title without any authority, while the nobles by their factions harraised the kingdom, he recalled him to *Bohemia*, and not long after his return, died at *Prague*.

Wenceslaus
VI.
A. C. 1308.

WENCESLAUS succeeded to the kingdom in the sixteenth year of his age. He entirely neglected the administration of government, and spent his time wholly in rioting and feasting. He married *Viola*, the daughter of one of his nobles, and gave his sister *Anne* in marriage to *Henry* duke of *Carinthia*. Being, after much entreaty, prevailed upon to go into *Poland* to take possession of that kingdom, he gave orders for assembling an army, and in the mean time proceeded to *Olmütz*, where he was assassinated in his chamber, after he had reigned only one year. As he was the last of the male descendants of the first duke *Premislaus*, *Henry* duke of *Carinthia*, who had married his sister *Anne*, was proposed as a successor. A faction of the nobles however proposed *Rodolphus*, the son of the emperor, who was acknowledged as king by a numerous party; but while his father was reducing the malecontents, he died, and left the succession to his competitor *Henry*, who, after a short reign of three years, was expelled from the kingdom for his bad government, and obliged to retire to his hereditary dominions.

Rodolphus.
A. C. 1306.

Henry.
A. C. 1307.

John.
A. C. 1310.

His successor was *John*, the son of the emperor *Henry VII.* of the family of *Luxemburgh*, who had married *Elizabeth*, the youngest sister of *Wenceslaus*. He received the crown by a formal deputation of the states, and after a dispute for some time with his competitor, he at last obtained quiet possession of the kingdom. As the dispute about the succession had given great opportunities to robbers and banditti, the king's first care was to repress them, and to establish good order in his dominions. During his father's expedition to *Italy* for the imperial crown, he was appointed vicar of the empire, when he occasioned some murmuring amongst his subjects, by the encouragement he gave to the *Germans*. To quiet the discontents, he sent back the *Germans*, and gave their places to *Bohemians*, who were quickly found to be more oppressive than the foreigners had been. *John* punished the oppressors in an exemplary manner, and soon after gave assistance to the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* against his competitor *Frederic*, set up in opposition to him by the popes, who had excommunicated and deposed him, because he refused to submit to their usurpations. Some years after, the inhabitants of *Brescia*, being oppressed by another faction in *Italy*, begged assistance of *John*, who marched into that kingdom, and made himself master of several places. The emperor, jealous of his power, and offended with him for taking part in the disputes in *Italy*, persuaded the dukes of *Saxony* and *Austria* to attack his dominions during his absence. This unexpected invasion obliged him to leave the care of his army in *Italy* to his son *Charles*, and to return to *Bohemia*. He quickly repulsed the invaders, while the young prince *Charles*, who was then only in the sixteenth year of his age, gained a signal victory over the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* in *Lombardy*. *John*, the following year, returned to *Italy*, where he spent the whole summer in reducing the revolted cities. Finding the war very expensive, he divided his conquests among some *Italians*, who had continued faithful to him, and sending his son *Charles* to *Bohemia*, he himself went to the county of *Luxemburgh*, to carry on a war against the duke of *Brabant*. From *Luxemburgh*, a few years after, he returned to *Bohemia* with his new queen *Beatrice*, daughter of the duke of *Bourbon*; and being jealous of the authority of his son *Charles*, he deprived him of all command. Soon after, he marched against his son-in-law *Otho* duke of *Austria*, who, with the emperor, had made a partition of the territories of the duke of *Carinthia*, which, by a former treaty, should have been left to the king of *Bohemia's* second son *John*. On account of this succession, a new war was raised in *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Carinthia*, and *Tyrol*.

A. C. 1332.

in

in which likewise the *Veronese*, and some other *Italian* states, engaged as auxiliaries to the emperor. Towards the end of *September*, an accommodation was concluded, when the king of *Bohemia* consented to allow his son-in-law *Otto* to retain the duchy of *Carinthia*. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, he undertook an unsuccessful expedition into *Prussia* against the *Lithuanians*; from whence, without visiting his kingdom of *Bohemia*, he returned to *Luxemburg*. Soon after, he took a journey to *Montpellier*, in *France*, in expectation that the fine air would cure him of a distemper in his eyes; but becoming quite blind, he returned from thence with his son *Charles* to *Avignon*, where he had a conference with pope *Benedict XII.* and afterwards returned to *France*. The year after he again visited *Bohemia*, which kingdom he resigned to his son *Charles*, and receiving from him 5000 crowns, he again went to *France*. After an absence of two years, he visited his son at *Prague*, and went with him and several other *German* princes upon an expedition into *Prussia*, which again proved unsuccessful, by the mildness of the winter, which prevented the rivers from being passable. A few years after, the emperor, with the king of *Hungary*, the duke of *Austria*, the king of *Poland*, the marquis of *Misnia*, and the duke of *Schleswig*, formed a league against him, and the king of *Poland* began hostilities by attacking *Sier*, a city of the duke of *Opavia*. *John* marched with great dispatch to the relief of the place, and having obliged the *Poles* to retreat, he besieged *Cracow*, and compelled the king to agree to a peace, in which the rest of his allies were comprehended. After the conclusion of this peace, *John* went with his son *Charles* to *Clement VI.* at *Avignon*, where he entered into a negotiation for procuring the imperial crown for *Charles*. The pope having obtained several promises from *Charles*, all tending to the advancement of the power of the *Roman* see, he published a bull, deposing *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and ordering the electors to chuse *Charles*, marquis of *Moravia*. *John*, having thus procured the imperial dignity for his son, proceeded with him to *France*, to the assistance of *Philip* against the *English*, where he was slain in the famous battle of *Creffy*.

CHARLES succeeding his father, created his brother *John* marquis of *Moravia*, caused an university to be erected in *Prague*, upon the same plan with that of *Paris*, and prevailed with *Clement VI.* to erect the see of *Prague* into an archbishopric. As the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the son of the late emperor, in defence of his father's right, had attacked *Bohemia*, *Charles* declared war against him, and raised up another competitor for the electorate, who was at first greatly favoured by the people. The marquis at length, finding himself unable to support the war, came to an accommodation with the emperor, who allowed him to resign his electorate to his brother. *Charles* afterwards visited the free cities of *Germany*, and married *Anne*, daughter of the count palatine of the *Rhine*. The year following, he went to *Rome*, where he and his empress were crowned. In his return, he brought with him to *Prague* from *Ticino*, the relicks of *St. Vitus*, patron of *Bohemia*. He likewise enlarged and beautified his capital, by adding what is called the new city, in which he founded the college of *Carlstein*. He recovered a great many of the royal castles, which his father had mortgaged, adorned that of *Wissegrad*, built several monasteries and churches, which he furnished with relicks, and by the assistance of learned men, reduced the laws of the kingdom to writing, which are still extant, under the name of *Caroline* constitutions. He generally resided in *Bohemia*, and was more intent upon establishing his family than the administration of the empire. By several peaceable acquisitions, he greatly enlarged his hereditary dominions, and caused his son *Wenceslaus* to be crowned king in the second year of his age. Not long after, he marched with an army to the relief of *Strasburgh*, which was besieged by 40,000 *Lithuanians*, by some called *Angles*, and having obliged the enemy to raise the siege, he pursued them as far as *Colmar*, and entirely dispersed their mutinous army. He then disbanded his troops, and made a progress thro' the cities of the *Rhine* and *Lower Saxony*, and going into *Holland*, he there concluded an alliance betwixt his son *Wenceslaus* and *Joanna*, the earl's daughter. After the conclusion of this alliance, he prevailed with the electors to chuse *Wenceslaus* king of the *Romans*, tho' he was then only in the sixteenth year of his age. Returning afterwards to *Bohemia*, he endeavoured to join the *Moldaw* to the *Danube*; but dying before he could compleat his design, he recommended the execution of it to his son.

WENCESLAUS, upon succeeding to the crown, abandoned himself to dissoluteness and luxury. Neglecting all care of the government, he spent his time among public prostitutes, and being besides of a cruel and savage disposition, he was generally attended with the executioner, who frequently rode upon the same horse with himself. By his barbarity and cruelty, he became odious to his subjects, who seized him, and threw him into the common prison, where he continued several months; but obtaining leave to come out to bathe himself, he deceived his guards, prevailed on a woman, who was likewise bathing,

Charles IV.
emperor.
A. C. 1347.

Wenceslaus
VII.
A. C. 1378.

* CAROLI, in vita sua.

* Bohemia Pia Aeneas Sylv. Hist. Boh.

† Idem ibid.

to ferry him over the *Muldaw*, and escaping naked with his naked attendant to one of his castles near *Prague*, he there married his deliverer, as his first wife was lately dead. He was, the following year, seized a second time, and kept a prisoner privately at *Vienna*, his brother *Sigismund*, who in right of his wife enjoyed the crown of *Hungary*, coming from thence to succeed him in the throne. In the mean time, *Wenceslaus* escaping by means of a poor fisherman from *Vienna*, returned to *Wissegrad*, and took possession of his kingdom. About this time, pope *Boniface* having published a bull for holding a jubile at *Rome*, *Wenceslaus* obtained the privilege of celebrating one at *Prague*, where great numbers assembled, out of devotion to the relicks, and to have the pardon of their sins. *John Huss*, a celebrated preacher, having lately had some disputes with the *Germans* in the university about the succession to a benefice, exclaimed greatly against the indulgences of the pope; and being seconded by one *Jerome*, a professor of the university, their discourses made a great impression on the people, who openly espoused their doctrines, and had several skirmishes in the city with those who adhered to the tenets of the *Romish* church. The archbishop, not being able to prevail with *Wenceslaus* to concern himself in the disturbances which were every day encreasing, went to ask the assistance of *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*. He died on his journey, and his successor *Albicus*, who was addicted wholly to avarice, neglected entirely all care of religion; so that *Huss*, who by the former archbishop had been banished from *Prague*, now returned to the city, and preached publicly with great boldness against the indulgences of the pope. *Wenceslaus*, in the mean time, was deposed from the imperial dignity, at which news he expressed great joy, as he thought himself thereby more at leisure to indulge in riot and excess. His successor in the empire was *Robert*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, who enjoyed the imperial dignity ten years, and was succeeded by *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*. The disturbances still continuing in *Bohemia* on account of religion, the emperor, three years after his election, assembled a general council at *Constance*, for the reformation of the church, and granted a safe-conduct to *John Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague* to appear before that assembly. Notwithstanding this safe-conduct, and although they defended their doctrines with great eloquence and strength of argument, they were both condemned and burnt as heretics. This act of injustice only served to increase the troubles in *Bohemia*; for their disciples, upon the news of their martyrdom, assembled to the number of 30,000, and in the first place resolved to solemnize the day of their death annually. They then spread 300 tables in the open fields, where they took the communion in both kinds, according to their doctrine, and proceeding afterwards through the whole kingdom, pillaged and destroyed all the churches and monasteries, which in *Bohemia* were remarkable for their grandeur and riches. In *Prague* they plundered the palace of the archbishop, and going from thence to the chief square, they seized the magistrates of the city, and threw them from the windows upon the pikes and spears of those who stood below. *Wenceslaus* was at length roused by the violence of the tumult, and making enquiry after the chief of the rioters, his cup-bearer imprudently told him, that he knew the tumult would happen three days before. The king, enraged at this speech, seized the cup-bearer, and threw him at his feet, and attempted to stab him with a dagger; but he himself in the mean time was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died a few days after.

Sigismund.
A.C. 1419.

WHEN *Wenceslaus* died, his brother *Sigismund* was at war with the *Turks*, and delayed coming to *Prague* for some time, till he had secured *Hungary* from the infidels. The *Hussites*, in the mean time, under the command of *John Zisca*, made themselves masters of *Pilsen*, and after a dispute of five days, got possession of the lower town of *Prague*, and of the bridge over the *Muldaw*. Before *Sigismund* entered the kingdom, they sent deputies to him, desiring liberty of conscience: he received them at *Brin* in *Moravia*; but instead of granting their request, he only declared, that he intended to govern the kingdom as his father had done. He proceeded from thence to *Breslau* in *Silesia*, to punish the authors of an insurrection in that capital, and imprudently left the *Hussites* to strengthen themselves in *Bohemia*. As the emperor's answer to their deputies gave them no room to hope for a toleration of their new opinions, they took possession of *Prague*, *Pilsen*, and several other places, and fortified a mountain, which they called *Tabor*, and made their principal retreat. *Sigismund*, in the mean time, had assembled an army of *Germans* and *Hungarians*, and entering *Bohemia*, laid siege to *Prague*. However, he only made himself master of the castle of *Wissegrad*, where he was crowned; for though he assailed the city several times, and continued before it two months, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The *Taborites*, after many successful campaigns, and desperate engagements, not only made themselves masters of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, but likewise carried their victorious arms into *Saxony*, *Austria*, and other provinces of *Germany*. *Sigismund*, finding it impossi-

- a ble to reduce them by arms, had recourse to a secret negotiation with their renowned, tho' blind leader, *John Zisca*, to whom he offered the government of the kingdom, and a large sum of money, if he would acknowledge him as king, and oblige the cities to swear allegiance to him. *Zisca* died while he was on his journey towards the place appointed for the confederates. Upon his death, his followers separated under different leaders, one party choosing *Procopius*, a priest, for their commander; and the other not thinking any one person worthy to succeed *Zisca*, called themselves orphans, and trusted the command to a select few. Both parties soon after joining under the command of *Procopius*, they defeated the Saxons at *Austia*, killing upwards of 12,000 of their men. They afterwards marched into *Austria*, where they entirely routed 100,000 *Germans*, who intended to have invaded
- b *Bohemia*. After this victory, they defeated the marquis of *Misnia*, near *Leipsic*, ravaged *Lusace* and *Silesia*, and obliged several free cities of *Germany* to purchase their security with money. Their arms being every where victorious, cardinal *Julian* proposed to admit their priests to the council of *Basil*, and to allow them free liberty of dispute. *Procopius* accordingly repaired thither with 300 armed gentlemen, and after several conferences, obtained leave of the council to communicate under both kings. In his absence, the nobles, who had adhered to his party, entered into a resolution to restore peace to their country, and to deliver themselves from their arbitrary leader. Upon his return, an engagement happened betwixt the two parties, when he with the greatest part of his followers were killed. The nobles, not contented with victory, published an edict, desiring all those who had fought under *Procopius*,
- c to assemble in the barns, where they should be enrolled for a new expedition. Upon the publication of this edict, many thousands of the *Taborites* assembled in the barns, where they were immediately enclosed and burnt, by which stratagem peace was at length restored, the tenets of the *Hussites* nevertheless prevailing almost through the whole kingdom. During these transactions, *Sigismund* had been at *Rome* to receive the imperial crown, and had returned to *Ulm*. Hearing of the entire defeat of the *Taborites*, he repaired to *Ratisbon*, where he was saluted king by the deputies of the nobles, and also by *Coapchus* and *Rochezana*, as representatives of the *Hussites*. The king confirmed the grant of the council of *Basil*, which allowed them the use of the cup in the communion; and having agreed to several other private articles, he was received into *Prague* with great solemnity and rejoicing, after a ruinous war of sixteen years, occasioned by his breach of faith to *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*. He died the year following, having appointed his son-in-law *Albert of Austria*, his successor.

A. C. 1437.

UPON the death of *Sigismund*, *Albert* was immediately crowned in *Hungary*, and soon after elected emperor at *Frankfort*. The *Hussites* in *Bohemia* rejected *Albert*, and chose *Casimir*, the brother of the king of *Poland*, who entered *Bokemia* at the head of an army, and was put in possession of the city of *Tabor*. *Albert*, however, was supported by the Catholics, and having defeated his rival, obtained quiet possession of the kingdom. He afterwards went to *Hungary* to oppose the *Turks*, where he died of a surfeit in the second year of his reign.

Albert.
A. C. 1438.

- e Soon after the death of *Albert*, his wife was delivered of a son, named *Ladislav*, whom she put under the guardianship of his uncle *Frederic*, who, upon the death of her husband, was chosen emperor. After some difficulty, the states of *Bohemia* chose him for their king, appointing two nobles to have the administration of the government during his minority. The two regents were *Meynard* and *Ptasco*, the one a *Hussite*, and the other a Catholic. *Ptasco* soon after died, and the *Hussites*, to prevent *Meynard* from enjoying the whole power, declared *George Podiebrad* one of the prefecture, and admitted him into *Prague*, which was the head of their sect. He there surprised and imprisoned *Meynard*, settled the senate by his own authority, and having raised a considerable army, he obliged the provinces to acknowledge him as sole governor. The *Austrians*, being dissatisfied with the administration of the emperor, prevailed upon the young *Ladislav* to assume the reins of government. Soon after, he received an embassy to the same purpose from the *Bohemians*, and upon his journey thither, the nobles met him at the confines, and offered him the crown with the usual oath taken by their kings, and then presented the articles of their liberties, which he promised to observe. At his entry into the city of *Prague*, *Rochezana*, the chief of the *Hussite* priests, with his followers, saluted him, but were very coldly received by the king. He refused the archbishopric of *Prague* to *Rochezana*, and after his coronation, he went with the governor *George*, in whom he put great confidence, to *Silesia*, and from thence to *Vienna*. He returned to *Prague* a few years after to celebrate his marriage with *Magdalene*, daughter of *Charles VII.* king of *France*; but while the bride was on her journey, he died of a cholic, occasioned by eating turneps, in the eighteenth year of his age.

Ladislav.
A. C. 1448.

George Podiebrad.
A. C. 1458.

THERE never appeared so many candidates for the crown of *Bohemia* as at this time; for besides the emperor, the two dukes of *Austria*, *Albert* and *Sigismund*, *Casimir* king of *Poland*, *William* duke of *Saxony*, the king of *France* proposed one of his sons as a candidate, offering to pay all the debts of the kingdom, to recover at his own expence all those coun-

tries

tries that had been alienated from the crown, and to raise no taxes of any kind for seven years. But *Rechezana*, before the states went to the senate-house, assembled them in the church, where, in a long sermon, he represented the necessity of chusing a king of their own nation, who understood the constitution of the kingdom, and would defend the privileges they had obtained at the council of *Basil*. This discourse had such an effect upon their minds, that *George Podiebrad*, even before they entered the senate-house, was unanimously saluted king. Pope *Calixtus* consenting to his coronation, *George* took the usual oath of obeying the holy *Roman* church, of protecting and defending it, and of doing his utmost to recal his subjects from their errors and heresies. The content of the pope procured him the allegiance of the greatest number of his subjects, and all the cities of *Moravia* opened their gates to him, except *Iglavia*, which he besieged for four months. *Moravia* at last submitted; but *Silesia* and *Lusace* still refused to acknowledge *George* as king, and many cities in both these provinces fortified themselves against him as an usurper and a heretic. In order to lessen their opposition, *George* sent an ambassador to *Rome* to renew his obedience, and to demand the ratification of the compactata of the council of *Basil*. The pope received his obedience, but instead of confirming the compactata, he sent two nuncios to *Bohemia* to explain them, but with secret orders, if possible, to abolish them. *George* suspecting, or being informed of the secret orders given to the nuncios, would not allow them to speak on the subject of the compactata, but calling an assembly of the states, reproached the pope for offering to violate the decrees of the council of *Basil*, and asked of them if they would assist him in defending the liberties of the nation. Being answered in the affirmative by his faction, he accused *Fantinus* the nuncio, that he had opposed the ratification of the compactata at *Rome*, and immediately ordered him to be imprisoned. Pope *Pius II.* being informed of these proceedings, summoned *George* to appear at *Rome*; but he dying soon after his succession, *Paul II.* absolved the inhabitants of *Silesia* from their allegiance to *George*, and gave the kingdom of *Bohemia* to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, who had married his daughter; but was now taught that no faith was to be kept with those who did not keep their faith with God and the church. *George*, though abandoned by *Moravia* and *Silesia*, and a great many of the nobles, who all took the part of *Matthias*, yet defended his kingdom a long time with great fortitude. At last, pitying the calamities which the nation suffered, he offered to fight his competitor in a single combat; but the conditions he proposed were objected to by *Matthias*. He died soon after, when the states assembled at *Cuthna* to elect a new king.

Uladislaus.
A. C. 1471.

THOUGH the faction of *Matthias* was very powerful, yet the majority of the states elected *Uladislaus*, the son of *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, who, soon after, received the investiture from the emperor. When *Matthias* understood that he was rejected, he invaded *Bohemia*, and ravaged the country; but *Uladislaus*, assisted by the *Bohemians*, obliged him to retire. The year following, having received succours from his father, he recovered *Silesia*, and obliged *Matthias* to sue for a truce, which was agreed to for two years. *Uladislaus*, however, was not acceptable to the *Hussites*, and, upon his return to *Prague*, he was frequently in danger of his life by the tumults of the citizens, who publicly reviled him on account of his religion, and attacked his palace in a seditious manner. To avoid these tumults, he went to *Moravia*, where he concluded a peace with the king of *Hungary*, who, with the sons of *Podiebrad*, was suspected of having privately excited the disturbances in *Prague*. *Matthias* dying of an apoplexy soon after, *Uladislaus* married his widow *Beatrice*, and with her took possession of *Hungary*; though he was at first opposed by his brother *Albert*, who was favoured by a party in that kingdom. After he had secured the quiet possession of his new crown, he divorced *Beatrice*, and married *Anna*, daughter of a duke of *Gascony*; and afterwards signalized himself in opposing *Bajazet II.* emperor of the *Turks*. During his absence from *Bohemia*, the disturbances in *Prague* greatly encreased, and the *Hussites* at last created a bishop of their own sect. The king, after defeating the *Turks* in *Hungary*, returned to *Prague*, where, by his authority, he composed, in a great measure, the disputes about religion, and sent for learned men from *Italy*, in order to restore the university to its former lustre. About this time he had a daughter born to him, who was called *Anne*, and two years afterwards his wife was delivered of a son, named *Lewis*, who was crowned by the *Hungarians* while an infant. He was also crowned in *Bohemia*, which kingdom, on account of the factions and different sects, still continued a scene of disorder and confusion. *Uladislaus*, after settling governors in *Bohemia*, with a supreme authority, went with his children to *Buda*, where he died soon after in the forty-fifth year of his reign over the *Bohemians*, and the twenty-third over the *Hungarians*.

Lewis.
A. C. 1516.

UPON the death of *Uladislaus*, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Pesthurn*, and declared his son of age and fit to govern, though he was not then quite eleven years old. The care of the government, however, was committed to *Stephen Bathoreus*, under the title of palatine of the kingdom. *Lewis* afterwards went into *Bohemia*, where the animosities of the parties subsiding, he was received with universal joy. About this time, sultan *Soliman* was defeated

a defeated by the *Parthians*, with the loss of 100,000 men. In order to appease the murmurs of his subjects, who threatened to depose him, he promised to repair his late losses by conquests from the *Hungarians*; and soon after surprised and took *Belgrade*, and marched with a powerful army into the kingdom. *Lewis* was then returned to *Buda*, where he was preparing to celebrate his nuptials, and was spending his time in feasting and entertainments. The loss of *Belgrade* alarmed the nation, and an inconsiderable army was assembled in haste, with which the king engaged the *Turks* at *Mohatz*, where he was entirely defeated and drowned in the *Danube* in his flight. After the death of *Lewis*, his dominions fell to *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, infant of *Spain*, and afterwards emperor, who had married *Anne*, the only daughter of *Uladislaus*. Both the empire, and the kingdom of *Bohemia*, have ever since continued in the *Austrian* family. A. C. 1527.

The HISTORY of the Electorate of SAXONY.

c THIS dutchy and electorate takes its name from the ancient nation of the *Saxons*, which once possessed a great part of *Germany*; it is bounded on the East by *Lusatia*, on the North by the margraviate of *Brandenburgh*, on the West by the principality of *Anhalt*, and on the South by *Misnia*. The duke, who is the sixth elector of the empire, besides this province, possesses *Misnia*, a part of *Thuringen*, and the marquissate of the *Higher* and *Lower Lusatia*, which formerly made a part of *Bohemia*, a part of the county of *Mansfield*, and the abbey and territory of *Quedlemburg*. The extent of the dominions of the electorate.

d THE air in *Saxony* is cold and sharp, but it is likewise very clear and healthful; the country does not produce wine, but yields abundance of corn; and in the mountains of *Misnia* there are several mines of silver, copper, and lead. The *Saxons* are large and robust, have very good natural parts, and are reckoned to have the milcest and most agreeable conversation of any in *Germany*. They eat much, chiefly of salt-flesh, and are addicted to excessive drinking. The gentlemen value themselves much upon their nobility, and almost never contract alliances with persons of an inferior rank. If any of them, not regarding the nobility of his blood, marries the daughter of a plebeian, whose wealth might be of service to his family, he is the object of a great deal of scorn, and they call him, in contempt, *Pepper-bag*. The matter even goes farther; for if a noble shall disgrace himself by an under-match, he runs the risk of being destroyed by the other gentlemen.

e WITH regard to religion, only *Lutheranism* and *Calvinism* were formerly allowed; but since the elector *Augustus* embraced the *Roman* religion, in order to his being elected king of *Poland*, the free exercise of that profession has been permitted; nevertheless, it is not the prevailing religion, *Lutheranism* is the most universal, and all the ecclesiastick possessions are in the hands of *Lutheran* lords. The language of the common people is a mixture of *German* and *Sclavonian*; but the people of distinction in this province talk the *German* language more pure than in any other part of the empire, and besides, they almost all understand the *French* or *Italian*.

f WITTEMBERG is the capital city of the duchy of *Saxony*, well fortified upon the *Elbe*. The inhabitants of this city have a great veneration for the church in which *Luther* and *Melanchton* are interred, and value themselves for being the first who embraced this doctrine in their university, which is the most famous of all the Protestant universities of *Germany*. The elector of *Saxony* ordinarily resides at *Dresden* upon the *Elbe*, in *Misnia*; which is a magnificent city, and strongly fortified. His palace and arsenal are the admiration of strangers, the one for the beauty and magnificence of its buildings and the richness of its furniture; and the other for the prodigious quantity of cannon and other arms. Other considerable cities belonging to the elector, are, *Pitska*, in *Bohemia*; *Bautzen*, the principal city of *Lusatia*; *Coningstein*, a strong fortress upon the *Elbe*, with an arsenal upon the frontiers of *Bohemia*; *Pirna*, a fine city upon the *Elbe* in *Misnia*, defended by a castle called *Sonnestein*; *Torgau*, a strong city and castle upon the *Elbe* in *Misnia*; *Missein*, formerly a bishop's seat, at present an electoral city; *Leipsick*, a fine large trading city in *Misnia*, celebrated for the purity of the *German* language spoke there, and for three free fairs which are kept there every year. It is defended by *Pleissemburg*, a strong castle, and pretends to be a free and imperial city; but this privilege is disputed by the elector of *Saxony*. g *Freiberg*, a large and strong city, is likewise in *Misnia*; here is the burying-place of the princes of the electoral house of *Saxony*. The four cities and bailliages sequestered from the archbishoprick of *Magdebourg* by the peace of *Prague*, and afterwards by that of *Westphalia*,
MOD. HIST. VOL. XV. 6 B

plains, for the advantage of the elector of Saxony, are *Dama*, *Gottabock*, *Dorfart*, and *Bork*, more considerable for their revenue than for their situation and beauty.

The elector administers justice in the last instance in all his states, without appeal to the aulick chamber of the emperor, or to the imperial chamber of *Wetzlar*. With regard to the lands and possessions that have been given to the younger sons of this family, the elector still retains the right of arms, protection, and superiority over these lands. This division was made about the year 1656, by the elector of Saxony, *John George I.* in favour of four of his children; namely, *John George II.* who succeeded him in the electorate, *Augustus*, *Christian*, and *Maurice*. He gave *Augustus* as his inheritance, the administration of *Magdeburgh*, and a part of the lands that depend upon the house of Saxony in *Thuringia*, with three other bailliages. *Duke Christian* had the administration of the bishoprick of *Mersburgh*, *Lower Luface*, with three bailliages. *Duke Maurice* had all the possessions of his father in the *Voightland*, and in the county of *Hennenberg*, with the bishoprick of *Naumberg*, of which he was administrator. As all these brothers married, and had several children, this division still continues.

The privileges
of the elector.

THE rights of the elector as grand-marshal of the empire are very considerable. At the election of the emperor, and when the emperor holds his court, the elector of Saxony carries the naked sword before his imperial majesty. *Wenceslaus*, duke of *Brabant*, indeed disputed this right; but the emperor *Sigismund* confirmed it to the electors of Saxony by a particular decree. In the diets and assemblies of the empire, especially at the election of an emperor, he has the right of regulating the lodgings of the princes and deputies, and to make decrees with regard to the provisions, that victuals may not be wanting in the place, and that they may be procured at a reasonable rate. He publishes the day of the assembly after it has been appointed by the archbishop of *Mentz*; and, in the absence of the ambassador of the elector of *Mentz*, it belongs to him to regulate the assemblies; he pretends to have the right of putting a seal upon the effects of the ministers who die during the holding of the diet, but this privilege is contested with him. He exercises all these rights, either by himself when he is present, or when he is absent by the ministers of the count of *Pappenheim* his vicar. In all military expeditions, where the emperor is present in person, the elector of Saxony pretends to the right of carrying the grand standard of the empire, and of disposing of the second standard; and the count of *Pappenheim* pretends to the same right in the absence of the elector, and when the emperor is not in the army in person. The jurisdiction of the grand marshal extended formerly to the games in the camp. It was not permitted unto any one to play unless under the standard of the marshal, and from this arose a certain revenue. But when the emperor *Sigismund* prohibited playing in the camps, to indemnify the marshal for the loss he suffered by this prohibition, 200 florins were assigned him upon the city of *Nordlingen*, with part of the tax paid by the Jews of *Nuremberg*, which revenue the count of *Pappenheim* at present enjoys. He hath also the right of protection of the trumpeters and players upon fifes and other musical instruments of war; so that even the electoral society of trumpeters of Saxony pretends to have an universal jurisdiction in causes concerning that art, although the marshals of the court claim the determination of these causes in the other states of the empire. If the see of *Mentz* be vacant, or the envoy of that elector be absent, the elector of Saxony pretends to preside in the diets; but this privilege is disputed with him by the electors of *Triers* and *Cologne*. The direction of the evangelic states, which he has often claimed in the diets of the empire, is likewise disputed with him. In quality of elector, he is the director and chief of the circle of *Upper Saxony*, and vicar of the empire when it is vacant. As margrave of *Misnia*, he is grand huntsman of the empire, a title conferred upon him by the emperor *Leopold*; and as margrave of *Luface*, he has a right to ennobel. The principal of his hereditary officers is the hereditary marshal of *Lasfer*, who exercises that office in the acts of ceremony, and in the provincial diets.

The antient
inhabitants of
Saxony.

THE part of Germany anciently called Saxony extended from the river *Eydor*, which divides *Denmark* from Germany, through *Westphalia*, almost as far as the *Lower Rhine*; on the West it had the German ocean, from *Hamburg* to *Friesland*, and it extended eastward almost as far as *Prussia*; though *Mecklenburg*, and part of *Pomerania*, continued in the possession of the *Wandales* or *Sclavi*. The inhabitants, called Saxons, are supposed by some to be descended of the *Macedonians*; but others, with more probability, affirm, that they are the antient *Catli*, described by *Tacitus*; but whether these were the sons of *Sacæ*, a people of *Scythia*, cannot be determined by any authority of history. For the first 300 years after *Christ*, there is no mention of the Saxons in Roman authors; but Danish historians make mention of the Saxons in their annals sixty years before the Christian æra, and relate the wars betwixt the two nations, upon account of *Jutland*, or the *Cimbric Chersonese*.

a *Est opidis and Orosius*, the first of the *Roman* authors that mention the *Saxons*, relate, that *Charafius* had orders to protect the *Belgic* and *Armoric* coasts from the invasions of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, they being early remarkable for their expeditions upon the *German* or *British* sea. A. C. 350.

The whole nation of the *Saxons* was governed by twelve chieftains, who were chosen annually; these elected one from among themselves, who was their chief judge, but had no further authority. When they had wars, they chose a king, whose authority remained while the war continued; but at the conclusion of the peace he returned to his former station. The first of the *Saxon* kings mentioned in history is *Harderick*. *Anserick*, his successor, began to drive the *Thuringi* out of the duchy of *Bremen*, and the adjacent country near the mouth of the *Elbe*. Not long after, the *Saxons* extended themselves towards the *Oder*, and likewise drove the *Thuringi* from the countries called *Brunswick* and *Luneburgh*. About the beginning of the fourth century they made themselves known by their incursions upon the *Gallick* coast, and by land extended their dominions very much towards the West, which afterwards produced continual wars between them and the *Franks*. *Hengist*, who is reckoned the fourteenth of their kings, about the middle of the fifth century, went into *England* with a large colony, and established a *Saxon* government in that kingdom. In the beginning of the sixth century, *Theoderic*, king of *Austrasia*, called the *Saxons* to assist him against the *Thuringi*, and by their assistance, the whole kingdom of *Thuringia* was conquered, and divided between the *Saxons* and the *Franks*, the river *Unstrut* being appointed the common boundary. It having been the fashion for a century or two past, for the *German* nations to emigrate, part of the *Suevi* and *Wandals* having settled in *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, the *Franks* in *Gallia*, the *Saxons* in *Britain*, the *Burgundians* in the province of that name, the *Longobards*, another *German* nation, invaded *Pannonia*, and from thence being invited into *Italy*, they were joined by 20,000 *Saxons*, and took possession of *Lombardy*. But the *Longobards* settling themselves in the best part of *Italy*, and refusing to admit the *Saxons* to the same privileges with themselves, these people returned to their former habitations, which were now possessed by the *Suevi* and other nations. The *Saxons*, refusing any accommodation with these new inhabitants, a war ensued, which continued for some time, to the mutual destruction of both parties, so that at last they agreed to inhabit together. The *Franks*, who had settled in *Gaul*, after many disputes with the *Saxons* about the province of *Thuringen*, at last obliged them to continue quiet and pay a tribute; but the *Vandals* invading that part of *Thuringia* subject to the *Franks*, they offered to release the *Saxons* from their tribute, upon condition that they expelled the *Vandals*. After their expulsion there still continued disputes between the *Franks* and the *Saxons* about the province of *Thuringen*; and the *Franks*, having been converted to Christianity, began to hate the *Saxons*, who still continued idolaters, and were averse to Christianity, because it was the religion of the *Franks*. *Charles Martel*, who was high-steward to the *French* king, at this time having defeated the *Saracens*, who invaded the southern provinces of *France*, resolved to oblige the *Saxons* to forsake their idolatry, and declared war against them, but they were not reduced but by his grandson *Charlemain*. *Pepin* the father of *Charles the Great*, having put his king *Childeric III.* into a convent, was declared king of *France* himself by the pope, and marched with a great army into *Saxony*. Having defeated the *Saxons*, he obliged them to pay a yearly tribute of an hundred stone horses. *Charlemain* succeeding his father, and being not only king of *France*, but emperor of *Germany*, resolved in a diet at *Worms* to continue the war against the *Saxons*, till they embraced the Christian religion. Entering their province, he took the city *Esbresburg* in *Westphalia*, destroyed their chief idol *Irminsula*, and received many hostages; but going afterwards to *Italy* against the *Longobards*, the *Saxons*, under the command of *Wittekind* their king, again recovered *Esbresburg*, and defeated the *Franks*. *Charlemain* returning from *Italy*, defeated the *Saxons*, and obliged *Wittekind* to fly into *Denmark*; but finding himself at last unable to resist the arms of *Charlemain*, after losing seventeen battles, he accepted of the conditions offered him by the emperor, and was baptized with his whole family by *Lullo*, bishop of *Mentz*. The sovereignty of some provinces was left to him, and *Charles the Great* changed the black horse, which he wore in his escutcheon, into a white one, retained at this day by the house of *Brunswick*. The *Saxons* were not quite reduced by the submission of *Wittekind*, but continued the war several years after; *Charles* defeated them in many battles, and transporting many thousands of them to *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other countries, they were at last subdued in 804, after a calamitous war of thirty years.

g *WITTEKIND*, in his old age, made war against the *Suevi*, or *Suabians*, but was not able to bear the fatigues of the war. He was suffocated in his armour by the great heat, and buried at *Angria*, or *Anglia*, in *Westphalia*. His son *Wigbert* brought *Hildesheim* into the

* SAXONIA Krantzij, l. ii. c. 2. c. 29. " Idem ibid. l. i. c. 33.

* MEIBOM. Rer. Ger. Scrip. v. i. p. 222, and 223. Saxonii Krantzij, l. i. Idem ibid. l. ii. c. 13.

Idem ibid l. ii. c. 24. Idem ibid.

form of a city, and made a journey to *Rome* out of devotion. His great grandson, *Ludolph*, enlarged the territories that had been left to his forefathers. *Bruno* II. eldest son of *Ludolph*^a, built the city of *Brunswick*; *Daneward*, the second son, built a castle in the city, which is called *Danewerderode*; and the youngest son, *Otto*, founded the convent of St. *Michael* at *Lunebourg*. After the death of *Louis* IV. *Otto* was elected emperor, but declined that dignity upon the account of his great age. *Otto*'s son, *Henry*, surnamed *the Fowler*, built the cities of *Goslar* and *Quedlinburgh*, and on the death of *Conrad*, the princes of the empire elected him emperor; *Conrad* himself, upon his death-bed, desiring his brother to carry the imperial ensigns to *Henry*, the succession to the empire being more in the appointment of the deceased at this time, than in the will of the electors. *Henry*, in order to secure the frontiers of the empire against foreign irruptions, appointed margraves, or governors of frontiers in *Sleswick*, *Brandenburgh*, *Misnia*, and *Lusace*; as *Charlemain* had done in *Austria* and *Moravia*. He likewise founded several cities, caused many others to be fortified, and ordered the youth to be exercised in arms, that they might be more expert in repelling invasions. He appointed his son *Otto* to succeed him, who, upon account of his many exploits, was surnamed *The Great*. He converted the *Danes* to Christianity, and left *Saxony* and the imperial dignity to his son *Otto*, surnamed *Rufus*, who was succeeded by his son *Otto* III. surnamed *Mirabilia Mundi*.

OTTO the First, having great wars to maintain in *Italy*, which obliged him to be absent from *Germany* sometimes for several years; gave that part of *Saxony* next to the *Danes*, and the *Heneti* or *Sclavi*, to *Herman Billing*, one of the ministers of his court, in order that he might repel the invasions of the barbarians. Being pleased with his conduct, he afterwards gave it to him as an hereditary fief, with the title of duke of *Saxony*^b; the emperor enjoyed this dignity for 146 years; but the male issue became extinct in *Magnus*, great grandson of *Berno*, eldest son of the first duke, who succeeded his father in 988. *Berno* dying in 1003, was succeeded by his son *Bernhard*, who left the duchy to his son *Ordulphus*, and upon his death his son *Magnus* succeeded him. *Magnus* dying in 1106, left only two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to *Henry the Black*, duke of *Bavaria*, of the *Guelphick* race, in whose right he ought to have inherited the duchy of *Saxony*; but the emperor *Henry* V. favouring *Lotharius*, count of *Supplinburgh*, who, in right of his wife, inherited another division of *Saxony* on the *Wefer*, conferred likewise on him the duchy of *Saxony* on the *Elbe*. But this disposition kept the duchy of *Saxony* only during one generation out of the family of *Magnus*, his grandson *Henry*, surnamed *the Proud*, son of *Henry the Black*, again succeeding to *Saxony*, in right of his wife *Gertrand*, only daughter and heiress of *Lotharius*, who was now become emperor.

HENRY the Proud succeeded his father in 1127, and as duke of *Bavaria*, possessed all the countries from *Verona* in *Italy* northward to the *Danube*, and from *Lower Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola*, westward, to the borders of *Franconia*; afterwards commanding the emperor's army in *Italy*, he conquered *Tuscany*, and several other provinces which the emperor *Lotharius* his father-in-law ceded to him; and soon after he resigned to him the duchy of *Saxony* on the *Elb*, and *Saxony* on the *Wefer*; which northern dominion *Henry* extended as far as *Lubeck*, by conquests from the *Polabi*, a race of *Veneds*. *Lotharius* dying the year following, declared *Henry* his successor, and left him the imperial ensigns. But *Conrad*, who had disputed the empire with *Lotharius* for five years, being now elected emperor, obliged *Henry* to deliver up the regalia; but afterwards *Henry* refusing to quit some of his possessions, at the emperor's desire he was put to the ban of the empire; *Conrad* giving *Bavaria* to his brother, the margrave of *Austria*, and *Saxony* to *Albert the Bear*, of the house of *Anhalt*. Notwithstanding this decree of the empire, many of *Henry*'s subjects remained faithful to him, by whose assistance he still kept possession of great part of *Saxony*; but an accommodation being proposed at *Quedlinburgh*, *Henry* was poisoned there in the 40th year of his age^c.

HENRY the Lion succeeded his father when he was but ten years of age, and his uncle *Guelph* VII. taking the administration of his states, concluded a peace with the emperor, by which *Henry the Lion* was reinstated in *Saxony*, and *Albert the Bear* should possess the margraviate of *Brandenburgh*; but *Henry*'s mother marrying the margrave of *Austria*, the dukedom of *Bavaria* was confirmed to him. *Henry* afterwards assisting the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* in *Italy*, gained the favour of that emperor, by whose means he recovered *Bavaria*; but afterwards falling under the displeasure of *Frederic*, he was put to the ban of the empire, and deprived of all his states except *Brunswick* and *Luneburgh*, which still con-

^a MEIBOM. Rer. Ger. Scrip. v. i. p. 222, and 223. Saxonii Krantzii, l. ii. c. 31. Script. v. iii. p. 37.

^c See the history of the electorate of Hanover.

^b MEIBOM. Rer. Ger.

tinue to his descendants. That part of *Saxony*, which came afterwards to be called the electorate of *Saxony*, was given to *Bernbard* of the house of *Anhalt*^a.

BERNARD III. was the youngest son of *Albert the Bear*, count of *Altania*, descended A. C. 1182. of a very ancient *Saxon* family, and related to *Wittekind*, the last king of the *Saxons*. *Ber. Bernard III.* *nard* dying in 1212, left by his wife *Jutba*, daughter of *Canute* king of *Denmark*, *Albert*, *Albert III.* who succeeded him in the electorate, and *Henry the Old*, author of the house of *Anhalt*.

ALBERT I. died in 1260, and had by his wife *Helma*, daughter of the emperor *Otto IV.* *Albert I.* *Albert II.* who succeeded him, and *John* the author of the house of *Saxe Lawenburg*.

ALBERT II. died in 1311, having had by his wife *Agnes*, daughter of the emperor *Ro-* *Albert II.* *dolphus* of *Habsburg*, *Rodolphus*, who succeeded him.

RODOLPHUS I. died in 1356, and left by his first wife *Judith*, daughter of *Otto*, mar- *Rodolphus I.* grave of *Brandenburgh*, *Rodolphus* his successor; and by his second marriage with *Cunegunda* of *Poland*, he left *Wenceslaus*.

RODOLPHUS II. enjoyed the electorate twenty-three years, and leaving no male chil- *Rodolphus II.* dren, his brother *Wenceslaus* succeeded him.

WENCESLAUS died in 1383, leaving by his wife *Cecilia*, daughter of *Francis*, marquis *Wenceslaus.* of *Carrara*, *Rodolphus* and *Albert*.

RODOLPHUS III. enjoyed the electorate thirty-five years, and dying without children, *Rodolphus* his brother *Albert* succeeded him, and died in 1422, without leaving any posterity. *III.*

ALBERT III. the succession was disputed by the dukes of *Saxe Lawenburg*, *Albert III.* the counts palatine, and the margraves of *Brandenburg*; but the emperor *Sigismund* deprived the dukes of *Saxe Lawenburg* of their right, preferable to the claim of the others, because they had not demanded the investiture soon enough, and gave the investiture of the electorate to *Frederic the Warrior*, landgrave of *Thuringen*, and margrave of *Misnia*.

FREDERIC the Warlike, chief of the modern electors of *Saxony*, is descended, according *A. C. 1422.* to some, from *Wittekind the Great*; but we shall only mention that *Conrad*, count of *Frederic the* *Wethin*, obtained of the emperor *Lotharius II.* *Misnia* and *Lusace*, which he left at his *Warlike.* death, in 1156, to his sons; namely, *Misnia* to *Otto* his eldest, and *Lusace* to *Dieteric* the youngest. *Otto* had a son named *Dieteric*, who bought *Lusace* from the emperor *Otto IV.* and married *Judith*, the daughter of *Herman*, landgrave of *Hesse* and *Thuringen*. Her brother *Henry* being killed at the siege of *Ulm*, and leaving no issue, the sons of *Judith* disputed the succession with the posterity of *Sophia*, who was daughter of *Louis*, brother to the deceased *Henry*, and had married the duke of *Brabant*. An accommodation being agreed to, *Henry*, son of *Sophia*, had the landgraviate of *Hesse*, and *Thuringen* was ceded to *Henry*, margrave of *Misnia*, surnamed *the Illustrious*, son of *Dieteric* and *Judith*, who re-united in his person the landgraviate of *Thuringen*, and the margraviate of *Misnia* and *Lusace*. His son *Albert* married *Margaret*, daughter of the emperor *Frederic II.* who brought him the county of *Aitemberg*, and the lordship of *Plaißi*. He had a son *Frederic*, who lived in 1308, who likewise had a son named *Frederic the Grave*, who was elected king of the *Romans*, but yielded his rights to *Charles IV.* He acquired the county of *Weimar*, and his son *Frederic the Valiant* had by his wife the principality of *Coburg*. This last was father of *Frederic the Warlike*, first elector of *Saxony*, of the family of the margraves of *Misnia*. *Frederic* the elector, left by his wife *Catherine*, daughter of *Henry* duke of *Brunswick*, *Frederic*, who succeeded him, and *William*, who left issue, besides two daughters who were married to the landgrave of *Hesse* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*.

FREDERIC, surnamed *the Pacific*, married *Margaret*, daughter of *Ernest*, duke of *Frederic II.* *Austria*, and sister to the emperor *Frederic III.* by whom he had two sons, who survived *the Pacific.* him, namely, *Ernest* the author of the *Ernestine* branch, and *Albert the Courageous*, author *A. C. 1428.* of the *Albertine* branch. He had likewise four daughters, two of whom were abbesses, and the other two married to *Lewis the Rich*, duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert* margrave of *Brandenburgh*.

ERNEST married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Albert III.* duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he *Ernest.* had *Frederic* his successor; *Albert*, or according to some *Ernest*, archbishop of *Mentz*; *A. C. 1464.* *Ernest*, or *Albert*, archbishop of *Magdebourg*; *John*, surnamed *the Constant*; *Christina*, married to the king of *Denmark*; and *Margaret*, married to *Henry*, duke of *Brunswick*.

FREDERIC the Wise would never marry. The emperor *Maximilian I.* chose him for *Frederic the* president of his council, and vicar-general of the empire. After the death of that em- *Wife.* peror, the imperial crown was offered to him, but he refused it, and gave his vote for *A. C. 1486.* *Charles V.* whom he caused to be elected on certain conditions, in order to secure the liberty of *Germany*. From thence arises that capitulation which all the emperors have since been obliged to swear to before their election. This wise prince was one of the first protectors of *Luther*, and was succeeded by his brother *John*.

^a MEIBOM. Rer. Ger. Script. v. iii. p. 343. See also the history of the electorate of Hanover.

John the
Constant.
A. C. 1525.

JOHN, surnamed *the Constant*, was the fourth son of *Ernest*, and was equally zealous as a his brother for the establishment of Lutheranism. This prince married first, *Sophia*, daughter of *Magnus*, duke of *Mecklenburg*, by whom he had *John Frederic*, who succeeded him. By his second wife *Margaret*, daughter of *Waldemar*, prince of *Anhalt*, he had *John-Ernest*, who died without children; *Mary*, married to *Philip* duke of *Pomerania*; and *Margaret*, who died at the age of nineteen.

John Frederic.
A. C. 1532.

JOHN Frederic, surnamed *the Magnanimous*, was one of the principal supports of the protestant religion, and chief of the *Smalkaldic* league, which brought upon him the hatred of the emperor *Charles V.* which was still encreased by his opposition to the election of *Ferdinand*, as king of the *Romans*. He maintained great wars against this emperor; but having lost the battle of *Mulberg*, where he was made prisoner, he was deprived by that emperor of his electorate and the greatest part of his states, which were given to his cousin b *Maurice*, son of *Albert the Courageous*. He consented to his deprivation before his death, contenting himself with the counties of *Alteneburg*, *Sacksenburg*, *Hisenberg*, &c. with the title of elector till his death. His sons also subscribed this resignation, and made a family pact of mutual succession with their cousins at *Naumburg*.

Maurice.
A. C. 1547.

MAURICE, to whom the emperor *Ferdinand* gave the electorate after the battle of *Mulberg*, was cousin-german to the last elector, *Albert* the younger son of *Frederic the Pacific* being his grandfather. *Albert* was governor of *Friseland*, and married *Zedena*, daughter of *George Podiebrad*, king of *Bohemia*, by whom he had, among other children, *Henry the Pious*, who, upon his return to the Holy Land, and *Compostella* in *Galicia*, introduced c Lutheranism into his country. He married *Catherine*, daughter of *Magnus* duke of *Mecklenburg*, by whom he had two sons, *Maurice* and *Augustus*, and three daughters. *Maurice* the elector, married *Agnes*, daughter of *Philip*, landgrave of *Hesse*; but leaving no male issue, his brother succeeded him.

Augustus the
Pious.
A. C. 1553.

AUGUSTUS, surnamed *the Pious*, married first, *Anne*, daughter of *Christian III.* king of *Denmark*, by whom he had eight sons, who all died infants, except the sixth, *Christian*, who succeeded him; he had besides six daughters. His second wife was *Agnes Hedwige*, daughter of *Joachim Erne*, prince of *Anhalt*.

Christian I.

CHRISTIAN I. embraced Calvinism, and introduced that profession into Saxony. He married *Sophia*, daughter of *John George*, elector of *Brandenburg*, by whom he had *Christian II.* who succeeded him; *John George*, who continued the family; *Augustus*, who died d without posterity; *Sophia*, married to the duke of *Pomerania*; *Dorothy*, abbess of *Quedlinburg*; and two other daughters that died infants.

Christian II.
A. C. 1591.

CHRISTIAN II. being a minor when his father died, was under the guardianship of the duke of *Weimar*, grandson of *John Frederic*, the last elector of the *Ernestine* line, who administered the government for ten years, and again introduced Lutheranism into Saxony. *Christian* married *Hedwige*, daughter of *Frederic II.* king of *Denmark*; but leaving no children, his brother *John George* succeeded him.

John George
I.
A. C. 1611.

JOHN George I. married first *Sybilla*, daughter of *Frederic*, duke of *Wurtemberg*, who died without children. His second wife was *Margaret Sybilla*, daughter of *Albert Frederic*, margrave of *Brandenburg*, and duke of *Prussia*, by whom he had *John George*, who succeeded him; *Augustus*, administrator of *Magdeburg*; *Christian*, administrator of *Mersburg*; *Maurice*, administrator of *Naumburg*; besides three other sons who died infants, and three daughters, namely, *Sophia Eleonora*, married to *George II.* landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*; *Mary Elizabeth*, married to *Frederic*, duke of *Holstein Gottorp*; and *Magdalene Sybilla*, married first, to *Christian I.* prince of *Denmark*, and next to *Frederic William II.* duke of *Alteneburg*.

John George
II.
A. C. 1656.
John George
III.
A. C. 1680.

JOHN George II. married *Magdalene Sybilla*, daughter of *Christian*, margrave of *Brandenburg Culmbach*, by whom he had *George* his successor, and *Ertmuth Sophia*, married to *Christian Ernest*, margrave of *Brandenburg Anspach*.

JOHN George III. was declared grand huntsman of the empire by the emperor *Leopold*, in 1662. He signalized himself, on many occasions, during the different wars of the empire against the *French* and *Turks*, especially at the raising the siege of *Vienna*. He married *Anne Sophia*, daughter to *Frederic III.* king of *Denmark*, by whom he had *John George* and *Frederic Augustus*, who both succeeded him in their turns.

John George
IV.
A. C. 1691.

JOHN George IV. enjoyed the electorate only three years. He signalized himself in the war upon the *Rhine*, and in *Hungary* against the *Turks*; and married *Eleanora Ertmuth-Louisa*, widow of *John Frederic*, margrave of *Brandenburg Anspach*, and daughter of *John George*, duke of *Saxe Eisenach*; but he died of the small pox at *Dresden*, without leaving any issue.

Frederic Augustus I.
A. C. 1694.

FREDERIC Augustus succeeded to the electorate upon the death of his brother *John George*. He attached himself greatly to the interests of the house of *Austria*, and in his youth he continued a long time at the court of *Vienna*, where he became a particular friend of *Joseph*, king of the *Romans*, afterwards emperor. He signalized himself in the wars

a wars in *Hungary* against the *Turks*, and afterwards commanded the imperial army upon the *Rhine*. He was elected king of *Poland* by the credit and solicitations of the house of *Austria*, and having abjured Lutheranism, and made profession of the Catholic religion, he was crowned at *Cracovia* by the bishop of *Cujavia*. Having entered into an alliance with the king of *Denmark*, and czar of *Muscovy*, against *Charles XII.* king of *Sweden*, that prince invaded *Poland* and *Saxony*, and obliged him to renounce the crown of *Poland* in favour of *Stanislaus*. But the king of *Sweden* being afterwards entirely defeated at *Pultowa* by the *Muscovites*, *Augustus* again entered *Poland*, notwithstanding his renunciation, and by the assistance of the *Saxons*, recovered the kingdom. His reign was afterwards disturbed by intestine troubles, which were at last accommodated by the mediation of the czar of *Muscovy*. By his queen *Christiana Everhardina*, of *Brandenburgh Barcith*, who died in the protestant religion in which she was educated, he had only one son named *Frederic Augustus*, who succeeded him.

FREDERIC Augustus made profession of the Catholic religion at *Bologna* in *Italy*, in 1712; but he kept this change a secret till the year 1717, when being at *Vienna* at the emperor's court, he declared publicly that he was a Catholic, and assisted at the mass celebrated by the pope's nuncio. The emperor made him a knight of the Golden Fleece, and the king his father having named him president of his privy-council, and committed to him the general direction of all affairs within and without the kingdom, without any exception; he took his seat in that quality in the privy-council at *Warsavia* in 1726, and began from that time to give audience to foreign ministers and to those of the court. He succeeded to the electoral dignity, and the hereditary possessions of his house by the death of his father, and to the crown of *Poland*, after an interregnum of two years. He married at *Vienna*, *Mary-Josepha-Benedicta-Antoinetta-Theresa-Xavier-Philippina*, archduchess of *Austria*, eldest daughter of the late emperor *Joseph*, by whom he has *Frederic Christian-Gregory-George-Francis Leopold*, born at *Dresden*, the 5th of September, 1722. *Mary Amelia-Christina-Frances-Xavier-Flora Walpurga*, born at *Dresden*, the 24th of November, 1724. *Mary-Margaret-Frances-Xavier*, born at *Dresden*, the 12th of September, 1727. *Anne-Mary-Augustica-Xavier*, born at *Dresden*, the 29th of August, 1728. *Augustus Albert-Francis-Xavier-Bennet*, born at *Dresden*, the 25th of August, 1730; and *Mary-Josepha-Carolina-Eleanora-Frances-Xavier*, born at *Dresden*, on the 4th of November, 1731.

HISTORY of the Electorate of BAVARIA.

e **T**HIS duchy was formerly a kingdom, which extended from the mountains of *Franconia* to the frontiers of *Hungary* and the *Adriatic Gulph*. It comprehended the country of *Tirol*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, *Austria*, and other states, which since that time have fallen to different princes: so that what at present is called *Bavaria*, is only composed of the dominions comprehended under the modern division of *Upper* and *Lower Bavaria*. Although these two provinces have sometimes been augmented, and sometimes diminished by intestine wars; however, they consist of twelve counties, which formerly sufficed to make a duchy, according to the laws of *Franconia*. This country is watered by five navigable rivers, besides several smaller ones, and sixteen lakes. It contains thirty-five good cities, of which *Munich* is the capital, 94 towns, 720 castles, 4700 villages, 8 great abbeys, 75 cloisters, or monasteries, besides those of the Mendicants. It is bounded towards the east by *Bohemia* and *Austria*, towards the west by *Suabia*, by *Franconia* towards the north, and by *Tirol* towards the south. But the duke of *Bavaria* is not absolute master of all this country, for within its bounds are situated many free cities, among which is *Ratisbon*, and several lordships both ecclesiastical and secular.

The ancient extent of this duchy.

MUNICH, the ordinary residence of the dukes of *Bavaria*, is a pretty large and populous city. *Henry the Lion*, of the house of *Brunswick*, caused it to be built of the ruins of the monastery of *Schefflaer*, from whence it was called *Munich*. Others refer its origin to duke *Otho*, who called it *Munchen*, from the head of a Monk that was found in the foundations. It is near a very fine salt spring, which, at a small expence, is converted into fine white salt. The emperor *Louis* of *Bavaria*, gave it very large privileges, and *John* duke of *Bavaria*, made it the capital of his dominions. The cities in *Bavaria* most remarkable for their fortifications, are chiefly *Ingolstadt*, *Donauwert*, *Landsberg*, *Freiberg*, *Straubingen*, *Wilshausen*, *Wasserberg*, *Eling*, *Rain*, the castle of *Burkhausen*, *Branau*, *Scherting*, &c.

BAVARIA is divided into four great bailliages, which are called governments; namely, *Munich*, *Landshut*, *Straubing*, and *Burkhausen*; where justice is administered to the people which

which depend upon each bailliage; the appeals from these courts are carried before the sovereign council of the duke. As to the *Upper Palatinate*, which, by the last treaties of *Westphalia*, has been united to *Bavaria*, it is a duchy which comprehends several counties, cities, towns, and villages; the chief city is *Amberg*, which is the seat of the courts of justice for the whole province, and is situated upon the river *Vils*. Below *Amberg*, upon the same river, is *Waldeg*, a very strong castle, and the city of *Rotenburgh*, with a citadel strongly fortified. On the other side of this province is *Chamb*, the chief city of the county of the same name, belonging likewise to the duke of *Bavaria*.

1566. BESIDES the duchy of *Bavaria* and the *Upper Palatinate*, the duke possesses the landgraviate of *Leichtenberg*, which fell to him by the death of *Maximilian Adam*, last landgrave of that name, in consequence of family pacts, made betwixt the house of *Bavaria* and that of *Leichtenberg*, for their mutual succession. He possesses likewise the county of *Kaag*, since the year 1567, when that county fell to him by the death of *Ladislaus*, the last count of that name. There is likewise family pacts of mutual succession established betwixt the house of *Bavaria* and the palatine of the *Rhine*. The inhabitants in this country are strong and laborious, and exercise themselves in shooting with rifled muskets at a mark, or elevated pole, in order to render themselves more expert at arms in time of war.

ALL historians agree, that this house is one of the most ancient of *Germany*. The counts of *Scheyren*, whose castle is at present a cloister, gave them the name. At that place are shewn the tombs of more than twenty-six lords of *Scheyren*. The emperor *Otho I.* established as counts palatine of *Bavaria*, and landgraves of *Scheyren*, *Arnolph* and *Herman*, sons of *Arnolph*, brother of the duke *Berchtold*, of *Carinthia*, marquis of the country upon the *Ens*. The emperor *Otho I.* after the death of *Berchtold*, instead of giving *Bavaria* to *Henry* his son, gave it to duke *Henry* his brother, who had married *Judith*, sister of *Arnolph* and *Herman*. This duke *Henry* of *Bavaria*, had by his marriage *Henry Hezillon*, who was succeeded by his son *Henry*, afterwards chosen emperor under the name of *Henry II.* This emperor having no children by *Saint Cunigond* his wife, *Bavaria* passed again to the family of *Franconia*, and afterwards to that of *Suabia*, under *Henry IV.* who possessed it till the year 1071, when this last emperor gave that country to count *Wolf* or *Guelph*, of *Ravenburgh* in *Suabia*. To this *Guelph*, who died in the island of *Cyprus*, succeeded his son *Guelph II.* and to him his brother the duke *Henry IX.* who was succeeded by his son *Henry the Proud*, who had married the only daughter of the emperor *Lotharius*, and who, after the death of his father-in-law, became also duke of *Saxony*. But refusing to deliver up the imperial ornaments of his father-in-law to the emperor *Conrad III.* duke of *Suabia*, or to acknowledge him for emperor, he was put to the ban of the empire, and lost his states. After whose death, the emperor *Conrad* made his brother *Leopold* marquis of *Austria* and duke of *Bavaria*, who dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother *Henry XI.* whom the emperor *Frederic I.* made duke of *Austria*, joining together the two countries above and below the *Ens*, and declaring them free and independent of the jurisdiction of *Bavaria*. The same emperor *Frederic I.* gave *Bavaria*, thus dismembered, with *Saxony*, to *Henry the Lion*, son of *Henry the Proud*. But *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, afterwards losing the favour of the same emperor, was put to the ban of the empire, and lost all his possessions except *Brunswick* and *Luxenburgh*, which still remain to his descendants. The duchy of *Bavaria* was given by the emperor to *Otho*, the landgrave of *Wittelsbach**, count palatine of the house of *Bavaria*, so that *Bavaria* returned again to its ancient princes and hereditary lords. It is from the time of this *Otho*, that the castle of *Scheyren* was changed into a monastery, where his body is interred.

Otho I.
Louis I.
Otho the II.
Illustrious.

Louis II.

Louis III.
duke of Ba-
varia, after-
wards emperor.

OTTO I. called *the Grand*, was succeeded by his son *Louis I.* who destroyed *Wittelsbach*, because his cousin, who resided there, had killed the emperor *Philip*. His son *Otho the Illustrious* received the investiture of the palatinate of the *Rhine* from the emperor *Frederic II.* on account of his marriage with *Agnes*, grand-daughter of *Henry the Lion*. *Otho the Illustrious* died in 1245, and divided his possessions between his two sons *Louis II.* and *Henry*. *Louis* succeeded to the palatinate of the *Rhine* and the electorate, and *Henry* to the duchy of *Bavaria*; but his issue failing in the third generation, *Bavaria* returned to the issue of the eldest son. *Louis II.* called *the Severe*, because he put his wife to death upon a false suspicion of adultery, had by his second wife, the daughter of the emperor *Rodolphus I.* two sons, *Rodolphus* and *Louis*. These two sons are the chiefs of two great families which remain to this day in *Germany*. From *Rodolphus* the eldest are descended the counts palatine of the *Rhine*, and from *Louis* the youngest son, who became emperor, descend the present electors of *Bavaria*; for *Louis*, surviving all the posterity of his uncle *Henry*, took possession of *Bavaria*, notwithstanding the pretensions of his elder brother *Rodolphus*. *Louis* becoming emperor, his brother *Rodolphus* declared against him, but was obliged to fly to *England*, where he died; nevertheless *Louis* gave the *Upper Palatinate* and *Ambora*, with their dependencies, to *Adolphus*, the son of *Rodolphus*, having made an agreement with him at *Pavia*,

a *Passia*, by which the electoral dignity was to be enjoyed alternately by both houses; but soon after, the emperor *Charles IV* having published the Golden Bull, which orders the eldest sons of the electors to succeed to their fathers, that agreement never took effect, and the counts palatine have ever since possessed the electoral dignity. *Louis* was succeeded by his second son, *Stephen* or *Landshut*, called *the Old*, who married first, *Elizabeth*, Stephen daughter of *Frederic* of *Arragon*, king of *Sicily*, by whom he had no children: his second wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *John*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, of whom he had, *Stephen II*. *Frederic*, of whom the branch of the dukes of *Bavaria Landshut* are descended; *John*, the author of the dukes of *Bavaria Munich*; and *Elizabeth*, married to *Otto the Hardy*, duke of *Austria*.

b *JOHN* duke of *Bavaria*, called *the Pacific*, third son of *Stephen*, had *Munich* for his share of his father's possessions, and married *Catharine*, daughter of *Mainhard II*. count of *Gortia*, prince of *Carinthia*, by whom he had *Ernest*; *Sophia*, married to the emperor *Wenceslaus*; *William* duke of *Bavaria*, called *the defender of the council of Basil*.

ERNEST, eldest son of *John*, had a great share in the favour of the emperor *Sigismund*, whom he assisted in his war against the *Hussites*. He married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Bar-naby*, prince of *Milan*, by whom he had *Albert* and *Beatrice*.

c *ALBERT II*. called *the Picus*, duke of *Bavaria Munich*, succeeded his father in 1438. He is called the third of that name, although in his branch there was not another prince *Albert* before him, but because there was two of that name in the other branches, who had likewise the title of dukes of *Bavaria*. He was elected king of *Bohemia*, but refused that crown. By his second wife *Anne*, daughter of *Eric* duke of *Brunswick Grubenhagen*, he had *John*, *Sigismund*, *Albert*, and other children. *John* and *Sigismund* governed their states together for several years, but both dying without issue, their brother *Albert* succeeded to the whole of *Bavaria*.

d *ALBERT IV*. called *the Wise*, succeeding his brothers in 1501, entered into a war for the succession of the branches of *Ingoistad* and *Landshut*, which *George the Rich* his cousin had left to *Robert the Virtuous* his son-in-law. Being assisted by the emperor *Frederic III*. whose daughter he had married, and *Robert* being dead, an agreement was made with his sons, to whom was yielded *Nuburgh* upon the *Danube*. *Albert* married *Cunegunda* of *Austria*, by whom he had *William IV* *Lewis*, *Ernest*, *Sidonia*, *Sybilla*, *Sabina*, *Susanna*.

WILLIAM IV. called *the Constant*, succeeded his father, and was one of the chiefs of the Catholick league made at *Nuremberg* against the Lutherans. He married *Mary Jacqueline*, daughter of *Philip* marquis of *Baden*, of whom he had *Theodon*, who died young, *Albert William*, who likewise died when a child, and *Mathilda*, who married the marquis of *Baden*.

e *ALBERT V*. called *the Magnanimous*, duke of *Bavaria*, &c. was greatly attached to the house of *Austria*, and introduced into his family the privilege of birthright; in consequence of which his eldest son succeeded him, without making any division of his states with his brothers, as had been done formerly. He married *Anne* of *Austria*, daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand I*. by whom he had *Charles*, who died an infant; *William*; *Ferdinand*, of whom the counts of *Wirtemberg* are descended; *Frederic*, who died an infant; *Ernest*, who became archbishop and elector of *Cologne*; *Mary Maximilian*, who died without alliance; and *Mary*, who married *Charles* archduke of *Austria*.

f *WILLIAM V*. called *the Young*, duke of *Bavaria*, &c. knight of the golden fleece, has given the name of *Willielmine* to the branch of *Bavaria*. He married *Reny*, daughter of *Francis* duke of *Lorraine*, by whom he had, besides other children, *Maximilian Philip*, afterwards bishop of *Ratisbon*, and cardinal; *Ferdinand*, who succeeded his uncle in the archbishopric of *Cologne*, &c. without being a priest; *Albert*, the author of the branch of *Leuchtemberg*. *William* left the government of his states to his son *Maximilian*, and retired into the solitude of the *Chartreuse*, near *Ratisbon*, where he lived thirty years, and died in 1626, aged seventy-six years.

MAXIMILIAN I. called *the Solomon*, born in 1573, supported the interests of the house of *Austria* in Germany, as an acknowledgment of which service, the emperor bestowed upon him in 1623, the electorate of the *Upper Palatinate*, of which *Frederic the Constant*, elected king of *Bohemia*, had been deprived. He married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Charles III*. duke of *Lorraine*, who died without issue; his second wife was *Mary Anne*, daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand II*. by whom he had two sons, *Ferdinand*, *Mary* his eldest, and *Maximilian Philip*, who died in 1705, aged sixty-seven, without any children.

g *FERDINAND* *Mary-Francis-Ignatius Wolfgang* succeeded his father in all his states. He was a prince of great prudence and wisdom, who truly understood his own interests, and was extremely beloved by his subjects, and maintained a perfect neutrality during the wars betwixt *Germany* and *France*. He died suddenly in his forty-fourth year, soon after the conclusion of the peace at *Nimeguen*, leaving by his wife *Emmetta Adelaide*, daughter

Maximilian
II.
A. C. 1679.

of the duke of *Savoy*, among other children, *Maximilian-Mary*, and *Mary-Anne-Victoria*, married to the dauphin of *France*, only son of *Lewis XIV.*

MAXIMILIAN Mary-Emanuel, &c. II. was brought up under the care of his uncle; when he became master of his own actions, he gave himself up wholly to the service of the emperor *Leopold*, and greatly distinguished himself in *Hungary*, where he commanded the emperor's army for some campaigns, and expended each year a million of crowns in supporting his troops. In 1689, he was present at the siege of *Mentz*; the year following he commanded the imperial army on the *Rhine*, and was afterwards made governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* by the king of *Spain*, which government he enjoyed during that king's life. But in the war of the succession of *Spain*, refusing to engage with the emperor *Leopold*, he and his brother the elector of *Cologne*, were put to the ban of the empire, and deprived of their states, by the sole authority of the emperor, in which they were again re-established by the peace of *Baden*. He died in 1726, leaving by his second wife *Theresa Cunegund*, daughter of *John Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, *Charles Albert* the present elector; *Philip-Maurice*, &c. elected bishop of *Paderborn*, but died at *Rome* on the day of his election; *Ferdinand-Mary*, who married *Leopoldine Elizabeth*, daughter of the count palatine of the *Rhine*, by whom he has several children. The elector by his first wife *Mary-Anne*, daughter of *Leopold*, had three sons, who all died in their childhood.

The History of the Palatine Electorate.

The origin of
the name of
this principa-
lity.

THE country that was given to the elector palatine, by the execution of the treaties of *Westphalia*, is called the *Lower Palatinate*. It draws its name from the office of count palatine, which the emperor conferred upon those who in his name administered justice in the empire. There were two, one towards the *Rhine*, under whose jurisdiction was *Franconia* and the neighbouring provinces; the other in *Saxony*, and the other countries subject to the *Saxon* law. Upon these two offices of count palatine of the *Rhine*, and count palatine of *Saxony*, are founded the two vicariates of the empire, which the elector of *Bavaria*, or the elector palatine, and the elector of *Saxony*, exercise each in his provinces during an interregnum of the empire by the death of the emperor or otherwise.

The territories
of the electo-
rate.

WHEN the counts palatine of the *Rhine* began to execute their office, they neither possessed on that river, lands, cities, nor castles; but having by degrees made great acquisitions by marriages, purchases, agreements, imperial donations, or otherwise, they have at length formed a very considerable principality. So that besides several fiefs, situated between *Coblentz* and *Andernach*, and in the country of *Juliers*, which hold of him, and besides the dutchies of *Neuburgh*, *Sultzbach*, *Deuxponts*, and others, which are dependent upon them, the elector palatine possesses other dutchies and counties, and several bailliages of a considerable revenue, such as *Lindesfelt*, *Stronberg*, *Landeck*, *Allenstadt*, *Morbach*, *Newstadt upon the Hurt*, *Federsheim*, *Sintzheim*, *Germersheim*, *Atzheim*, *Oppenheim*, and others.

WITH regard to the cities, *Heidelberg*, which is the chief, is famous for its antient academy, and for its castle, where the princes of the branch of *Simmeren* ordinarily resided. There was formerly in the castle a library of great repute, which count *Tilly*, after the taking of *Heidelberg*, caused to be removed, in order to send it to the pope, and it is at present one of the greatest ornaments of the Vatican. *Manheim* is a city newly built, and fortified at the confluence of the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*. *Caub* is a little city, with its castle of *Gudenfelts* upon the *Rhine*, opposite to which is a castle, named *Pfalz*, in the middle of the *Rhine*, from whence some pretend, without foundation, that the title of *Pfaltzgrave*, or count palatine, is derived. The city *Delsburgh* has a fine castle upon the *Neckar*. As to the city *Franckendal*, which was formerly the best fortified of all the *Lower Palatinate*, the elector *Frederic III.* in the year 1576, appointed it as a place of retreat to the families of the reformed religion, which were driven from the *Spanish Netherlands*. His successors giving the same privilege to the other cities of their principality, and the rigour of the edicts still augmenting against the reformed in the *Low Countries*, the cities of the electorate became very populous, and consequently very rich.

THE electors palatine and their subjects at length entirely separating from the *Roman* church, forgot not to dispose of the possessions of the ecclesiastics to their own advantage; and exercising their privilege of conducting people and merchandize, which pass or repass through their territories, they extended this right even into the neighbouring archbishops

a pries and countries, in virtue of an imperial privilege, and have likewise asserted their right of wildfang or propriety over strangers or itrollers that happen to possess or inhabit any houses within the extent of these neighbouring countries, claiming them as their proper subjects. By these means and other impositions, the elector palatine has raised his revenue very considerably. As his country is exposed on the other side of the *Rhine*, to the discretion of the imperial garrison in *Philipsburgh*, and on this side the *Rhine* to the gar-
 risons of *French* troops that are in the neighbouring places, he has no small difficulty to manage his interests with these two great powers.

THE people of the *Palatinate* are the most civilized and polite of any in *Germany*; they are open and complaisant to strangers: as to their religion, they became Lutherans under
 b the government of *Frederic II.* *Frederic III.* afterwards introduced Calvinism, and the duke of *Neuburgb*, who was a *Roman Catholic*, succeeding to the electorate, those of that persuasion were again countenanced, and the Protestants deprived of many privileges they enjoyed under former electors, which has occasioned great numbers of them to quit the country, some retiring into *Holland*, and others transporting themselves to the *British* colonies in *America*.

THE elector palatine is at this day only the eighth in the electoral college, although the Golden Bull assigns him the fifth rank. This alteration was made by the peace of *Westphalia*. He has a right to carry the emperor's crown at his coronation, and he has for
 c deputy-officer, the count of *Zinzendorf*. He has the title of judge of the emperor, but for a long time past he has not exercised that right. He has likewise lost the right of con-
 voking the electors to the election. There is a difference betwixt him and the elector of *Bavaria* upon account of the vicariate of the empire in the countries of the *Rhine*, *Suabia*, and *Franconia*. According to an ancient custom, he has a right to create nobles. He enjoys the right of wildfang, by which the lord is master of the body of all those who are not
 d born in lawful marriage. He appropriates to himself all new islands that are formed in the *Rhine*. He is director of the circle of the *Lower Rhine*, and upon account of his prin-
 cipality of *Simmeren*, he is director of the circle of the *Upper Rhine*, together with the bishop of *Worms*, and of the circle of *Westphalia*, together with the king of *Prussia*, upon ac-
 count of the duchy of *Juliers*. He has likewise three voices in the college of princes for
 the principalities of *Lautern*, *Simmeren*, and *Neuburgb*.

THE antiquity of this family is the same with that of *Bavaria*, it being the elder branch, and descended of *Rodolphus*, eldest son of *Louis the Old*, or *the Severe*, the second elector
 palatine of the house of *Wittelsbach*. *Rodolphus* married *Mathilda*, daughter of the emperor
Adolphus, and did his utmost to accommodate the difference which that prince had with
 his competitor *Albert of Austria*; but not succeeding, he followed the party of his father-
 in-law, who was killed at the battle of *Spires* in 1298. *Rodolphus* afterwards giving his
 vote for the emperor *Frederic III.* while the other electors had chosen his brother *Louis* for
 the emperor, he thereby exposed himself to the resentment of his brother, and not believ-
 ing himself safe, he retired into *England*, where he died*, leaving by his wife three sons,
 e who succeeded him, and one daughter. *Adolphus*, his eldest son, succeeded him, and was
 called *the Simple*, because he ceded the *Lower Bavaria* to the emperor *Louis* his uncle, and
 resigned the electorate to his brothers. *Rodolphus II.* succeeded him, but died in his forty-
 fifth year, leaving only one daughter, and was succeeded by his brother *Robert*, who found-
 ed the university of *Heidelberg**; but he dying without issue, the electorate returned again
 to the posterity of *Adolphus*. *Robert II.* only son of *Adolphus*, succeeded his uncle *Robert*,
 and joined to the electorate the duchy of *Deux-ponts*, *Hornbach*, and other dominions, and
 left by his wife *Beatrice*, daughter of the king of *Aragon* and *Sicily*, one son and two daugh-
 ters. *Robert III.* surnamed *the Short*, and *the Debonaire*, succeeded his father, and was
 f elected emperor in 1400. *Louis III.* surnamed *the Bearded*, *the Debonaire*, and *the Blind*,
 succeeded his father, and was vicar of the empire during his absence. He afterwards ap-
 peared at the council of *Constance*, of which he was declared protector during the absence
 of the emperor *Sigismund*, who charged him to guard pope *John XXII.* after he had been
 deposed by that council. He likewise powerfully assisted the Teutonic knights, and sent
 troops to *Anthony of Lorrain*, prince of *Vaudemont*; afterwards he made the voyage of the
 Holy Land, and became blind towards the end of his days. He was succeeded by his
 eldest son *Louis*, called *the Pious*, and *the Merciful*, who, during his youth, was under
 the guardianship of *Otho*, his uncle. He had two wives, but had only one son by his se-
 cond marriage, born after his death, during whole minority, he was succeeded in the elec-
 torate by his brother *Frederic the Victorious*, who enjoyed that dignity upon the condition
 g of his remaining a bachelor; but he marrying, his nephew and pupil succeeded him.
Philip I. called *the Ingenious*, and *the Posthumous*, succeeded his uncle, and was engaged in
 a cruel war against *Albert IV.* duke of *Bavaria*, for the succession of *George the Rich*, duke
 of *Lower Bavaria*; but he concluded a peace, and died in 1503, leaving by his wife *Margaret*.

Louis the Se-
vere, son of
Otho the
Illustrious.
Rodolphus I.

* 1312.
Adolphus.

Rodolphus
II.

Robert I.
* 1319.
Robert II.

Robert III.
Louis III.

Louis IV.
A. C. 1453.

Frederic I.

Philip I.

Louis V.

* 1504.

Frederic II.

A. C. 1508.

Otho Henry.

A. C. 1556.

Frederic III.

A. C. 1559.

Louis VI.

A. C. 1576.

Frederic IV.

A. C. 1583.

Frederic V.

A. C. 1610.

Charles
Louis.

A. C. 1648.

Charles II.

A. C. 1680.

garet, daughter of *Louis*, duke of *Lower Bavaria*, *Louis*, who died without issue, *Philip* bishop of *Frisingen* and *Naumburg*, *Robert*, *Frederic*, and other children. *Louis V.* his eldest son, enjoyed the electorate thirty-six years; but leaving no issue, his brother *Frederic* succeeded him. His brother *Robert the Victorious* had a great dispute for the succession of his father-in-law *George the Rich*, of *Bavaria Landshut*, who had appointed him his heir, and having refused the advantageous offers of *Maximilian I.* who interested himself for *Albert II.* his son-in-law, his father *Philip* supporting his interests, and assisted by the *Bohemians*, opposed the emperor, and was put to the ban of the empire. *Robert* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the emperor, with his wife and eldest son, who poisoned them *, and the following year made an accommodation with the survivors. *Robert*, besides the son that died with him, had *Otho Henry*, who succeeded his uncle, and *Philip the Warrior*, who died without alliance. *Frederic II.* called *the Wise*, succeeded his eldest brother *Louis*, to the prejudice of the children of his elder brother *Robert*. He embraced Lutheranism, which he established in his states, and engaged in the Protestant league of *Smalcald*; but was obliged to ask pardon of the emperor, and died without children, after having enjoyed the electorate forty-eight years. *Otho Henry*, called *the Magnanimous*, son of *Robert*, succeeded his uncle *Frederic*, and was re-established by the emperor *Maximilian I.* in that part of *Bavaria* which the elector palatine, and the other princes of the same branch, possess at this day. He embraced Lutheranism, which his uncle *Frederic* had introduced into his states, and dying without children, the electorate, which had continued hitherto in the direct line from *Otho the Illustrious*, fell to *Frederic* of the branch of *Simmeren*, cousin to *Otho Henry* in the fourth degree.

FREDERIC III. was descended of *Robert* the emperor, and eighth elector, by his fourth son *Stephen*, who inherited from his father the lands of *Simmeren* and *Deuxponts*. *Stephen* left *Frederic* and several other children. *Frederic* had three sons and three daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son *John*, who was grandfather to *Frederic III.* elector. *Frederic III.* called *the Pious*, duke of *Bavaria*, duke of *Simmeren*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, and elector, was eldest son of *John II.* duke of *Simmeren*. Having succeeded his cousin *Otho Henry* in the electorate, he continued for some time to encourage Lutheranism, but afterwards he became a zealous follower of Calvinism. He, for two years, sent powerful assistance to the Hugonots of *France*, who were then in arms in defence of their religion, and was succeeded by his second son *Louis*. *Louis*, surnamed *the Easy*, having succeeded his father, expelled the Calvinists from his states, and obliged his subjects to profess Lutheranism. He loved men of learning, and was always fond of peace. He had several sons, but none survived him but *Frederic*. *Frederic IV.* called *the Sincere*, was, during his minority, under the guardianship of *John Casimir*, his uncle, who received the order of the Garter from *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. When he came of age, he again established Calvinism, which he himself embraced, and died of the gout, leaving by *Charlotte* of *Bourbon Montpelier*, his third wife, several sons, of whom *Frederic*, the eldest, succeeded him. *Frederic V.* called *the Patient*, and *the Constant*, was elected king of *Bohemia* in 1619, put to the ban of the empire two years after, and deprived of his states and the electorate, which were given to *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*. After the loss of the battle of *Weissemburg*, his affairs being ruined, he was obliged to fly into *Holland* with his family, where he lived several years, and died afterwards at *Mentz*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, without recovering his electorate. He left by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of king *James I.* of *England*, seven children, namely, *Charles Louis*, *Robert* duke of *Cumberland*, master of the horse, and vice-admiral of *England*, &c. *Maurice*, who was lost at sea in a voyage to *America*; *Edward*, who died a Catholic at *Paris*; *Gustavus Adolphus*; *Elizabeth*, a very learned princess, who died a Protestant abbess of *Herworden*, in *Westphalia*; *Louisa Hollandina*, who became a Roman Catholic, and died in *France*, abbess of *Maubuisson*; *Henrietta Mary*, married to *Sigismond Ragotski*, duke of *Montgatz*; *Sophia*, married to *Ernest Augustus*, duke of *Hanover*, afterwards elector. It was this princess which the parliament of *England* declared first in succession to the crown of *England*, after the death of king *William*, the princess of *Denmark* and their issue, in preference to five elder branches that were Roman Catholic.

CHARLES Louis, eldest surviving son of *Frederic*, was re-established in the *Lower Palatinate*, and created the eighth elector at the treaty of *Westphalia*, under the title of arch-treasurer of the empire. He married *Charlotta*, daughter of *William V.* landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, by whom he had *Charles*, who succeeded him, and *Elizabeth Charlotta*, who became a Catholic, and married *Philip*, duke of *Orleans*, only brother of *Louis XIV.* by whom she had issue.

CHARLES was born the 31st of *March*, 1651, married *Willemina Ernestina*, daughter of *Frederic III.* king of *Denmark*, and died in 1683, without children. By his death, the electorate passed to the branch of *Newburgh*, descended still of the *Rodolphine* line, from

Robert

a Robert III. the emperor, by his second son *Stephen*, who was likewise the author of the last branch which had possessed the electorate.

b STEPHEN, fourth son of Robert the emperor, had six sons, the two eldest of whom succeeded to his states, and continued the family in two distinct branches; the four youngest became ecclesiasticks. *Frederic*, his eldest son, inherited *Simmeren* and *Veldens*, and *Louis*, his second, inherited *Deuxponts*, which he left to his third son *Alexander*, called the *Lame*. *Alexander* was succeeded by his eldest son *Louis II.* who embraced Lutheranism, and served *Charles V.* against *France*. *Wolfgang*, only son of *Louis II.* succeeded his father in his states, and left the duchy of *Neuburg* to his eldest son *Philip-Louis*, who was succeeded in this duchy by his eldest son *Wolfgang William*. This prince maintained a war of thirty years with the elector of *Brandenburg* for the succession of *Cleves*, which dispute was at last terminated by a provisional division, whereby he was put in possession of the duchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*, and the lordship of *Ravensstein*. He married *Magdalene*, daughter of *William V.* duke of *Bavaria*, by whose persuasion he turned Catholic, and left an only son, *Philip William*, who succeeded to the electorate after the death of *Charles II.* Philip William was his relation in the male line from the seventh to the ninth degree. He had used great endeavours some years before to be elected king of *Poland*, but did not succeed. Before *Leopold* became his son-in-law, he was greatly attached to *France*, but after that alliance, he was wholly devoted to the emperor; towards the end of his days his country was invaded and ravaged by the armies of *France*. He died at *Vienna*, in the 75th year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son *John William*, who died without issue by either of his wives, and left the electorate to his brother *Charles Philip*, who, three years after his father's succession to the electorate, quitted the benefices which he enjoyed, and the cross of the knight of *Malta*, and was named governor of *Tyrol*. His first wife was *Louisa Charlotte*, widow of *Louis*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, by whom he had *Sophia Augusta*, who was married to *Joseph Charles*, prince of *Sultzbach*. The elector's second wife was *Theresa Catharine*, daughter of *Joseph Charles*, prince *Lubomirski* in *Poland*, by whom he had *Anne-Elisabeth-Theophile-Felicita*, born at *Inspruck*, 1709.

Philip William.
A. C. 1685.
John William.
A. C. 1697.
Charles Philip.
A. C. 1716.

History of the Archduchy of A U S T R I A.

BESIDES the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the marquisate of *Moravia*, the house of *Austria* possesses in *Germany* what are called its hereditary countries; namely, the archduchy of *Austria*, the duchies of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, the counties of *Habsburgh*, *Tirol*, *Kyburgh*, and *Goritia*, the *Brisgaw*, and other principalities.

The hereditary dominions of Austria.

e AUSTRIA is one of the principal provinces of the empire towards the East, and it is from this situation that it has its name, *Oost-ryck* in *German*, signifying the eastern country. It is bounded on the North by *Moravia*, on the East by *Hungary*, on the South by *Stiria*, and on the West by *Bavaria*. It is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*; *Lower Austria* is situated on the north side of the *Danube*, and *Upper Austria* on the south side of that river. *Vienna*, the capital of the country, is in *Upper Austria*, and the other most remarkable cities in the province are *Krems*, *Lintz*, *Steira*, *Ens*, *Neustadt*, *Weidhoven*, *Melck*, *Ipsia*, *Gemunda*, &c. The country is very fertile, and has a great many mines, especially of sulphur. The rivers, besides the *Danube*, are the *Teja*, the *Kamps*, the *Leythe*, &c. In the ninth and tenth centuries, *Austria* was the frontier of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians, and especially of the *Hungarians*. The emperor *Henry the Fowler*, seeing it was of great importance to settle some person in *Austria*, who might oppose these irruptions, invested *Leopold*, surnamed the *Illustrious*, descended of the antient dukes of *Suabia*, with that country. *Otto I.* erected *Austria* into a marquisate, in favour of his brother-in-law *Leopold*, whose descendant *Henry II.* was created duke of *Austria* by the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*. His posterity becoming extinct in 1240, the states of the country, in order to defend themselves from the incursions of the *Bavarians* and *Hungarians*, resolved to put themselves under the protection of *Henry*, marquis of *Misnia*; but *Othogar II.* king of *Bohemia*, being likewise invited by a party in the duchy, took possession of it, alledging not only the invitation of the states, but the right of his wife, heiress of *Frederic* the last duke. The emperor *Rodolphus I.* pretending a right to that duchy, refused to give *Othogar* the investiture of it, and afterwards killing him in a battle, procured the duchy of *Austria* to his family. From this *Rodolphus* the present house of *Austria* descended, which has rendered

* AVENTIN. Ann. Boior. l. iv. p. 251.
Bohem. l. xvii. p. 143.

† MEIB. Rer. Ger. Script. v. i. p. 270.

‡ DUBRAY. Hist.

itself so famous and so powerful for these 400 years past, and which has given fourteen emperors to Germany, and six kings to Spain. Since this conquest, the descendants of Rodolphus have laid aside the title of *Hapsburg*, and taken that of *Austria*.

The privileges
belonging to
the archduchy.
A. C. 1477.

To render *Austria* the most considerable principality of Germany, the emperor *Frederic the Pacific*, erected it into an archduchy for his son *Maximilian*, who was afterwards emperor, with these privileges; that they shall be judged to have obtained the investiture of their states, if they do not receive it after having demanded it three times; that if they receive it from the emperor, or the imperial ambassadors, they are to be on horseback, clad in a royal mantle, having in their hand a staff of command, and upon their head a ducal crown of two points, and surmounted with a cross, like that of the imperial crown. The archduke is born privy-councillor of the emperor, and his states cannot be put to the ban of the empire. All attempts against his person are punished as crimes of liege-majesty, in the same manner as those against the kings of the *Romans* or electors. He dared not be challenged to single combat. It is in his choice to assist at the assemblies or to be absent, and he has the privilege of being exempt from contributions and public taxes, excepting twelve soldiers, which he is obliged to maintain in *Hungary* against the *Turk* for one month. He has rank immediately after the electors, and exercises justice in his states without appeal, in virtue of a privilege granted by *Charles V.* His subjects even cannot be summoned out of his province upon account of law-suits, or to give witness, or to receive the investiture of fiefs. Any lands of the empire may be alienated in his favour, even those that are feudal; and he has a right to create counts, barons, gentlemen, poets, and notaries. In the succession to his states, the right of birth takes place, and failing males, the females succeed according to the lineal right; and if no heir be found, they may dispose of their lands as they please.

GENEALOGISTS are greatly divided concerning the ancestors of *Rodolphus I.* the author of the present house of *Austria*; some deriving them from the *Trojan* house, others from *Charlemain*. Others say, that their true origin ought to be drawn from the counts of *Alsace*; *Rabothon*, brother of *Werner*, bishop of *Strasburgh*, in 1070, being progenitor, in the eighth degree, to *Albert the Wise*, father of *Rodolphus*.

Rodolphus,
emperor.
A. C. 1273.

RODOLPHUS, count of *Habsburgh*, duke of *Austria* and *Stiria*, and emperor, had two wives, *Anne*, daughter of *Albert*, count of *Hockberg*; and *Agnes*, daughter of *Otho*, count of *Burgundy*. From his first wife he had several children, and married seven of his daughters to seven of the greatest princes of Germany. *Rodolphus*, one of his sons, was created duke of *Suabia*, and married *Agnes*, daughter of *Othogar*, king of *Bohemia*, by whom he had a son named *John*, who became a monk. *Albert*, the eldest son of the emperor *Rodolphus*, received *Austria* and *Stiria* from his father, and was afterwards called *Albert of Austria*. He married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Mainhard*, count of *Tyrol*, and duke of *Carinthia*; and after his father's death expected to be chosen emperor, as all the secular electors were his brothers-in-law; but the archbishop of *Mentz* prevailed with them to chuse *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, his relation. *Adolphus* afterwards being deposed, *Albert* killed him in a battle, and was elected emperor at *Frankfort*, and was afterwards killed by the duke of *Suabia* as he had passed the *Rhine*, in order to go into *Bohemia*, which kingdom he wanted to conquer for one of his sons. *Albert* had by his wife *Elizabeth* twenty-one children, of whom *Frederic*, *Otho*, *Henry*, and *Albert*, succeeded him in their turns. *Frederic* the eldest leaving no sons, was succeeded by his other brothers, and they leaving no male issue were succeeded by their youngest brother *Albert*.

Albert, em-
peror.
A. C. 1291.

Frederic.

Albert II.
A. C. 1340.

ALBERT II. duke of *Austria*, surnamed *the Wise*, was at first an ecclesiastic, but seeing all his brothers dead, without male children, he quitted that profession, and married *Jean*, the daughter of *Ulric*, count of *Ferretta*, by whom he had four sons and three daughters; *Rodolphus*, who died without children, *Albert III.* who succeeded him, *Leopold* and *Frederic*.

Albert III.
A. C. 1358.

ALBERT III. by some called *the Astrologer*, possessed *Stiria* and *Austria*, but he was obliged to yield *Stiria*, with a part of *Carinthia*, and the marche of *Trevifo*, to his brother *Leopold*. He re-established the university of *Vienna* in *Austria*, and built the fortress of *Luxembourg*; but his too great earnestness for the exercise of hunting, brought on a distemper which occasioned his death. By his second wife *Beatrice*, daughter of *Frederic*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, he had a son named *Albert*, who succeeded him.

Albert IV.
A. C. 1394.

ALBERT IV. called *the Patient*, was a very mild and pious prince, and likewise very skilful in architecture and sculpture. He respected learned men and ecclesiastics; but being obliged to take arms against *Josselin*, marquis of *Moravia*, he died of poison during that war. By his first wife *Jean*, daughter of *Albert*, duke of *Bavaria*, he left one son, named *Albert*, who succeeded him.

Albert V.
emperor.
A. C. 1404.

ALBERT II. as emperor, and V. as archduke of *Austria*, was surnamed *the Magnanimous*, and succeeded his father when he was only ten years of age. He gave great assistance to the

a the emperor *Sigismund* in his wars with the *Hussites*, and obliged the *Moravians* to quit their party, and promise to submit to a general council. For these services *Sigismund* gave him his only daughter *Elizabeth*, and after the death of that emperor, he succeeded to the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and was likewise chosen emperor, but died soon after of a bloody flux in *Hungary*, occasioned by eating melons. His son *Ladislaus*, born after his death, was chosen king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* in his cradle, but died without children.

Ladislaus.
A. C. 1400.

By the death of *Ladislaus*, the succession of the house of *Austria* fell to his cousins. *Leopold*, the third son of *Albert II.* among his other children, left *Ernst*, whose eldest surviving son, named *Frederic*, was elected emperor upon the death of *Albert V.* and succeeded to the Austrian possessions by the death of *Ladislaus*. *Frederic* married *Eleonora*, daughter of *Edward*, king of *Poland*, by whom he had, among other children, *Maximilian*, who succeeded him.

Frederic the
Pacific, em-
peror.
A. C. 1458.

MAXIMILIAN having been chosen king of the *Romans*, during the life of the emperor his father, succeeded him in the empire. He married the richest heiress of *Europe*, *Mary* the daughter of *Charles the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had, among other children, *Philip*, who married *Jean*, daughter and heiress of *Ferdinand V.* king of *Aragon*, *Granada*, and *Sicily*, and of *Isabella*, queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, by whom he enjoyed the crown of *Spain*, and left two sons, *Charles* and *Ferdinand*. He died before his father, leaving the kingdom of *Spain*, then greatly enriched by its acquisitions in *America*, to his son

Maximilian
I. emperor.
A. C. 1493.

c *Charles*.
CHARLES V. took possession of the states of *Spain* in 1517, and was two years after elected emperor; after a reign of thirty-eight years, he abdicated the empire in favour of his brother *Ferdinand*, and left the *Spanish* monarchy, with all its dominions, in *Europe* and *America*, to his son *Philip*, retiring himself into a monastery at *Estramadura*. He married *Isabella*, daughter of the king of *Portugal*, by whom he had *Philip*, and two daughters. *Philip* continued the *Austrian* line in *Spain* for several generations; but it became extinct by the death of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, who left no children.

Charles V.
emperor.
A. C. 1519.

FERDINAND I. second son of *Philip*, is the chief of the branch of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*. His brother *Charles V.* resigned to him in 1550, all his hereditary possessions in *Germany*, caused him to be elected king of the *Romans* the year following, and quitted the empire in his favour in the year 1556. *Ferdinand* married *Anne*, the daughter of *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by whom he had *Maximilian*, who succeeded him; *Ferdinand*, count of *Tyrol*, marquis of *Burgaw*; *John*, who died young; and *Charles*, archduke of *Gratz*, besides eleven daughters.

Ferdinand I.
emperor.
A. C. 1556.

MAXIMILIAN II. eldest son of *Ferdinand*, was elected king of the *Romans* two years before his father's death. He married his cousin *Mary*, daughter of the emperor *Charles V.* by whom he had several sons, seven of whom survived him; namely, *Rodolphus*, who succeeded him; *Ernest*, governor of the *Low Countries*; *Matthias*; *Maximilian*, grand-master of the *Teutonic* order; *Albert*, prince of the *Low Countries*; *Wenceslaus*. His daughters were *Anne*, who married *Philip II.* king of *Spain*; *Elizabeth*, married to *Charles IX.* king of *France*; *Margaret*, who became a nun; and three others who died young.

Maximilian
II. emperor.
A. C. 1564.

RODOLPHUS succeeded to the empire after the death of his father, having been elected king of the *Romans* two years before; after a weak reign of thirty-five years, he left his hereditary possessions to his brother *Matthias*.

Rodolphus II.
emperor.
A. C. 1577.

MATTHIAS, after the death of his brother, was chosen emperor, which dignity he enjoyed seven years, leaving no issue by his wife *Anne*, daughter of *Ferdinand* his cousin. By his death, the hereditary possessions of *Austria* fell to *Ferdinand II.* grandson of the emperor *Ferdinand I.* by his fourth son *Charles*, archduke of *Gratz*.

Matthias,
emperor.
A. C. 1612.

FERDINAND II. was adopted by the emperor *Matthias*, who caused him to be elected king of *Bohemia* in 1617, and king of *Hungary* the year following. He was chosen emperor upon the death of *Matthias*, and married, first, *Mary-Anne*, daughter of the duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had *John Charles*, who died young; *Ferdinand*, who succeeded him; *Leopold William*, who became bishop of *Passau*, *Strasburgh*, *Halberstadt*, *Olmütz*, and *Bretsch*; *Christina*, who died young; *Mary-Anne*, married to the elector of *Bavaria* her uncle; *Cecilia Reng*, married to *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*. *Ferdinand*, by his second wife *Eleonora*, daughter of *Vincent I.* duke of *Mantua*, had no children.

Ferdinand II.
emperor.
A. C. 1617.

FERDINAND III. was elected emperor after the death of his father. He married *Mary-Anne*, daughter of *Philip III.* king of *Spain*, by whom he had *Ferdinand Francis*, chosen king of the *Romans*, in 1653, but who died the year following; *Philip-Augustus*, and *Maximilian-Thomas*, who died in their infancy; *Leopold Ignatius* who succeeded him; *Mary-Anne*, married to *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*; and *Mary* who died an infant. By his second wife *Mary-Leopoldine*, daughter of his uncle the archduke of *Inspruck*, *Ferdinand* had *Ferdinand-*

Ferdinand
III. emperor.
A. C. 1657.

Ernest-Augustus, bishop of *Passaw*, &c. By his third wife he had *Eleonora-Mary*, married to the king of *Poland*, *Michael-Wiesnowiski*, and afterwards to *Charles Leszold*, duke of *Lorraine*; *Mary-Anne-Josepha*, married to *John William*, duke of *Neuburgh*, afterwards elector-palatine.

Leopold, emperor.
A. C. 1658.

LEOPOLD, after the death of his father, was elected emperor, though he was only eighteen years of age. He married first *Margaret-Theresa*, daughter of *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*, by whom he had *Mary-Antonietta-Josepha*, married to *Maximilian-Emanuel*, elector of *Bavaria*. By his second wife *Claude Felicitas*, daughter of *Ferdinand Charles*, archduke of *Inspruck*, he had two daughters who died infants. His third wife was *Eleonore-Magdalena-Theresa*, daughter of the duke of *Neuburgh*, by whom he had *Joseph Jacob-Ignatius*, who succeeded him; *Charles-Francis-Joseph*; *Mary-Anne-Josepha*, married to *John* the king of *Portugal*; and some others who died unmarried.

Joseph, emperor.
A. C. 1705.

JOSEPH was declared hereditary king of *Hungary* in 1687, being then but nine years of age; he was chosen king of the *Romans* three years after, and succeeded to the empire upon the death of his father. He married *Wilhelmina-Amelia*, the daughter of *John-Frederic*, duke of *Hanover*, by whom he had two daughters, *Mary Josepha*, married to *Frederic-Augustus*, electoral prince of *Saxony*; and *Mary-Amelia*, married to *Charles*, &c. electoral prince of *Bavaria*.

Charles VI.
emperor.
A. C. 1711.

CHARLES VI. was chosen emperor at *Frankfort*, after the death of his elder brother, who left no male issue. He married *Elisabeth-Christina*, daughter of *Lewis Rodolphus*, of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttle*, she having abjured Lutheranism to embrace the *Roman Catholic* religion. By her he had four children, two of whom only survived him, namely, *Mary-Theresa-Walburg-Amelia-Christina*, born the 13th of *March*, 1717, the present empress of *Germany*; and *Mary-Anne-Eleonore-Wilhelmina-Josepha*, born the 4th of *September*, 1718.

The History of the Electorate of HANOVER.

The territories
of this electo-
rate.

THOUGH the house of *Hanover* be the last that has been raised to the electoral dignity, yet for nobleness and antiquity of family it may vie with any in *Germany*. It is likewise very considerable for the extent of its territories, which are at present the duchy of *Calenberg*, in which are *Hanover*, *Calenberg*, *Hamelen*, *Neustadt*, *Gottin-gen*, &c. the duchy of *Grubenhagen*, the county of *Diepholt*, the county of *Hoya* in the bishoprick of *Hildesheim*, the bailliages of *Coldingen*, *Luthe*, *Badenburgh*, and *Westershoven*, with the right of protection of the city *Hildesheim*, and the county of *Danneberg*, ceded by the dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* to the dukes of *Luneburgh*, as an equivalent for their pretensions upon the city of *Brunswick*. The elector possesses likewise the county of *Delmenhorst*, and the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, sold by the king of *Denmark* in 1715; he is also in possession of the duchy of *Saxe Lawemburgh*, till the conclusion of the difference among the princes pretending to the succession: the right of possessing alternatively the bishoprick of *Osnabruck*, belongs solely to the electoral branch; but if it shall happen to fail, the dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* are to enjoy the same right.

Ernest Au-
gustus, first
elector.

In consideration of the great services which *Ernest Augustus*, duke of *Brunswick Hanover*, gave to the emperor *Leopold*, in his wars against *Louis XIV.* that emperor conferred the dignity of an elector of the holy *Roman* empire upon him and his heirs male, of which he received the investiture from *Leopold* on the 19th of *December* 1692. This new creation met with great opposition, both in the electoral college and the college of princes; but at last, by a conclusion of the three colleges on the 30th of *January* 1708, it was unanimously determined that the electoral dignity should be confirmed to the duke of *Hanover* and his heirs male; but it was added, that if, while that electoral dignity subsisted, the palatine electorate should happen to fall into the hands of a Protestant prince, the first Catholic elector should have a supernumerary vote. This conclusion being easily agreed to by the emperor, the duke of *Hanover* was introduced into the electoral college on the 12th of *September* the same year.

THE princes of this house have their seat in the college of princes immediately after those of the electoral houses, each branch having a vote. The elector, besides his seat in the electoral college, was invested with the office of arch-standard-bearer of the empire; but this being disputed with him by the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the elector palatine having obtained the office of arch-steward, yielded that of arch-treasurer to the elector of *Hanover*, who was confirmed in this dignity by a decree of the diet of the 13th of *January* 1710. For the administration of the government, the elector has a council of state, a council of war, the

the court of justice, the chancery, the justice of the court, and a consistory. But for making new laws, or establishing new taxes, the consent of the states, which are composed of the nobility, clergy, and burghers, is necessary.

THE antiquity of this family is carried down by genealogists to the times of the first kings of Rome, but with very little authority; however, it is certain, that the house of Brunswick may be lineally deduced from *Cajus Aelius*, a noble Roman, who lived in the ancient city of *Este*, or *Atteste*^b, in that part of *Italy* which is called the *Venetian Lombardy*. His son, of the same name, signalizing himself at the battle of *Verona*, fought between the *Visigoths* and *Romans*, the emperor *Honorius* conferred upon him the dignities of *Quatuor vis*, *Decurio*, and senator of *Rome*; afterwards, he became prince of *Este*, in 401. *Aurelius Aelius* succeeded him; and *Tiberius*, the son of *Aurelius*, acquired *Monfalcone*, *Vicenza*, and *Feltri*, and built the city of *Ferrara*. His son *Alphorissius* lost his life at the great battle of *Loi*, against *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, who dethroned the last emperor of the West. He was succeeded by *Maximus*, to whom succeeded *Bonifacius*, who lost his life in an engagement with the *Ostrogoths*. *Valerianus* his son was sent by *Narses*, in the 14th year of his age, to guard a passage over the river *Po*, against *Totilas*; but the *Longobards* afterwards invading *Italy*, he lost his life fighting against these barbarians. *Gandelhardus*, his second son, who succeeded him, was called the right hand of *Dagobert I* king of the *Franks*. To him succeeded *Heribertus*, whose son *Ernestus*, at the head of a *Venetian* army, relieved *Ravenna*, and defeated the king of the *Longobards* at *Rimini*. The *Longobards* afterwards besieging *Ravenna*, *Ernest* defended the place three years, till an arrow from the enemy's camp killed him; upon whose death the city soon surrendered to the *Longobards*, who by this conquest put an end to the exarchate or the *Greek* emperors. A. C. 472.

CHARLES the Great, king of the *Franks*, afterwards emperor, made *Henry*, son of *Ernest*, prince of *Treviso*; and erected the principality of *Este* into a margraviate; from which time the family was honoured with the title of margraves. *Henry* assisted the emperor in subduing *Desiderius*, the last king of the *Longobards*, and afterwards lost his life in a tumult at *Treviso*. His son *Berengarius*, who succeeded him, was greatly in confidence of *Lewis the Debonaire*; and had frequently the command of his armies; he died the same year with the emperor, and left three sons; the youngest of which, *Otbo*, continued the family. This margrave acquired the city and territory of *Comachio*, as a reward for his own and his father's services, done to the imperial crown; which is evident by the emperor's grant, yet to be seen among the records of the house of *Este*. *Otbo* had several sons, but none of them continued the family long, except the youngest, *Sigfried* or *Sigbert*, who left a lasting posterity, and added *Lucca* and *Parma* to the states of the family of *Este*. His son *Azo*, or *Aelius*! augmented his possessions with *Placentia* and *Reggio*, and became vicar of the empire in *Italy*. He assisted the emperor *Otbo I* in his wars against the *Bohemians*, the *Slavi*, and the *Vandals*; and defeated *Berengarius*; who, at the instigation of the court of *Rome*, set up for emperor, or king of *Italy*. This margrave having two sons, the greatest part of his states went to his eldest, *Theobald*, whose issue failed with his granddaughter *Matildis*, who was possessed of *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Placentia*, *Pisa*, *Spoletto*, *Ancona*, and *Tuscany*, which states were after her death usurped by the see of *Rome*. A. C. 537.

ALBERT, *Azo*'s second son, continued the family, and was possessed of the margraviate of *Este*, with *Milan* and *Genoa*; he married the sister of the emperor *Otbo II*. who augmented his states with ten castles in *Lombardy*, and the city of *Friburgh* in *Germany*. His third son named *Hugo Aelius* succeeded him, and being threatened by the emperor *Henry II*. because his father *Albert* had prevented *Henry*'s father from being emperor, *Hugo* used all his interest to ruin the emperor's power in *Italy*; and being joined by most of the nobility in *Lombardy*, got one *Arduinus* elected king at *Pavia*. *Henry* coming into *Italy* with an army defeated *Arduinus*, and took *Hugo* prisoner; but, instead of punishing him, he generously restored him to whatever he formerly possessed. *Hugo*, to shew himself worthy of the emperor's clemency, made it afterwards the whole study of his life to promote his service. *Hugo* left three sons, the youngest of which, named *Azo IV*. continued the family; by his bravery, the city of *Milan*, which had revolted from the emperor *Henry III*. was subdued, and tranquility restored. But the emperor was no sooner returned to *Germany*, than the papal party prevailing, despoiled *Azo* of his states; upon which he repaired to the court of the emperor, and was soon after re-instated in his dominions, which *Henry III*. considerably augmented. *Azo* married *Cunegunda*, daughter of *Guelph III*. duke of *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, and her brother dying without issue, her son *Guelph* succeeded to all the states of her family. A. C. 780.

IN *Guelph V*. duke of *Bavaria*, surnamed *the Valiant*, the blood of the two antient families of the *Azii* or *Este*, and of the *Guelphs* was united. *Henry IV*. who, though a minor, was A. C. 1056.

^b TACIT. l. iii. PLINY, l. iii. c. 19.

then emperor, and inherited the duchy of *Upper Bavaria*; but the *Bavarians*, disliking his government, revolted, and chose one *Otto*, a *Saxon* prince, for their duke. *Guelph V.* married his daughter; but the emperor having put *Otto* to the ban of the empire, and expelled him, *Guelph*, out of compliment to the emperor, divorced *Otto's* daughter, and being in high esteem with *Henry IV.* he received from him the investiture of the whole duchy of *Bavaria*, of which before he had a considerable part in right of his mother. Towards the end of his life, the pope, *Urban II.* having prevailed with the Christian princes to undertake an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, *Guelph V.* engaged to join in the crusade. After the conquest of *Jerusalem*, he left the Holy Land; but in his return home died near *Paphos*, in the island of *Cyprus*, and his remains were transported to the convent of *Wiblingen* in *Suabia*. He left two sons, *Guelph VI.* and *Henry*, who both succeeded him in their turns. *Guelph VI.* married *Matilda*, the richest heiress of her time, but died without issue.

A. C. 1120.

HENRY, surnamed *the Black*, succeeded his brother, and married *Wulfhild*, the eldest daughter and heiress of *Magnus*, the last duke of *Saxony* of the *Bulling* race. By his right the duchy of *Saxony* on the *Elbe*, should have fallen to his son: but the emperor *Henry V.* disposed of it in favour of *Lotharius*, count of *Supplinburg*, afterwards his successor on the imperial throne. This emperor *Lotharius* had only one daughter, named *Gertrude*, who married *Henry*, surnamed *the Proud*, son of *Henry the Black*. When *Henry the Proud* succeeded his father, the boundaries of possessions were towards the south, *Verona* in *Italy*; towards the north, the *Danube*; towards the east, the *Lower Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*; and towards the west the borders of *Franconia*, the territory where the city *Ulm* is situated, and the lake of *Constance* in *Suabia*, which possessions were equal to a considerable kingdom. *Lotharius*, his father-in-law, being engaged in a war with *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, whom an antipope had likewise declared king of *Naples*; *Henry* commanded the emperor's army, and deprived *Roger* of almost all *Naples*. In these wars, *Tuscany*, and several other provinces in *Italy*, being conquered from those who sided with the antipope, the emperor *Lotharius* be-

A. C. 1136.

flowed them upon *Henry* his son-in-law. He afterwards ceded to him the whole duchy of *Saxony*, which *Henry* extended towards the north, as far as where *Lubeck* is now situated, by conquering from the *Polabii*, a race of *Veneds*, the country called *Saxe Lawemburg*. *Lotharius* dying the year following, declared him his successor, and sent him the crown,

A. C. 1138.

scepter, sword, and other insignia of the empire. A diet was to be held at *Mentz* on *Whitsuntide*, to choose an emperor in the room of *Lotharius*; but *Conrad*, duke of *Suabia*, fearing that the majority might be for *Henry*, anticipated the term, and assembled his friends at *Coblentz*, where he got himself elected emperor, and was crowned by the pope's legate at *Aix la Chapelle*. *Henry* and his brother, surprized at this irregular proceeding, protested against *Conrad's* election, and refused to deliver up the insignia of the empire at *Bamberg*, where a diet was appointed for this purpose. *Conrad* did all in his power to move the princes of the empire against *Henry*, by representing him as a stranger in *Germany*, and that his great-grandfather had been the first that settled there, and concluding, that the interest *Henry* had in *Italy* and *Germany* was so formidable, that the constitution of the *Germanick* body would be in danger, in case the princes of the empire favoured his cause. His brother, who was present, vindicated *Henry* and himself to the satisfaction of the whole assembly. Upon these debates the diet was dissolved, and another appointed at *Ratisbon*, where greater disputes were expected. But *Henry*, being prevailed upon by the promises of *Conrad*, acknowledged him as emperor, and delivered up the insignia. *Conrad*, soon after increasing his demands, and desiring *Henry* to deliver up *Nuremberg*, and several territories in *Italy*, *Henry*, finding himself deceived, refused to take the investiture of his states from *Conrad*, and being summoned to appear at the diet of *Augsburgh*, came thither with a large army. *Conrad* was so much terrified, that he fled in the night-time, with his domesticks and a few friends; and afterwards assembling the princes of the empire at *Wurtzburg*, he represented to them that it was not lawful for a prince of the empire to possess two duchies; and since *Henry* had acquired *Saxony* when *Bavaria* was already in his possession, he thought proper that this prince should be obliged to give up *Saxony*, and in case of refusal to lose both duchies. *Henry* refusing to give up the least part of his possessions, the arguments of *Conrad* prevailed with the princes, and a decree passed, *nemine contradicente*, by which he was put to the ban of the empire. The proclamation of the ban had such an unexpected effect, that *Henry* was entirely deserted, and no more than four of his servants remained with him. *Conrad* gave *Bavaria* to his brother *Leopold*, margrave of *Austria*, and *Saxony* to *Albert* of the house of *Anhalt*; but *Henry*, in a great many engagements, having defeated the competitors, the emperor agreed to a cessation of hostilities, and the city of *Quedlinburgh* was appointed for a place of congress. *Henry*, repairing thither, was poisoned, in the fortieth year of his age, before any thing was concluded upon.

HENRY

^a *HENRY*, surnamed *the Lion*, on account of his valour, succeeded his father, and was only ten years of age when he was poisoned. His uncle took upon him the guardianship, and acquitted himself with great fidelity, and obtained of *Conrad* that *Henry* should keep Saxony, and *Albert*, of the house of *Anhalt*, be contented with the margraviate of *Brandenburg*; but *Henry the Lion's* mother marrying the margrave of *Austria*, the possession of the duchy of *Bavaria* was confirmed to him by the emperor. After this marriage, peace seemed to be re-established in *Germany*, and *Conrad*, with 6000 cavalry, marched into the East against the *Saracens*. A much greater number having assembled to serve against the *Saracens* than was required, *Henry the Lion* led these against the *Veneds*, and defeating them in several engagements, their king *Nicolus* offered to embrace the Christian religion, in consideration of which a peace was made, and part of his dominions restored to him.

HENRY the Lion, having finished this war, and being now come of age, kept the greatest part of the army in his service, and marched against the margrave of *Austria* his step-father, to re-conquer the duchy of *Bavaria*. The margrave applying to the emperor, who was now returned from the Holy Land, a scheme was laid to stir up the city of *Brunswick* against *Henry* in his absence; but he, having secured the city, disposed his troops for pushing the war. Mean while, the emperor *Conrad* dying, *Frederic*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, was, by both parties, unanimously elected emperor in his stead; after which election, a truce followed between *Henry* and his step-father. The emperor going to *Rome* to be crowned by the pope, *Henry* accompanied him; the *Romans* attempting to oppose the public entry of *Frederic* into *Rome*, a skirmish ensued; and *Frederic* being surrounded by the *Romans*, *Henry* rushed into the midst of the enemy, and rescued the emperor, already lying under the horses feet. In consideration of this service, he yielded to *Henry* the right of founding bishoprics in the countries conquered from the *Veneds*, and being returned to *Germany*, he obliged the margrave of *Austria* to give up *Bavaria* to *Henry*, for which he received the country now called *Upper Austria* as an equivalent, which was erected into a duchy, with several singular privileges annexed to it. In the same year, the last count of *Lauenrode* dying, *Henry* incorporated this county, and the city of *Hanover* on the *Leine*, with his dominions, and enlarged *Hanover*. The emperor made him likewise a present of the large possessions of count *Ute*, situated upon the *Hartz*, and the year following the city of *Lubec* was annexed to his dominions. *Henry* marching afterwards with the emperor into *Lombardy*, *Nicolus*, king of the *Veneds*, took up arms against him in his absence; but being soon defeated and killed at *Mecklenburg*, his sons submitted and swore allegiance to *Henry*. These princes afterwards revolting, *Henry* was engaged several years in war in *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, but at last entirely routed these heathens, and peopled their country with *Saxons* and *Frieslanders*. About this time the Greek emperor *Emanuel I.* sent an embassy to *Brunswick*.

The great honour and glory *Henry* was arrived at, raised him many invidious enemies. *Christian*, count of *Oldenburg*, at the head of a great number of *Frieslanders*, seized the city of *Bremen*, and all the places on the *Weser* that belonged to *Henry the Lion*, while *Wickman*, archbishop of *Magdeburgh*, marched his troops to join those of *Hildesheim*, in order to fall upon the county of *Brunswick*; but *Henry* defeated them both, and by the mediation of the emperor, a peace was concluded. The same year he married *Matilda*, daughter of *Henry II.* king of *England*, having divorced his former wife some years before, upon account of their consanguinity. *Henry* had, at this time likewise, a war with the king of *Denmark*; but peace being established, *Canutus*, the king's son, married *Gertrud*, *Henry's* daughter. *Henry*, out of devotion, having made a journey to the Holy Land, upon his return his uncle resolving to retire from the world, left by will all his possessions to his nephew, reserving only a yearly pension to himself, which he spent at *Memmingen*, in *Suabia*. *Henry* being remiss in paying the pension, *Guelph*, at the emperor's intreaty, altered his will, and bequeathed his dominions to him. Nevertheless, *Lombardy* again revolting, *Henry* went to the assistance of the emperor, though he did not serve him so warmly as before; but hearing the *Veneds* again made incursions into his states in *Germany*, he left *Lombardy* to defend his own territories.

The emperor being obliged to make a peace with the pope and the *Italians*, laid the blame of the bad success upon *Henry*, and summoned him to appear at the next diet. Upon this decline of the emperor's favour, *Henry's* states were invaded by several enemies, and he himself was soon after put to the ban of the empire; in consequence of which sentence, all his enemies seized what lay most convenient for them, and nothing remained but *Brunswick* and *Luneburg*. *Henry*, after opposing his enemies for two years, found himself obliged to submit, and appearing at the diet of *Erfurt*, he threw himself at the emperor's feet; but all the conditions he could receive was to banish himself for three years. *Henry* chose *England* for the place of his exile, where his wife was delivered of her youngest son *William Longaspatha*. After the expiration of the term of banishment, *Henry* again returned

to *Germany*; but by a decree of the diet at *Geflar*, he was obliged to banish himself for other three years. Upon this sentence he returned to *England*, while the emperor, and many princes of *Germany*, had set out on an expedition to the Holy Land. In his absence, his enemies violating the truce that had been agreed upon, he returned to *Germany*, and recovered some of his territories; but the emperor *Henry IV.* son of *Barbarossa*, marching against him, obliged him to submit to very hard conditions, and give his son a hostage for the performance of them. Afterwards, a reconciliation was proposed between the emperor and the duke; but *Henry* falling from his horse as he was riding to the place of interview, he was carried back to *Brunswic*, where he soon after died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was modest and grave, of an extraordinary genius; he had a strong body, and his person was very graceful. Some years before his death, several of his enemies sought his friendship again, and he was proposed as a candidate for the imperial throne, when *Henry* lay sick in *Italy*.

HENRY the Lion left three sons, *Henry the Long*, who possessed the greatest part of his paternal estates, and survived his other two brothers, but died without male issue. His second son *Otho*, after many disputes, at last obtained the imperial dignity, but died likewise without issue. His third son *William*, surnamed *Longsword*, continued the family. He was born at *Winchester*, during the time of his father's exile in *England*, and was afterwards one of the hostages for king *Richard* of *England*, who was treacherously detained a prisoner by *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, upon his return from the Holy Land. *William* married *Helena*, daughter of *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, by whom he left one son named *Otho*.

Otho the Infant, first duke of Brunswic.

OTHO was surnamed *the Infant*, being but six years of age when his father died. He was early engaged in warlike expeditions, having assisted his uncle *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, against the count of *Holstein* and the *Lubeckers*. In the same year his uncle, *Henry the Long*, died without male issue. By his death, his paternal estates should have fell to *Otho*; but *Henry* having sold *Brunswic* to the emperor *Frederic II.* *Otho* marched against *Brunswic*, and drove out the imperial garrison. After the conquest of *Brunswic*, *Otho* employed his troops in recovering the rest of his dominions, and revived his claim to the county of *Stade*, which the archbishop refused to restore to him; whereupon *Otho* marched against him, and defeated him in several engagements, but thought not proper, at that time, to make himself master of the county. During these transactions, the emperor *Frederic II.* had been absent in the Holy Land, but returning to *Germany*, he celebrated his nuptials with his third wife *Isabella*, daughter of *John*, king of *England*, at *Mentz*, where a diet, at the same time, was appointed to be held. *Isabella*, being *Otho's* relation, interceded with the emperor to have him restored to the states that had been taken from his ancestors. *Frederic* delayed to comply with this request; but as a recompence for *Otho's* services during his absence in the Holy Land, he created him duke of *Brunswic* and *Luneburgh*, whereof the diploma is still extant, which declares them inheritable by both sexes.

39. From this time the titles of duke of *Saxony* and duke of *Bavaria* have no more been used in his family. *Brunswic* and *Luneburg*, at that time, comprehended the country of *Luneburg*, containing the principality of *Zelle*, and the cities of *Luneburg*, *Hanover*, *Giffhorn*; the country of *Brunswic* containing the principality of *Wolfenbottle*, and the cities and castles of *Brunswic*, *Brimrode*, *Asszburg*, *Sconingen*, *Jerxen*, *Kichtenberg*, *Geberhagen*, and *Slauffenburg*; besides the country between the mountain *Deister* and the river *Leine*; the country of *Göttingen*, with the county of *Northheim*, and the lordship of *Plisse*; and lastly, the country on the *Werra* and *Wefer*, containing several cities and castles. *Otho* now resumed the war against the archbishop of *Bremen*, and forced him to yield up some lordships, which he incorporated with his dominions; and, after the conclusion of the peace, he made an expedition into *Prussia*, to the assistance of the knights of the Teutonic order.

FREDERIC II. being excommunicated by the pope, *Henry*, landgrave of *Thuringen*, succeeded him; but he dying two years after, the princes of the empire chose *William*, count of *Holland* and *Zealand*, emperor against *Frederic*. *William* married *Otho's* daughter, and was supported by him in his new dignity. Next year *Otho* was taken ill on his return from the diet at *Frankfort*, and died soon after.

A. C. 1252.
Albert the Great, second duke of Brunswic.

OTHO left four sons, the two youngest of which became bishops; and *Albert* the eldest, surnamed *the Great*, succeeded to his father's estates. After governing seventeen years, he made a partition with his second brother *John*, and ceded *Luneburgh* to him. During the first twenty-three years of his government, *Germany* was involved in troubles occasioned by the long inter-regnum; but the dominions of the house of *Brunswic* and *Luneburg* were free from these disorders, and *Albert* was at leisure to assist the king of *Bohemia* against *Bela IV.* king of *Hungary*. After his return from this expedition, he took the castle of *Asszburg*, and punished the family for having represented his coat of arms in a disrespectful manner; and the house of *Wolfenbottle* slighting his authority, *Albert* went before the castle,

a castle, took it, and ordered it to be razed. While *Albert* was employed in reducing these rebellious subjects, *Conrad*, count of *Eberstein*, another of his vassals, entered into an alliance with *Gerhard*, archbishop of *Mentz*, against him; and in order to divert *Albert* from the siege of *Assenburgh*, he invaded the country of *Gottingen*, destroying all with fire and sword; but being taken prisoner, *Albert* ordered him to be hanged by the feet, and the archbishop he kept prisoner a twelvemonth, and obliged him to pay 8000 marks of silver for his ransom.

THE cities of *Hamelin* and *Eimbec* soon after voluntarily subjected themselves to *Albert*, and disputes arising between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Sleswic*, he went to the assistance of the young king, and by his mediation a peace was concluded. Going afterwards with the king and his mother to *Denmark*, he restored tranquility to that kingdom, which he found torn in pieces by domestic dissensions. *Albert* having been a widower for a considerable time, without any issue, he went to *England*, where he married *Adelheid*, sister of *Otho*, margrave of *Montferrat*, and obtained at the same time of the king, a grant for the city of *Hamburg* to trade with that kingdom. Five years afterwards, he acquired the city and territory of *Grubenhagen*, which, with the acquisitions made to it, came to be called a principality, and, as such, in latter times, obtained a vote at the diets of the empire. *Albert* died soon after, and left behind him six sons, three of whom entered into the Teutonic order, and the other three made a partition of his states; *Henry* at *Grubenhagen*, *Albert* at *Gottingen*, and *William* at *Brunswic*. A. C. 1265.

c *ALBERT* surnamed *the Gross*, second son of *Albert the Great*, succeeded to his brother *William*, who died before him, without leaving issue; and thus united, in his person, the lines of *Gottingen* and *Brunswic*. *Albert the Gross* died in 1318, and left seven sons behind him, four of whom were ecclesiastics, and the other three divided his states between them. *Otho* resided at *Brunswic*, *Ernest* at *Gottingen*, and *Magnus*, after the demise of *Otho*, kept his residence at *Brunswic*. Albert the Gross.

OTHO dying without male issue, his states fell to his two brothers; and *Brunswic* happening to the share of *Magnus*, he fixt his residence at that city. He is surnamed by some *the Meek*, and by others *the Pious*, on account of his singular piety. He married *Sophia*, or *Agnes*, daughter of the margrave of *Brandenburgh*, and by her he had three sons, *Louis*, *Magnus*, and *Albert*, which last became archbishop of *Bremen*. Magnus I.

d *MAGNUS* II. succeeded to part of his father's possessions, and his elder brother *Louis* dying without issue, he likewise enjoyed his states. He engaged in a war with *Gerhard* II. bishop of *Hildesheim*, which proved unfortunate to him, for being taken prisoner, he was obliged to sell the margraviate of *Misnia*, and three lordships, to raise money for his ransom. But two years afterwards he entered into family pacts with *Eric* II. then duke of *Saxe Lau- enburgh*, by which it was agreed, that upon extinction of either of the houses, the surviving family should succeed the other in its possessions. *Magnus* finished his days in a miserable manner, being run through the body by a common soldier belonging to *Otho*, count of *Schaumburg*, with whom he had a personal dispute. He left four sons, *Frederic*, *Bernhard*, *Henry*, and *Otho*: *Otho* got the archbishopric of *Bremen*, and *Frederic* the eldest was elected emperor; but setting out for *Brunswic* after the election, he was basely murdered at the instigation of the archbishop of *Mentz*. 1368. Magnus II. surnamed Torquatus.

e THE emperor *Frederic* was succeeded by his brothers *Henry* and *Bernhard*, who ruled jointly for nine years, after which they made a partition. *Brunswic* fell to *Bernhard's* share, and *Luneburg* to *Henry*. Some years after their families exchanged their dominions; *Henry's* posterity kept *Brunswic*, and *Luneburg* became the property of *Bernhard*, and his heirs. *Bernhard* besides bought the county of *Hamburg* from its last possessor, and joined the city *Ultzen* to the duchy of *Luneburg*; he also demolished the castle of *Klozec*. The military art being much improved in his time by the late invention of fire-arms, besides the cannon of common size, he caused an extraordinary one to be cast at *Brunswic*, which was called *Faule Mette*. This remarkable piece is still preserved in the arsenal of that city; it weighs nine tons, discharges a ball of above six hundred weight, and requires fifty-two pounds of powder at one loading. *Bernhard* died in the year 1434, and left by his wife *Margaret*, daughter of the elector of *Saxony*, two sons, *Otho* and *Frederic*, surnamed *the Pious*, both of whom succeeded him in their turns. *Otho* dying without issue, *Frederic* succeeded him. Bernhard.

f *FREDERIC*, of the house of *Luneburg*, was surnamed *the Pious*, on account of his exemplary life. In his time the city of *Luneburg* being greatly in debt, intreated the prelates and the other clergy that received rents from the salt-pits of that city, to give up for some years part of these rents. The clergy refusing to comply, and the city insisting upon it, complaints were carried before the pope; and *Frederic*, partly on this account, and partly moved by devotion, made a journey to *Rome*, and took upon him to solicit in behalf of the city: Frederic the Pious.

A. C. 1450.

Otho the
Magnani-
mous.Henry the
Younger.Ernest the
Confessor.
A. C. 1521.

city : but his efforts were without success, sentence being given in favour of the prelates, which for a long time after occasioned great commotions in the city of *Luneburg*. *Frederic* having a natural propensity to great and good actions, assisted the citizens of *Munster*, who disagreed with the chapter of that see about the election of a bishop. He commanded their little army against the archbishop, who attacked him before all his troops had assembled, and took him prisoner. *Frederic* continued for some time in captivity, and was obliged to give a considerable sum of money to redeem himself. Some years after he resolved to retire from the world, and having founded a convent in *Zelle*, he fixed his abode there, giving up the government of his states to his eldest son *Bernard* II. then bishop of *Hildesheim*. *Bernard* dying before him, his youngest son *Otho* succeeded, and he likewise departing this life before his father, and leaving a son under age, *Frederic* was obliged to quit the convent, and resume the government of his states, which he held for seven years after the death of his two sons. He married *Magdalene*, daughter of *Frederic* I. elector of *Brandenburgh*.

HENRY the Younger, the eldest son of *Otho the Magnanimous*, was only three years of age at his father's death, and succeeded to the government in his eleventh year, by the death of his grandfather *Frederic*. His mother kept the administration till he came of age. At that time *Francis*, count of *Diepholt*, offered to hold his county as a fief from him, and to become his vassal, which was complied with, and hereby, after the extinction of that family, the county of *Diepholt* devolved to the house of *Luneburg*. Towards the end of his government, *Henry* brought himself into great distress by becoming the ally of the bishop of *Hildesheim*, who, from an ambitious view, made war upon *Eric* I. and his nephew, of the line of *Wolfsenbottle*. The war having continued for some time, with great calamity to the poor people on both sides, a truce was at last agreed to between the contending parties, and the dispute was left to the decision of the new emperor *Charles V*. The bishop appearing at the diet at *Worms*, was ordered to forbear hostilities, and wait the decision of the emperor, being threatened with the ban of the empire in case he refused to comply. The bishop, thinking it for his interest, continued the war, and ridiculed the intimation; whereupon the ban of the empire was declared against him and his ally *Henry* of *Luneburg*. In consequence of this declaration, the bishop was stripped of all his possessions, except the city of *Hildesheim*, and three other fortresses; the difference was finally left to the decision of the electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, and each party kept what it had taken during the troubles. *Henry* of *Luneburg* was no sooner informed that the ban was proclaimed against him, but to prevent the effects of it, he divested himself of all his possessions, gave them up to his sons, and retired to *France*. He resided there for six years, after which he returned to *Germany*, and died at *Winbuseu*, two years after the ban was repealed. His wife was *Margaret*, daughter of the elector of *Saxony*, by whom he had *Otho*, *Ernest*, and *Francis*.

At the time that *Henry*, of the line of *Luneburg*, was put to the ban of the empire, *Otho*, as his eldest son, should have had the chief government of the duchy of *Luneburg*; but he contenting himself with *Harburgh*, ceded his right to *Ernest*, whilst *Francis*, the youngest brother, kept his residence at *Giffhorn*. *Ernest* was educated under the inspection of his uncle, *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, who sent him early to the university of *Wittenberg*, where he not only made great progress in learning, but had an opportunity of conversing with *Luther*, who, at that time, began to discover his sentiments about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the see of *Rome*. From *Wittenberg* he went to *Paris*, where he was in great esteem with *Francis* I. then king of *France*, and after having acquired at that court such accomplishments as were to be met with no where else in those days, he returned to his native country, when the ban was proclaimed against his father, and succeeded to his states at the time that the tenets of *Luther* began to interest all *Germany*.

LUTHER, having for two years exclaimed against the errors of the church, was hearkened to by several of the princes of the empire, and the emperor *Maximilian* I. was so far from being persuaded to proceed against him, that he used to say, that did the clergy lead pious lives, there would be no necessity for *Luther's* reforming. His successor, *Charles V*. being of a different disposition, violent measures were followed, and *Luther* was excommunicated, which proved the greatest fault pope *Leo X*. ever committed; for his pretended infallibility not permitting him to retract, *Luther* was thereby drove to despair. The year following, the emperor summoned *Luther* to appear at the diet of *Worms*, and *Ernest* being then just returned from *France*, went thither with his two brothers, where with them he concerted the preparatives that were necessary to introduce a reformation in the circle of *Lower Saxony*, as his uncle, *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, was doing in *Upper Saxony*. *Ernest* shewed uncommon prudence and moderation in carrying on his undertaking, publicly declaring to his subjects, that his intention was by no means to force their consciences, but only to afford them an opportunity to examine the merits of the doctrine in debate, and to determine accordingly. The clergy, not relishing these proceedings of *Ernest*,

a *Ernest*, solicited his father *Henry* to return from *France*, hoping that his presence would be a hindrance to the reformation; but here they missed their aim, for though he came back to his native country, he was prevailed upon by his sons not to interfere in the business of the reformation; whereby *Ernest* was left at liberty to pursue the scheme he had formed, of gradually abolishing the errors and abuses that had crept into the church. For this end, he cheerfully exerted himself with an uncommon share of application and constancy, and generously sent learned men to preach the Gospel in the county of *Hoya*, *Engel-Friesland*, and other parts of *Germany*. His great zeal for the cause of the reformation, and the many difficulties to which he exposed himself on that account, justly acquired him the title of Confessor.

b THE pope and his adherents, being, by this time, fully sensible of the danger they were threatened with from the reformation, thought of means to stop its progress. With this view it was insisted upon by them, at the diet of *Spires*, that the ban declared against *Luther* should be put in execution, and that all those who followed his doctrine should be comprised in it. But when the emperor was on the point of gratifying their desire, *John the Constant*, then elector of *Saxony*, *Philip the Magnanimous*, landgrave of *Hesse*, *Ernest the Confessor*, his brother *Francis*, and other members of the empire, protested against it with so much steadiness and resolution, that *Charles* determined to use moderation for the present. Next year, the princes, encouragers of a reformation in the church, who were now distinguished by the name of Protestants, presented their confession of faith to the diet of *Augsburg*; but not being able to obtain free liberty of conscience, they returned home, and afterwards, upon account of their common danger, solemnly entered into an union at *Smalkald*. *Ernest the Confessor* was one of the parties concerned in this union, which subsisted for fifteen years, during which time each party kept the other in suspense. A. C. 1535.

ERNEST was not only engaged in opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the emperor and popish princes, but likewise sent a body of troops against the peasants, who had made an insurrection in several parts of *Germany*, refusing to pay obedience to their superiors; and laying waste whole countries, and murdering their masters in a most barbarous manner. His example being followed by other princes, the rebels were at last subdued, though not till after 100,000 of them had been killed during the commotion. Soon after an insurrection broke out of a more dangerous nature, threatening the subversion of all civil government. It was owing to a particular sect of Anabaptists, who after the reduction of the peasants, attempted to settle in *Upper Germany*; but the magistrates at *Strasburgh*, and other cities, expelling them, they retired to *Holland* and *Westphalia*: being likewise driven from *Holland*, the whole swarm settled at *Munster*, where they deposed the magistrates, and afterwards formed a government of their own. *Ernest* being solicited by the bishop of *Munster* to assist in reducing them, marched against the city with the other princes of the house of *Brunswic*, and took it by storm, after it had been the scene of a bloody tragedy for near two years. A. C. 1532.

ERNEST, after a life spent with unwearied application to promote the welfare of his subjects, died in his 48th year; leaving four sons, whereof the second was killed in the battle of *Sivershausen*; the eldest, *Francis Otho*, succeeded him; and, after his death, the two youngest, *Henry* and *William*, founded two new lines, which subsist to this day, and are called the houses of *Brunswic Wolfenbuttle*, and of *Brunswic Luneburg*. *Ernest* has obtained the character of a pious, steady, and valiant prince. Notwithstanding the cares and toils of government, he employed a great part of his time in study, and inspecting the education of his children; he took great delight to see his subjects instructed in the Protestant religion, for which purpose he ordered frequent visitations to be made in the different dioceses. He likewise admitted into his presence, and patiently heard, such of his subjects as desired personally to make their suits known to him, living up to the sense of his emblem, which was a burning candle, with this inscription, *Aliis inserviando, meipsum consumo*; I serve others, and thereby consume myself.

f THE sons of *Ernest* being all under age at his death, the states of the principality of *Zelle* took upon them the administration of the regency. During that time, *Frederic* lost his life in the battle near *Sivershausen*. *Francis Otho*, who as the elder brother, came to the government of his father's possessions in 1555, died four years after, leaving his dominions to his two younger brothers, *Henry* and *William*, who agreed to govern jointly, which they continued to do for ten years with great unanimity and friendship. During this joint government, *Frederic II.* king of *Denmark*, with the assistance of the dukes of *Holstein*, commenced a war against a people called the *Deithmarses*, inhabiting a country situated on the *German* ocean, between the *Elbe* and the *Eider*, and formerly conquered by *Henry the Lion*. The king of *Denmark* having killed 3000 of them in a battle, the rest fled to the marshes, and by the mediation of *Henry* and *William*, who set aside their own interests, a peace was made. William of the house of Luneburgh.

peace was concluded and ratified in the open field, by which the *Deithmarses* surrendered themselves, and their country was incorporated into the duchy of *Helſtein*. a

SOME years after, *Henry* having taken a resolution to live a quiet life, resigned his share of the government to his brother *William*, reserving no more to himself than the counties of *Danneberg* and *Luchow*, with their dependencies. *William* thus enjoyed a larger share of his father's dominions than he expected, and afterwards succeeded to the castles and bailiwicks of *Hoya*, *Menburg*, *Liebenau*, and *Bruchausen*, by the death of the last count of *Hoya*; on the demise likewise of *Frederic*, last count of *Diepholt*, that county, as a fief of the house of *Luneburgh*, devolved entire to him, with its dependencies. *William*, after he came to the sole government of his states, caused the sum of the Protestant doctrines to be reduced into a body and published, ordering, that every clergyman within his dominions should swear at his ordination to conform himself to its contents. He died in 1592, leaving seven sons, the four eldest of whom succeeded him by turns. He was much beloved by his subjects; and high encomiums have been bestowed upon him by authors, on account of his knowledge and learning. b

George.
A. C. 1592.

ERNEST, *Christian*, *Augustus*, *Frederic*, *Magnus*, *George*, and *John*, the seven sons of *Ernest the Confessor*, being resolved to keep up the splendor of their house, came to an agreement among themselves not to divide their paternal inheritance; determining that only one should marry, and that the elder brother should have the sole regency over the *Luneburgh* dominions, and be succeeded by the eldest that should survive him. They kept to this brotherly agreement with great exactness, which so new and uncommon thing reaching the ear of the grand seignior *Achmet I.* he expressed great surprise, saying, *It was worth a man's while to undertake a journey on purpose, to be an eye-witness of this wonderful unanimity.* c The seven brothers, according to their agreement, having drawn lots to determine who should marry, the happy lot fell upon *George*, the sixth brother, who thereupon entered the married state, and continued the family. By his marriage *George* secured the government to his posterity; but he died before the regency fell to himself.

GEORGE, so early as in the ninth year of his age, was sent with his brother *Magnus* to the university of *Jena*; when he had finished his studies he learned the art military under prince *Maurice of Nassau*, who, at that time, defended the liberties of the new republic of *Holland* against *Spain*. He afterwards went upon his travels into *France*, *England*, and *Italy*, and when returned, he served *Christian IV.* king of *Denmark*, in his war against *Charles IX.* king of *Sweden*. In the beginning of the war of thirty years, he espoused the party of the emperor *Ferdinand II.* and would have kept steady to the same interest, had not the imperial general seized upon the principality of *Calenberg*, and exacted large sums from its inhabitants. These hostile proceedings induced the house of *Luneburg* to league itself with *Gustavus Adolphus*. *George* recovered *Calenberg*, and defeated the imperial generals in several engagements, in consequence of which many cities and fortresses fell into their hands, amongst which was *Hildesheim*, which he afterwards retained. The peace of *Prague* being concluded between the emperor and the elector of *Saxony*, he declared himself in favour of that treaty, and rejected the offers of the *Swedes*; upon which they committed some hostilities against him. *George* being afterwards fully convinced of the emperor's ambitious views, again sided with the *Swedes*, and drove the imperialists out of the fortresses of *Steinbruc*, and having taken several other places, he sat down before the fortress of *Wolfenbuttle*. Here was a period put to his warlike exploits; for while he was present at a banquet at *Hildesheim* with general *Banier*, a monk administered poisoned wine to several of the chiefs that were assembled there, and though he drank but little of it, yet it had so fatal an effect upon him, that from that time, his strength visibly abated, and soon after a fever put an end to his life. He left by his wife *Anne-Eleanor*, daughter of *Louis V.* landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, four sons, *Christian-Louis*, *George-William*, *John-Frederic*, and *Ernest-Augustus*. The three eldest dying without male-issue, the principalities were reunited by the posterity of the youngest brother. d e f

A. C. 1641.

Ernest Augustus, the first elector.

ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, the youngest son of *George* above-mentioned, was but twelve years old at the time of his father's decease. As he discovered a very early inclination to learning, he was sent to the university of *Marpurg*, where he went through his studies, and was complimented with the rectorship of the university. He improved his knowledge afterwards by travelling into *Holland*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. The alternate succession in the bishopric of *Osnaburgh* being granted to the houses of *Brunswic-Wolfenbuttle* and *Brunswic-Luneburgh*, by the treaty of *Westphalia*, *Ernest Augustus* succeeded to this bishopric after the death of the cardinal who then possessed it; and fixing his residence in that city, he there built a fine palace at his own charge. His court, like that of the elector of *Mentz*, was called *aula laboriosa*, on account of the share he had in all the public transactions of his time. g

- a He concurred in bringing the bishop of *Münster* to relinquish the war against the *Dutch*, and was instrumental in terminating the differences of the house of *Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel* with this bishop, about the protectorship of the city *Hexter*. When *Louis XIV.* invaded *Holland*, he accepted of a neutrality, but nevertheless used all his dexterity to free *Westphalia* from the *French* troops. *Louis XIV.* afterwards carrying his arms into *Franche Comté*, the empire declared war against *France*; and *Ernest-Augustus* joining the grand alliance, took the field himself, and made a campaign on the *Rhine* and on the *Moselle*. The year following, he acted in the *Netherlands* with the prince of *Orange*, who commanded the allied army. Here he assisted at the siege of *Maastricht*, and carried on an attack himself on the side of the *Meuse*. About the time of the conclusion of the peace at *Nimeguen*, the principality of *Calenberg* devolving to him by the death of *John-Frederic* his brother, he appointed a regency at *Osnabrück*, and translated his residence to *Hanover*. Here he established the right of primogeniture in the house of *Brunswick-Luneburgh*, abolishing the pernicious custom that had hitherto prevailed in his house, of dividing the dominions belonging to it.

A. C. 1680.

- The death of the elector palatine affording *Louis XIV.* another pretence for invading the empire, a new alliance was formed against him, to which *Ernest-Augustus* acceded, and recalled his ambassador from *Paris*. He joined the auxiliary army on the *Moselle* with 8000 men, and proposed to relieve *Philipsburgh*; but it being too late, he secured *Coblentz* and *Frankfort*, and leaving 4000 of his troops on the *Rhine*, under the command of his eldest son *George Lewis*, he returned with the rest to his dominions. Next campaign he marched a body of 8000 men to the *Netherlands*, but while they were on their march, the *French* having passed the *Rhine*, and entered *Suabia*, the emperor entreated *Ernest-Augustus* to join the confederate army on the *Rhine*, which enabled the allies to make themselves masters of *Mentz*. The following year he had a body of 11,000 men in the *Netherlands*, under the command of his eldest son *George Lewis*, who behaved with great bravery at the unfortunate battle of *Fleury*. The war still continuing, the emperor desired *Ernest* to send reinforcements to the armies: accordingly, he augmented the forces he had in *Hungary* with 5000 men, and sent another body of 8000 to the *Netherlands*.

A. C. 1688.

- In consideration of these services, *Leopold* proposed to the college of princes at *Ratisbon*, that he thought the house of *Brunswick* worthy of a place in the electoral college, which declaration of the emperor was agreed to by a majority of votes, and a resolution was accordingly drawn up, declaring him worthy the electoral dignity. Against this resolve the college of princes immediately entered a protest; however, the emperor, the same year, gave the solemn investiture of the electoral dignity to the plenipotentiary of *Ernest-Augustus*. The opposing princes again protested, declaring the investiture null, and contrary to the Golden Bull. Several assemblies were held upon this affair at *Goslar* and *Nuremberg*, and the opposition had almost proceeded to an open rupture, when *Ernest* dying in 1698, the dispute was omitted, on account of the new war that threatened the empire. *Ernest-Augustus* was an active and laborious prince, and assiduous in the administration of justice. He married *Sophia*, daughter of *Frederic*, elector palatine and king of *Bohemia*, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter of *James I.* king of *England*, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. *George Lewis*, the eldest, succeeded him. *Frederic-Augustus*, the second, was slain in an action against the *Turks* in *Transilvania*; as was also the fourth, *Charles Philip*, in a battle with the *Turks* and *Tartars* the same year; *Maximilian-William* died as field-marshal-general of the imperial army; *Christian*, the fifth son, on returning from an engagement with the *French* near *Ulm*, was drowned in the *Danube*; and the youngest, *Ernest-Augustus*, became bishop of *Osnabrück*. *Sophia Charlotta*, the only daughter of his electoral highness, was married to *Frederic I.* king of *Prussia*.

A. C. 1692.

A. C. 1698.

- GEORGE Lewis*, eldest son of the elector *Ernest-Augustus*, was born in the year 1660. His father had him early initiated in the liberal arts, and in all the sciences necessary for a prince. When he was but fifteen years old, he attended his father and the duke of *Zelle* his uncle to the army on the *Moselle*, and was present in all the dangers they exposed themselves to in the battle near *Triers*, and in the siege of that place. The emperor *Leopold*, highly pleased with these proofs of his valour and intrepidity, congratulated him by a letter on the honour he had acquired in this campaign. He followed his father in the next campaigns in the *Netherlands*, where he assisted at the siege of *Maastricht* and *Charleroy*. The peace being concluded next year at *Nimeguen*, some time after, *Louis XIV.* with a view to engage the elector *Ernest* in his interest, proposed a match between *George-Lewis* and a daughter of the duke of *Orleans*; but some overtures of a marriage between *George-Lewis* and the princess *Anne*, second daughter of the duke of *York*, were more acceptable; for this purpose, the prince came over to *England*, where he was extremely well received by the whole court. However, his stay was but short in *England*, his father having concluded a match for him with his cousin-german *Sophia-Dorothy*, only daughter of the duke of *Zelle*.

George-Lewis.

A. C. 1698.

The marriage was celebrated with great solemnity in 1682, and heaven blessed it the year a following with a prince, named *George Augustus*, the late king of *Great-Britain*.

A. C. 1700. SCARCE two years after this alliance, *George-Lewis* engaged to assist the emperor in his war against the *Turks*, and the three following campaigns he signalized his valour in *Hungary*, especially at the siege of *Buda*, which the imperialists took by storm. Afterwards, on the breaking out of the second war between the empire and *Louis XIV.* his father acceding to the grand alliance, he commanded the *Luneburgh* troops at the siege of *Mentz* and *Bonn*, and signalized his valour in all the campaigns till the conclusion of the peace at *Ryswick*. The year following, his father dying, he wholly applied himself to the government of his dominions; but the peace of the North being disturbed by the death of the king of *Sweden*, and the dispute between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holstein*, the elector, to prevent the flame from spreading, marched to the assistance of the duke of *Holstein*, as guarantee of the treaty of *Altena*, and obliged the *Danes* to raise the siege of *Tonningen*. Whilst these things were doing, the king of *Sweden* having entered *Zealand*, and bombarded *Copenhagen*, the king of *Denmark* was obliged to conclude a peace to the satisfaction of the duke of *Holstein*. b

THIS year the duke of *Gloucester*, the only surviving issue of princess *Anne's* thirteen children, dying, king *William* earnestly recommended to the parliament of *England* to regulate the succession of their crown; in consequence of which recommendation, an act of settlement was made the year following, by which the electress *Sophia* was declared next in succession to the crown of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, after king *William* and the princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and in default of their issue; which act, sealed with the great seal of *England*, was carried to *Hanover* by the earl of *Macclesfield*. c

A. C. 1702. A NEW war breaking out betwixt the emperor and the king of *France*, with regard to the succession of the crown of *Spain*, *George Lewis* and his uncle the duke of *Zelle*, became auxiliaries of the emperor; and the grand alliance being formed, the elector marched a body of troops into the country of the house of *Wolfenbuttle*, whose princes had made an engagement with *France*, and by taking several of their towns, forced them to quit that alliance. A few years after, *George William*, duke of *Zelle*, yielded to fate, by whose decease the elector re-united all the dominions of the house of *Luneburgh*, the subjects of his uncle having some years before taken the oath of allegiance to him. d

A. C. 1707. AFTER the memorable battle of *Hockstedt* or *Blenheim*, the military affairs of the empire not being managed to the content of the allies, the command of the army was given to the elector, and he accordingly arrived at *Philipsburgh* on the 13th of *September*, and soon after put a stop to the ravages of the *French* in the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*. Hearing they had seven regiments of horse and dragoons in a camp at *Offenburg*, he sent count *Merci* with a detachment to surprise the enemy. He succeeded in his enterprise, and brought away four standards, 150 prisoners, 1300 horses, with the loss of only two lieutenants and thirty men. The duke of *Marlborough* leaving the army in *Flanders* about the beginning of *October*, met the elector *George* and the elector of *Mentz* at *Frankfort*, where they concerted the operations for the next campaign. The elector returning to the army, the *French* began to repass the *Rhine*, and go into winter-quarters, while the allies employed themselves in carrying a line from *Daxlant* to *Etlingen*. The diet of *Ratisbon* made some vigorous decrees for reinforcing the army against the next campaign; nevertheless the army of the allies was very weak on the *Rhine*, and the elector was obliged to keep himself on the defensive. The year following, likewise, but half the number of men proposed assembled in the field, by which neglect, the designed invasion of *Upper Alsace* and *Lorraine* was prevented. e

A. C. 1710. THE elector being thus disappointed of succours during three campaigns, by the remissness of the empire, resigned the command of the army; but left his troops both in *Flanders* and on the *Rhine*. About this time, the bishop and chapter of *Hildesheim* oppressing their Protestant subjects, and notwithstanding the representations of the elector, refusing to redress their grievances, he, as a chief party concerned in former conventions, ordered a detachment of dragoons to enter the bishopric, who making themselves masters of the city of *Hildesheim*, the fortress of *Peina*, and three bailiwicks, the chapter at last consented to give sufficient security for the Protestants. f

A. C. 1714. THE empire at last concluding this long war with *France* by a peace at *Rastadt* and *Baden*, *Louis XIV.* formally acknowledged the electoral dignity in the house of *Luneburgh*, as he had the year before by the treaty of *Utrecht* owned the succession to the *British* realms, as it was limited by acts of parliament in favour of the princess *Sophia* and her issue. This princess lived not to enjoy the crown destined for her, but died this year of an apoplectic fit, when she had almost compleated the eighty-fourth year of her age. Her death was followed a few weeks after, by that of her majesty queen *Anne*, who leaving no issue, the elector *George* was proclaimed on the first of *August*, the day of her death, at the usual places, and with g

a with the usual ceremonies, king of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.* As soon as his majesty received the news of the queen's death, and of this proclamation, he expressed his intention to set out for *England*, where he soon after arrived. After reigning almost thirteen years over that kingdom, he died at the palace of *Osnaburgh*, on his way to *Hanover*, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving behind him an only son, *George Augustus*, late A. C. 1727. king of *Great Britain*. He was a prince eminently endowed with talents for governing, and besides blest with a soul capable of tasting the pleasures of social intercourse, disdaining pride, but at the same time maintaining his dignity.

b

The Line of BRUNSWIC-WOLFENBUTTE.

O F the three sons of *Ernest the Confessor* that survived him, *Otho*, the eldest, dying A. C. 1546: without issue, the dominions of the family fell to the two youngest brothers *Henry* and *William*, who both left posterity. The descendants of *William* founded the line of *Lunenburg*, and *Henry*, the elder brother, is the author of the present house of *Henry, Wolfenbuttle*. *Henry* governed his father's states jointly with his brother for ten years, and afterward chusing a retired life, he resigned the government to his brother, and reserved only to himself the counties of *Daneberg* and *Luchow*, with their dependencies. He died in 1598, leaving three sons, *Julius-Ernest*, *Francis*, and *Augustus*. *JULIUS Ernest* dying without issue, and *Francis* being drowned in passing a river, *Augustus* succeeded; and besides the counties abovementioned, he inherited the principality of *Wolfenbuttle* with the lordship of *Wustrow*. He established his residence at *Hitzaker*, where his love to learning induced him to collect a library consisting of 80,000 volumes, and which at present amounts to above 116,000 volumes, besides 2000 select manuscripts. This valuable collection, after his succeeding *Frederic-Ulric*, was removed to *Wolfenbuttle*, where it is open to all comers during the greatest part of the week days. He wrote several d tracts, which remain as monuments of his labour and erudition. He died in 1666, leaving three sons, *Rudolph-Augustus*, *Antony-Ulric*, and *Ferdinand-Albert*. *FERDINAND-Albert*, his youngest son, continued the family; he married *Christina*, *Ferdinand-daughter of Frederic, of Hesse Cassel*, of whom he had *Sophia-Eleanora*, *Augustus-Ferdinand*, *Albert-Ferdinand-Albert*, *Ferdinand-Christian* and *Ernest-Ferdinand*, twins, and *Henry-Ferdinand*. He died in 1687, and his son *Ferdinand-Albert* continued the family. *FERDINAND-Albert II.* married *Antho-netta-Amelia*, of *Blankenburg*, of whom he had *Ferdinand-fourteen children*; namely, *Charles* the present duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, born the first of *August*, *Albert II.* 1713; *Anthony-Ulric*, *Elizabeth-Christina*, *Lewis-Ernest*, *Augustus*, *Ferdinand*, *Louisa-Amelia*, *Sophia-Anthonetta*, *Albert*, *Christine-Caroline-Louisa*, *Theresia-Natalia*, *Juliana Maria*, e *Frederic-William*, *Frederic-Francis*. He died in 1735.

The History of the Electorate of BRANDENBURGH.

f T HE electorate, though formerly first in order, was deprived of that rank by the emperor *Charles IV.*¹; but the extent of its territories, and the number of its inhabitants, render it still one of the most considerable. Besides its antient hereditary dominions of the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, the duchy of *Cleves*, the counties of *Mark* and *Ravensberg*, and the dukedom of *Prussia*, erected into a kingdom in the beginning of this century, it is at present possessed of several great provinces, adjudged to it by the treaties of *Westphalia*, in compensation for that part of *Pomerania* which was ceded to the crown of *Sweden*. These provinces are the duchy of *Magdeburgh*, the principality of *Halberstadt*, the principality of *Minden*, and *Farther Pomerania*. The province of *Silesia* has likewise been lately ceded to this house, by a treaty concluded betwixt the empress and the present king of *Prussia*. The electors have been possessed of part of *Brandenburg*, Brandenburg, from the earliest accounts of history; and after many conquests and purchases, they have now the dominion of the whole country, which is divided into the Old March, *Pregnitz*, g the Middle March, the March *Ukraine*, and the Old March. *Brandenburg* is the capital of the marquisate from whence the electors have their title. It is a rich and populous city,

The dominions of the electorate of Brandenburg.

¹ BRAND. l. i. l. 3. c. 11.

situated on the river *Havel*, and was formerly the principal place of the idolatry of the *Vandals*, where they sacrificed to two superior divinities. But *Berlin*, upon the same river, is the ordinary residence of the elector, having been greatly augmented by the numbers of *French* Protestants, who resorted to it upon the repeal of the edict of *Nantes*.

The duchy of
Cleves, and
counties of
Mark and
Ravensberg.

THE elector of *Brandenburgh* and the duke of *Newburgh* having both pretended to the succession of *Cleves*, *Juiers*, and *Bergues*, made a provisional division of these states, till it should be determined who was the right heir to the whole; the last duke, who died without issue, having prohibited by his will any division of his estates. By this provisional division the elector of *Brandenburgh* enjoys the duchy of *Cleves*, and the counties of *Mark* and *Ravensberg*.

1519.
Prussia.

PRUSSIA likewise is become hereditary to the house of *Brandenburgh*, though formerly it belonged to a grand master of the Teutonic order, these knights having, after a long war, subdued the ancient heathen inhabitants, in order to convert them to Christianity. By a long course of oppression, they obliged their subjects to surrender themselves to the king of *Poland*, who entering *Prussia* with an army, vindicated the rights of the people. After a thirteen years war between the knights of the order and the king of *Poland*, a peace was concluded, by which that part of *Prussia*, on the nigher side of the *Vistula*, was annexed to the kingdom of *Poland*; and the grand-master of the order paid homage for what remained to the conquerors. Afterwards, *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, grand-master of the order, refusing to pay homage, declared war against *Poland*; but finding himself unequal, he abandoned the interests of the order, went to *Cracovia*, and swearing allegiance to the king of *Poland*, received the investiture of the province to himself, and his lawful heirs male, failing of whom it was to be re-united to *Poland*. Afterwards the emperor *Leopold* erected *Prussia* into a kingdom, in consideration of the assistance which the elector gave him in his wars with *France*. The capital of this kingdom is *Koningsberg*, a large trading city, with a fine harbour at the mouth of the river *Inslet*, which falls into the gulph of *Friscshaff*, on one side of which is the fort of *Pilau*, and on the other that of *Memel*.

Magdeburgh.

THE duchy of *Magdeburgh* is a considerable state, situated upon the *Elbe*. It was formerly an archbishopric, but since the death of *Augustus*, duke of *Saxony*, in 1680, it hath remained hereditary to the elector of *Brandenburg*, under the title of a duchy, and under this quality he hath a seat and voice on the bench of secular princes.

Halberstadt.

THE principality of *Halberstadt* was formerly a bishopric, of the foundation of *Charlemagne*; it is at present secularized, with the fourth part of the canons, and a part of the county of *Hohenstein*, all for the advantage of the elector of *Brandenburgh*. Its prince is entitled to a seat and voice in the diets and deputations, as well as at the assemblies of the states of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, of which it is one of the principal members. The capital of this principality is *Halberstadt*, situated upon the river *Holtheim*.

Minden.
1464.

THE bishopric of *Minden* has likewise been secularized by the peace of *Westphalia*, in favour of the elector of *Brandenburgh*. The capital of this principality is *Minden* upon the *Wefer*, but the courts of justice are held at *Patershague*.

Farther Po-
merania.

THE succession of *Pomerania* having been confirmed by the emperor to the elector *Frederic II.* surnamed *Irontooth*, in virtue of a treaty concluded between the elector and the dukes of *Pomerania*, by which if their line should become extinct, *Pomerania* was to fall to the electorate, the succession became open in 1637, by the death of *Bogislaus XIV.* who left no male children. The *Swedes*, at that time, possessing not only the cities and fortified places, but all the country of the duchy of *Pomerania*, the elector could not then take possession of that principality. So that the war still continuing in *Germany* till the general pacification of *Westphalia*, the succession of *Pomerania* was so regulated by that treaty, that the elector was obliged to content himself with the further part of that duchy, the other part being left to *Sweden*, with a perpetual power of succeeding to the rest of the duchy, failing male princes of *Brandenburgh*. After the determination of the succession, the elector established the principal seat of justice at *Stargard*.

1568.

IN all his different estates, which extend more than 300 leagues, almost the whole breadth of *Germany*, the elector causes justice to be administred according to the use and custom of each country; and all appeals are carried before the sovereign court residing near the prince, to be judged in the last instance; for his subjects cannot appeal from his final decrees, which is a right confirmed not only by the Golden Bull, but by a special concession granted to the elector by the emperor *Maximilian II.*

THE elector and the greatest part of his subjects profess the protestant religion, but in the countries of *Cleves* and the *Mark*, the *Roman* Catholics have preserved their churches, with the liberty of the publick exercise of their religion.

THE elector is arch-chamberlain of the empire, in which quality he carries the sceptre at the coronation of the emperor, and when the emperor holds his court. His prerogatives consist in having the first prayers in the chapters depending upon his states; to judge sovereignly,

a verely, and without appeal, through the whole extent of his electorate; which right the emperor *Leopold* extended to the hereditary states of this electorate. The emperor *Frederic III.* in 1456, granted him the power to establish new taxes, or to augment old ones, according to his pleasure; but this privilege is disputed. In quality of the duke of *Magdeburg*, he concurs in the direction of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and as duke of *Cleves*, he concurs in that of the circle of *Westphalia*. In the diets, besides his electoral vote, he has five voices in the college of princes, upon account of *Magdeburg*, *Pomerania*, *Hamberstadt*, *Minden*, and *Cambray*. He has likewise several voices in the college of counts; and lastly, by a very antient agreement, he has the reversion of the duchy of *Mecklenburg*.

b THE most antient inhabitants of *Brandenburg* were the *Saxons*, who were expelled by the *Vandals*, the *Henetes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Franks*. These were with difficulty subdued by *Charlemagne*, but at last, the emperor *Henry the Fowler*, established margraves, or governors of the frontiers, in that country, to rule the barbarous people, who were inclined to revolt. *Sigefroy*, brother-in-law to the above emperor *Henry*, was the first margrave of *Brandenburg*, under whose administration the bishoprics of *Brandenburg* and *Havelberg* were established by *Otho I.* From this *Sigefroy* to the succession of the princes of the house of *Hobenzollern*, from which the present elector is descended, there are reckoned eight different families who have been margraves of *Brandenburg*; namely, the family of the *Saxons*, of *Walbeck*, *Staden*, *Platze*, *Albalt*, *Bavaria*, *Luxemburg*, and *Misna*; to these that of *Hobenzollern* succeeded, which continues to this day.

The antient inhabitants of Brandenburg. 927.

The eight first families that possessed the margravate.

c THE margraves of the four first races had continual wars with the kings of the *Vandals*, and other barbarous people. *Albert*, surnamed *the Bear*, the first prince of the *Anhaltine* race, by his power secured his country from their ravages. He was made margrave by the emperor *Conrad III.* and afterwards raised to the dignity of an elector by *Frederic Barbarossa*, about the year 1100. Some years afterwards the king of the *Vandals* dying without issue, left the middle *March* by his last will to the elector, who was besides possessed of the old *March*, *Upper Saxony*, the country of *Anhalt*, and part of *Lusatia*. History makes no mention of the descendants of this race, only 'tis certain, that this line became extinct in 1332, by the death of *Waldemar II.* The electorate being devolved to the empire, *Louis of Bavaria*, the emperor, gave it to his son *Leuís*, who was the first of the sixth race. *Louis the Roman* succeeded his brother, and as he died likewise without children, his third brother *Otho* succeeded him. This prince was so pusillanimous, that he sold the electorate to the emperor *Charles IV.* of the house of *Luxemburg*, for 200,000 florins of gold. *Charles IV.* gave the *March* to his son *Wenceslaus*, to whom *Sigismund* succeeded; this elector having need of money, sold the new *March* to the knights of the Teutonic order. *Jesse* succeeded *Sigismund*, and aspiring to the empire, he sold the electorate to *William* duke of *Misna*, who possessed it only one year, the emperor *Sigismund* buying it from him.

d THE next family that succeeded to the electorate was that of *Hobenzollern*, the original of which, like that of many others, is hid in the darkness of antiquity. *Tassillon* is the count of *Hobenzollern* known in history; he lived about the year 800. His descendants were *Danes*, *Rodolph I.* *Otho*, *Wolfgang*, *Frederic I.* *Frederic II.* *Frederic III.* *Rodolph II.* whose obscure lives are not known. *Conrad*, who lived about the year 1200, is the first of the family whom history mentions as burgrave of *Nuremberg*. His successors were *Frederic I.* *Conrad II.* *Frederic II.* *Frederic III.* *John I.* *Frederic IV.* *Conrad IV.* *John II.* *Albert VI.* *Frederic V.* his nephew, declared prince of the empire at the diet of *Nuremberg* by the emperor *Charles IV.* *Frederic VI.* his son, succeeded his father as burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and in the year 1417, received the investiture of the country of *Brandenburg*, at the diet of *Constance*, from the hands of the emperor *Sigismund*, who, two years before, had conferred upon him the dignity of elector, and arch-chamberlain of the holy *Roman* empire.

An account of the family of Hobenzollern

1163.

f *FREDERIC*, the first elector of the house of *Hobenzollern*, upon his investiture, found himself possessed of the old and middle *March*, but that the dukes of *Pomerania* had usurped the *March Ukraïn*; he declared war upon them, and defeating them at *Angermund*, reunited the *March* to his province. The new *March* having been sold to the knights of the Teutonic order by the elector *Sigismund*, of the house of *Luxemburg*, the elector *Sigismund*, extending his views of grandeur, took possession of *Saxony*, which electorate was vacant by the death of the last elector of the *Anhaltine* branch. The emperor, who did not approve of this acquisition, gave the investiture of *Saxony* to the duke of *Misna*, upon which *Frederic I.* desisted voluntarily from his conquests. The elector made a division of his estates by his will; his eldest son, surnamed *the Alchymist*, was deprived of his rights by his father, who left him only the *Voightland*, and his crucible. His second son, *Frederic*, had the electorate; *Albert*, surnamed *Achilles*, had the duchies of *Franconia*; and *Frederic*, sur-

c Mem. de BRANDEN. p. 5. CLUVERII. Geog. l. iii. c. 3.

Frederic II.
surnamed
Irontooth.

1462.

1464.

Albert sur-
named Achil-
les.

1473.

John the
Cicero.

named *the Fat*, had the old *March*; but his death re-united that province to the electorate. *Frederic I.* dying in 1440, his second son succeeded him according to his will. a

FREDERIC II. surnamed *Irontooth*, upon account of his strength, may likewise be called *Magnanimous*, because he refused the crown of *Bohemia* which the pope offered him, having excommunicated *George Podiebrad*; and declared likewise that he would not accept of the crown of *Poland*, but after the refusal of *Casimir*, brother of the last king *Ladislaus*. This grandeur of soul of the elector procured him the confidence of his people, and the states of *Lower Lusatia* gave themselves to him by inclination. *George Podiebrad*, who was king of *Bohemia*, to prevent that province, which was a fief of his kingdom, from passing under the dominion of *Frederic II.* made war upon him in *Lusatia* and in the *March*. These two princes concluded a treaty afterwards at *Guben*, by which *Cutbus*, *Peitz*, *Sommerfeld*, *Bobersberg*, *Storgaw*, and *Biffekaw*, were ceded in propriety to the elector, by the crown of *Bohemia*. *Frederic* afterwards redeemed the new *March* from the Teutonic order, and *Otbo III.* the last duke of *Stetin*, happening to die, he entered into a war with the duke of *Wolgast* about the succession. This affair was afterwards settled by a treaty, by which the duke of *Wolgast* indeed possessed the duchy of *Stetin*, but it became feudatory to the elector, and *Pomerania* rendered him a provisional homage. The elector likewise re-united the county of *Wernigerode* to the *March*, as a vacant fief, and took the titles of duke of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, *Vandalia*, *Schwerin*, and *Rostock*, upon which he had a right of reversion. Having no children, he abdicated the electorate in favour of his brother *Albert*, surnamed *Achilles*, reserving only a moderate pension of 6000 florins, upon which he lived as a philosopher till the year 1471, when he died loaded with infirmities. b

ALBERT was surnamed *Achilles* and *Ulysses* upon account of his prudence and valour. He was fifty-seven years of age when his brother yielded the government to him. When he was burgrave of *Nuremberg*, he made war upon *Lewis du Burbu*, duke of *Bavaria*, and took him prisoner; he likewise gained eight battles against the people of *Nuremberg*, who disputed his title of burgraviate, and took possession of the city *Greiffenberg*, as *Alexander* did that of the capital of the *Oxidrace*, leaping from the top of the walls alone into the city, where he defended himself till his troops, having forced the gates, came to his assistance. *Albert*, being greatly in the confidence of the emperor *Frederic III.* governed almost the whole empire, and commanded the imperial armies against *Louis the Rich*, duke of *Bavaria*, and against *Charles the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, who laid siege to *Nuis*, in the electorate of *Cologn*. Having negotiated a peace with these princes, he acquired the surname of *Ulysses*, having always deserved that of *Achilles*, both upon account of his valour at the head of the troops which he commanded, and for having carried away the prize at seventeen tournaments, which were fashionable sports in those days¹. *Albert*, having succeeded his brother, re-united his possessions of *Franconia* to the electorate, and made a treaty of confraternity with the houses of *Saxony* and *Hesse*, which regulated the succession of their estates, in case any of their lines should become extinct. The same year he settled the succession among his sons, giving the electorate to his eldest son *John*; to the second *Barcith*, and to the youngest *Anspach*; and soon after, abdicated in favour of his son *John*. His daughter *Barbe* married *Henry*, duke of *Glogaw* and *Crossen*, and brought the last duchy into the house of *Brandenburgh*, in consequence of her contract of marriage, which bore, that in case her husband died without children, the elector should have a right to raise annually 50,000 ducats upon the duchy of *Crossen*. Duke *Henry* dying without issue, *John*, the elector, put himself in possession of the city of *Crossen*, and maintained that acquisition. c

THE third son of *Albert the Achilles*, *Frederic the Old*, margrave of *Anspach*, was the grandfather of that *George Frederic* who received the duchy of *Jagendorff* from the king of *Bohemia*. This *George Frederic* made a contract with the duke of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor*, and promised him as an equivalent the sum of 130,000 florins, which was never paid. d

'Tis said, the surname of *Cicero* was given to this elector, upon account of his natural eloquence, he having reconciled three kings, who disputed the succession of *Silesia*; namely, *Ladislaus* of *Bohemia*, *Casimir* of *Poland*, and *Matthias* of *Hungary*. *John the Cicero* and the elector of *Saxony* entered *Silesia* at the head of 6000 horse, and declared themselves enemies to that king who should refuse the peace which they offered. The kings coming to a treaty, by the mediation of the electors, *Silesia* and *Lusatia* were divided between the kings of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. There is need of other proofs of the eloquence of *John* than the above example, for here the 6000 horse seem to have been the strongest argument. *John the Cicero* had a new war to maintain against the duke of *Sagan*, who formed pretensions upon the duchy of *Crossen*; having engaged with him near that city, he defeated him and took him prisoner. After governing twenty years, he died in the year 1499, leaving two sons, the eldest of which, *Joachim*, succeeded to the electorate; and the se- e

¹ Mem. de BRANDEN. p. 20.

a cond, named *Albert*, became elector of *Mentz*, and archbishop of *Magdeburgh*. It was this elector who founded the university of *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*.

JOACHIM was only sixteen years of age when he became elector. The county of *Ruppin* having become vacant by the death of *Wickmann*, count of *Linclaw*, the elector *Joachim I.* re-united that fief to the *March*. He died in 1532, leaving two sons; namely, *Joachim*, surnamed *Nestor*, who succeeded him, and the margrave *John*, to whom he left the new *March*, *Crossen*, *Sternberg*, and *Sterkaw*.

JOACHIM having inherited the electorate of his father, embraced the doctrine of *Luther* *Joachim II.* in 1539. It is not known what was the principal motive of his changing his religion, but it is certain, that the courtiers and the bishop of *Brandenburgh* followed his example. He acquired by the communion under both kinds, the bishopricks of *Brandenburgh*, *Havelberg*, and *Lebus*, which he incorporated into this *March*: and whilst the war of religion deluged *Saxony* and the neighbouring countries, he maintained his electorate in peace, having declined to enter into the union which the Protestants concluded at *Smalcalde*. The emperor *Charles V.* who had put himself at the head of the Catholics, having made use of the equivocation of a safe-conduct to seize the landgrave of *Hesse*, who, with the elector of *Saxony*, had commanded the Protestants; *Joachim*, who had been guarantee of the safe-conduct, enraged at this breach of faith, drew his sword against the duke of *Alca*, the emperor's ambassador at *Berlin*; and would have, by his death, revenged the injury committed by his master, had not those who were present prevented him. The ruinous war of religion was at last concluded by the peace of *Passau* and *Augsburgh*; but the elector of *Saxony* was deposed, and his electorate given to prince *Maurice*, of the *Albertine* line. However, *Joachim* did not agree to the *Interim* which the emperor published.

The elector of *Brandenburgh* and the new elector of *Saxony* were charged by the emperor to lay siege to *Magdeburgh*, which surrendered after a defence of fourteen months. The archbishop of *Magdeburgh* dying, the canons elected in his place *Frederic*, bishop of *Havelberg*, second son of the elector *Joachim*; and, after his death, the elector had credit enough to cause *Sigismond*, his third son, to be elected, who was a Protestant. Soon after the peace of religion, the elector caused *Spandaw* to be fortified, whilst his brother *John* the margrave fortified *Custrin*, the emperor *Charles V.* then making it fashionable to fortify places, by giving the example at *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and *Milan*.

JOACHIM II. obtained of his brother-in-law *Sigismond-Augustus*, king of *Poland*, the right of succeeding to *Albert-Frederic*, of *Brandenburgh*, duke of *Prussia*, in case he should die without heirs; and he engaged to assist *Poland* with a certain number of troops whenever she should be attacked. The reign of this prince was quiet and peaceable, the manners of the country beginning to be a little more polished, yet not without a mixture of disguised barbarity, mistaken for magnificence, and a formal ceremony instead of real politeness. 'Tis related in history, that *Joachim II.* when he married *Sophia*, the daughter of the king of *Poland*, out of a heroick gallantry, went to bed to his young spouse on his wedding-night, with all his armour on. This elector is accused of pushing his liberality to a degree of prodigality, and exceeding his predecessors in luxury and vain pomp. He died in 1571.

JOHN-George inherited the electorate by the death of his father, and the new *March* *John-George* from his uncle the margrave *John*. It is to be remarked, that one of his wives was a princess of *Lignitz*, named *Sophia*. During his government, the branch of the margraves of *Bareith* and *Anspach* becoming extinct, he divided that succession between his two younger sons; *Christian* the oldest of the two having *Bareith*, and *Ernest* having *Anspach*. His reign was pacific, and he died in 1598.

JOACHIM Frederic was fifty-two years of age when he succeeded to the government. *Joachim-Frederic* During the life of his father he enjoyed the bishopricks of *Magdeburgh*, *Havelberg*, and *Lebus*. When he succeeded to the electorate, he resigned the archbishopric of *Magdeburgh*, in favour of his son *Christian-William*. He administered *Prussia* during the mad-ness of duke *Albert Frederic*, and recovered the succession of the duchy of *Jagersdorff*, which he gave to one of his sons, named *John-George*, as a reparation for the bishoprick of *Strasburg*, which he had been obliged to renounce, it being usual, in these times, for successions to be often divided and re-united. *Joachim-Frederic* was the first prince who established a council of state; and considering likewise the necessity of providing for the education of youth, he founded the college of *Joachimthal*, where an hundred and twenty persons are educated and maintained according to the institution. This college was afterwards transferred to *Berlin* by the grand elector. The poverty of the country, and the great want of money, obliged this elector to publish sumptuary laws. He died in 1608, aged sixty-three years.

JOHN-Sigismond married at *Koningsberg*, *Anne*, the only daughter of *Albert*, duke of *Prussia*, heiress of that duchy, and of the succession of *Cleves*. This succession, which *John-Sigismond* consisted

*Succeeds to
the countries
of Juliers,
Berg, &c.*

1409.

1418.

1496.

*A division of
these countries
between the
elector and
duke of Neu-
burgh.*

*The elector re-
ceives the in-
vestiture of
Prussia.*

1000.

*An account of
Prussia, and
its first inha-
bitants.*

1450.

consisted of the countries of *Juliers, Berg, Cleves, the Mark, Ravensberg, and Ratenstein*, was too tempting not to excite the ambition of all those who hoped to share in it. Before we speak of the rights of the elector of *Brandenburg* and the dukes of *Neuburg*, it is proper to explain the pretensions of *Saxony*. The emperor *Maximilian* had given the reversion of this succession to the princes of the two lines of *Saxony*, namely, the *Erasline* and *Albertine*; failing all heirs male and female of the dukes of *Cleves*: for the patents which *George-William* obtained of the emperor prove, that females had a right to inherit that fief. *John-Frederic*, the last elector of *Saxony*, of the *Erasline* house, married *Sybilla*, daughter of *John III.* duke of *Juliers*. *William*, duke of *Cleves*, son of this duke of *Juliers*, married the niece of the emperor *Charles V.* This marriage, joined to the resentment the emperor had against *Frederic* of *Saxony*, who was one of the members of the *Smalkaldick* league, influenced him to confirm to *John William*, the right which he had of disposing of the succession in favour of his daughters, failing male children. The son of this duke dying without children, the succession fell to the sisters. The eldest, named *Mary Eleonore*, had married to the duke of *Prussia*, *Albert Frederic*. The second, *Anne*, was married to the prince palatine of *Neuburg*. The third, *Magdalene*, was wife of the count palatine of *Deuxponts*. The fourth, *Sybilla*, was married to a prince of *Austria*, count of *Burgaw*; these four princesses and their children pretended to the succession. *Mary Eleonore*, wife of *Albert* of *Prussia*, founded her rights upon her contract of marriage, which bore in express terms, that if her brother died without children, she and her posterity should inherit the six duchies, in virtue of the fundamental agreements, by which the eldest daughters have the right of succession. The duke of *Prussia* engaged to pay 200,000 florins of gold to his wife's sisters, in lieu of all their pretensions. *Eleonore* being dead, her daughter *Anne*, wife of the elector *John-Sigismund*, inherited the rights of her mother, which was the point of dispute. *Anne*, duchess of *Neuburg*, founded her pretensions upon this, that as her sister *Mary Eleonore* was dead, she succeeded to her rights, and became of course the eldest of the other sisters, and nearest relation to her deceased brother, as *Anne* of *Brandenburg* was only his niece; but these pretensions were contrary to the agreements of the family, and the contract of marriage of *Mary-Eleonore*.

THE two younger sisters of duke *John-William*, did not demand the entire possession; they proposed only to dismember it. But what rendered null the right of the three younger sisters, was, that in their contract of marriage they had renounced all their rights whilst there was any children of their eldest sister alive. The elector *John Sigismund*, and *Wolfgang William*, duke of *Neuburg*, were to take joint possession of the disputed estates; in the mean time, reserving to themselves their respective rights. What contributed to this agreement, was, that the emperor *Rodolph* wanted to take possession of this inheritance, under a pretence of sequestration, till the dispute should be legally decided. The arch-duke *Leopold* was preparing to take possession of it, but the Protestant princes opposed him, and formed a celebrated alliance, which is called the Union. To counterbalance the Union, the *Roman Catholics* made a like treaty at *Wartsburg*, which they called the League. The elector had endeavoured an accommodation with the duke of *Neuburg*; but at an interview which they had, in the heat of the dispute, *John Sigismund* gave the duke a blow, which embroiled matters anew.

ALBERT, duke of *Prussia*, and father-in-law of *John-Sigismund*, having the misfortune to become a lunatic, *Joachim-Frederic* had administrated *Prussia* during his life; after his death, *Albert* still continuing in the same melancholy condition, *John-Sigismund* afterwards charged himself with the same care, and received from the king of *Poland* the investiture of *Prussia* for himself and descendants, which was the third investiture that had been given to the electoral house. This country was called antiently *Borussia*; *Bo* signifying near, *Russin* the river *Russe*, which is a branch of the *Niemen*, at present called the *Memel*. *Prussia* was originally inhabited by the *Bohemians, Sarmates, Russians, and Veneds*, all idolatrous nations; adoring gods of the lakes, woods, and the rivers, and even serpents and elks, without any temples; worshipping only under oaks, and sacrificing to their false gods their enemies taken in war. *St. Adelbert* was the first that preached Christianity to these people, from whom he received the crown of martyrdom. They were afterwards invaded by three successive kings of *Poland*, in order to convert them to Christianity; but these warlike people, in return, ravaged *Massovia* and *Cujavia*. *Conrad*, duke of *Cujavia*, called in to his assistance the knights of the Teutonic order from *Germany*. *Herman de Saltza*, who was then grand-master, entered *Prussia*, and by the assistance of the *Livonian* knights established the four bishopricks of *Culm, Pomesan, Ermeland, and Samland*. This war, which the order made against the *Prussians*, continued fifty years before they established themselves; and afterwards they were engaged in wars with the king of *Poland*, and sometimes with the dukes of *Pomerania*, who were jealous of their establishment. From these knights most of the present noble families of *Prussia* are descended.

UNDER

- a UNDER the grand-master *Conrad of Erlichhausen*, the cities of *Dantzick*, *Thorn*, and *Elbing*, having suffered greatly by the oppression of the order, declared to them, that being weary of obeying them, they had surrendered themselves to *Casimir*, son of the king of *Poland*. This concession was followed by a war betwixt the knights and the king of *Poland*, which, after continuing thirteen years, was concluded by a treaty, by which all *Royal Prussia*, but *Further Prussia* was left to the order, upon the condition of their paying homage for it to the conquerors. Some of the masters of the order observed this condition; but *Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, master of the order, being promised assistance from the emperor and *German* princes, refused to pay homage to *Poland*. Afterwards finding himself unequal for the war which threatened him from *Poland*, he left the province and went into *Germany*. After his death, *Albert of Brandenburg*, who was the great grand-child of *Albert the Achilles*, being chosen grand-master of the order, and refusing to acknowledge *Poland* as superior to the fief, in consequence of the desire of the emperor and the pope, he was immediately engaged in a war with that kingdom, which for some time he supported with vigour; but finding himself unable to withstand the forces of *Poland*, and being offered the fief as a personal inheritance, he abandoned the interests of the order, and concluded a peace with *Sigismund*, who created him duke of *Prussia*, and gave him the further province as an hereditary fief of *Poland*. *Albert* having thus renounced the Teutonic order, and likewise the Roman Catholic religion, afterwards had a war to maintain against *Eric*, duke of *Brunswick*, and commander of *Memel*. *Eric* entered *Prussia*, at the head of 12000 men; but *Albert* stopt him upon the banks of the *Vistula*. As nothing remarkable happened, and the banks of the rivers were covered with soldiers, who employed themselves in gathering nuts, this expedition was called The war of Nuts. To the first duke *Albert*, his son *Frederic-Albert* succeeded, and received the investiture of the duchy from the king *Sigismund-Augustus*, in which the envoy of the elector *Joachim II.* had part. It is this *Albert-Frederic* who married *Mary-Eleonore*, daughter of *John-William*, and sister of the last duke of *Cleves*. *John-Sigismund* being son-in-law and tutor of this duke of *Prussia*, by his death was put in full possession of that duchy. The elector, who had become a Protestant to please his new subjects, feeling the approaches of age, and finding himself loaded with infirmities, resigned the government to his son *George-William*, and died soon after.

1525.

1618.

- DURING the unhappy government of *George-William*, who succeeded his father in 1619, the electorate suffered the most miserable calamities, being desolated by the war of thirty years, the devastations of which are not to this day quite repaired, and having at its head a prince incapable of governing, who had chosen a minister a traitor to his country, and besides the armies of friends and enemies, who harassed the whole country, suffering under a contagious and malignant distemper, which destroyed the poor remains of their fury. Misfortune seemed not only to attend the elector, but likewise to persecute all his relations. The unhappy *Frederic V.* the elector palatine, whose sister he had married, though elected and crowned king of *Bohemia*, was put to the ban of the empire by the emperor *Ferdinand II.* deprived of his electorate, and entirely defeated at *Weisenburgh*. The duke of *Jagern-dorff*, uncle of the elector, was dispossessed of his country, because he embraced the party of *Frederic V.* His second uncle likewise was deposed and put to the ban of the empire, for having entered into the league of *Lauenburgh*, and having made an alliance with the king of *Denmark*.

George-William succeeds to the electorate.

- THE war of thirty years had begun in 1618, upon account of the revolt of the *Bohemians*, who had chosen *Frederic V.* elector palatine, for their king. Though the greatest part of *Germany* was afterwards concerned in this war, we shall only relate those events which directly regard the history of this electorate. The truce betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards* being now expired, the duchy of *Cleves*, where both these nations had troops, immediately became the theatre of war. The *Spaniards* forced the garrison of *Juliers*, which the *Hollanders* held for the elector, and likewise made themselves masters of *Cleves* and *Lipstadt*. However, some years afterwards, the *Hollanders* drove the *Spaniards* from the country of *Cleves*, and retook some cities for the elector; and soon after, the *Spaniards*, by an accommodation, evacuated the provinces of the elector, and put garrisons into the towns belonging to the duke of *Neuburgh*, while the *Hollanders* garrisoned those of *George-William*. This accommodation continuing only for a few years, in 1635, the war began again in those provinces with more violence than before, and during the whole government of the elector, the provinces of this succession were a prey to the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*, who took possession of posts, surprised cities, and alternately gained and lost advantages without performing any thing of consequence, the exactions of the officers, and the plundering of the soldiers, being, at that time, the chief part of the art of war.

The Spaniards and Dutch take possession of Cleves.

THE elector palatine being put to the ban of the empire, the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony* interceded with the emperor for their colleague, and their intercessions having no effect, they refused to acknowledge the elector *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*, whom *Ferdinand II.* had raised to that dignity, to the prejudice of the palatine house, and against the laws of the empire; for according to the Golden Bull, the emperor has no right to degrade an elector, or put him to the ban of the empire, without the unanimous consent of the whole diet in a full assembly.

The emperor
sends an army
into Saxony
against the
Protestants.

who are de-
feated, and re-
tire into
Branden-
burgh.

The Impe-
rialists put
garrisons in
Pomerania;

THE despotic government of the emperor, at this time, alarmed the Protestants, who were interested in maintaining the free exercise of their religion, and keeping possession of the ecclesiastic estates which they had secularised; the dukes of *Luneburgh*, *Holstein*, and *Mecklenburgh*, and the king of *Denmark*, concluded a league at *Lauenburg*. The emperor taking umbrage at this league, and thinking it below him to use the means of negotiation with the parties engaged, he sent *Tilly*, at the head of 12000 men, into the circle of *Lower Saxony*, while *Wallenstein* marched with another body of *Austrians* towards the bishoprics of *Magdeburgh* and *Halberstadt*. *Tilly* having pillaged the city of *Hall*, though it surrendered to him without resistance, the states of *Lower Saxony*, astonished at these hostilities, requested an accommodation with the emperor; but these propositions did not hinder *Tilly* and *Wallenstein* to seize the country of *Halberstadt* and *Magdeburgh*. The troops of the administrator, and the king of *Denmark*, who had entered *Lower Saxony* to oppose the Imperialists, being defeated, they retired into the marche of *Brandenburg*, which they pillaged. At the same time, another body of *Danes* being defeated by *Tilly*, near *Huter*, the elector *George William* thought proper to comply with the desire of the emperor, and acknowledge the new dignity of *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, the imperial troops being then quartered in *Brandenburg*, *Rathenau*, *Havelburgh*, and *Perleburgh*.

THE *Danish* general, having assembled the remains of his army, entered the *Marches* without the leave of the elector; but the Imperialists detaching 7000 men, to whom the elector added 800, the *Danes* were forced to retire. By this weak assistance which the elector then gave, it clearly appears, that he had but very few forces on foot. The Imperialists making an advantage of their successes, put garrisons into all *Pomerania*; the emperor, under a pretence of defending the empire from the *Swedes*, who claimed a right to *Pomerania*, designed secretly to take possession of that duchy; although, in virtue of a treaty, the succession was to fall to the elector *George William*, by the death of duke *Bogislaus*, who had no issue. *Stralsund*, after having maintained a long siege from the imperial general *Wallenstein*, concluded an alliance with *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, and received a *Swedish* garrison of 9000 men.

IN the mean time, the emperor, elated with the success of his generals in *Germany*, and believing it a favourable opportunity to humble the Protestant princes, and suppress the new religion, published his famous edict of Restitution, by which he enjoined the Protestant princes to restore to the church those possessions which they had seized upon since the transaction of *Passau*. This edict, by which the most part of the princes would have lost considerable estates, and the house of *Brandenburg* would have been deprived of the bishopricks of *Brandenburg*, *Havelburgh*, and *Lebus*, was a new signal for the Protestants to arm against the Catholics. These divisions in *Germany* determined *Gustavus Adolphus* to declare war against the emperor. Having defeated the king of *Poland*, who had formed pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*, he concluded a truce with him for twenty-six years, in which the elector was included, and afterwards published a manifesto against the emperor, complaining, that he had given assistance to the king of *Poland*; that he had deposed his ally, the duke of *Mecklenburgh*; and that he had used violence against the city of *Stralsund*, which was in alliance with him.

and raise
great contri-
butions in the
marches of
Branden-
burgh.

Gustavus
Adolphus
enters Gor-
many,

WHILE the *Swedes* were preparing to invade *Germany*, *Wallenstein*, who had taken his quarters in *Brandenburg*, raised most exorbitant sums in the *Marches*, having no regard to the elector, who, though he was in friendship with the emperor, and complained to him, yet was not relieved. It is reported, that the regiments of *Pappenheim* and *St. Julian*, who were quartered in the middle *March*, raised 300,000 crowns in that province within six months.

and takes pos-
session of Po-
merania.

AT length *Gustavus Adolphus* entered *Germany*, and made a descent upon the island of *Rugen*, from whence, by the assistance of his garrison at *Stralsund*, he dislodged the Imperialists. Upon the approach of the *Swedes*, the emperor gave orders to the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* to prepare provisions and ammunition for his troops; assuring them, that, in consideration of this service, he would modify with regard to them his edict of Restitution. While the diet of *Ratisbon* was deliberating upon the means of delivering *Germany* from so many evils, and especially from the invasion of the *Swedes*; *Gustavus Adolphus* took possession of all *Pomerania*, and having put a garrison in *Stetin*, obliged the Imperial general to retire through the new *March* towards *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*. *Gustavus* having thus conquered *Pomerania*, made a treaty with the duke *Bogislaus*, in which

- a it was stipulated, that if any one should dispute the succession of *Pomerania* with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, after the death of the duke, or if *Sweden* was not entirely indemnified for the expences of the war, that province should remain in sequestration in the hands of *Gustavus Adolphus*.

- THE Protestants, encouraged by the approach of the king of *Sweden*, held an assembly at *Leipsick*, where they deliberated upon their interests. The city of *Magdeburgh* had already made an alliance with *Gustavus*, and granted him a passage of its bridge upon the *Elbe*. In consequence of this alliance, it had driven the Imperialists from the open country; but *Tilly* returned at the head of his army, and began the famous blockade of that city. The electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, disapproving of the conduct of *Magdeburgh*, resolved
b to continue attached to the emperor, and upon the first approach of the *Swedes*, the elector ordered some works of earth to be thrown up before the gates of *Berlin*; and not having time to assemble the *arriere ban*, he ordered the citizens to mount guard upon the ramparts, where he had placed some cannon. Mean while *Gustavus* crossed the *March*, and halted to the assistance of the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and designing to engage all the Protestants in his interests, he published every where, that he was come into *Germany* only with the intention of delivering the princes from the yoke of the emperor, and especially to defend the liberty of religion. The *Swedes* making a progress in *Mecklenburgh*, *Tilly* left some troops to continue the blockade of *Magdeburgh*, and marched with his forces to *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, where having joined the other Imperial general, they afterwards
c marched through the electorate to attack the *Swedes*. But *Gustavus* quitting *Mecklenburgh*, passed the *Oder*, and took *Frankfort*, where he found a great deal of artillery; afterwards taking *Crossen*, he marched quickly towards *Berlin*, in order to assist *Magdeburgh*.

- WHEN *Gustavus Adolphus* arrived at *Copenick*, he demanded of the elector the fortresses of *Spandaw* and *Custrin*, under pretence of securing his retreat; but in reality, with the intention of forcing *George-William* into his interests. The elector, at first astonished at the demand, was at a loss how to reply; but consulting with his ministers, it was at last resolved to invite the king of *Sweden* to come to *Berlin*. *Gustavus Adolphus* entered that capital with an escort of 1000 foot, and four pieces of cannon, 200 *Swedes* mounted guard in the castle of *Berlin*, and the rest of the troops were lodged with the citizens; next day,
d the whole *Spanish* army encamped at the gates of the city, and the elector, now in the power of the king, was obliged to consent to what he desired. The *Swedish* troops, which possessed the fortresses of *Custrin* and *Spandaw*, took the oath of fidelity to the elector, and the king promised to deliver up the places when the imperial troops had evacuated the country. *Gustavus* afterwards advancing beyond *Potsdam*, the Imperialists, who were in *Brandenburgh* and *Rathenau*, retired towards their army that was besieging *Magdeburgh*. The elector of *Saxony* refusing the *Swedes* a passage over the bridge of the *Elbe* at *Wittenburgh*, *Gustavus* was hindered from assisting the city of *Magdeburgh* as he designed.

- THIS unhappy city, being at last taken by surprize, suffered all the miseries that an enraged enemy could inflict, all *Germany* deploring the fate of the city, and exclaiming against the cruelty of the imperial soldiers. After the loss of *Magdeburgh*, *Gustavus Adolphus* returned again to *Berlin*, and encamped before the city, severely blaming the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*. The elector, repairing to the *Swedish* camp, appeased the king by granting him all his demands. When the elector returned to *Berlin*, the *Swedish* army saluted him with a triple discharge of their cannon; but as the pieces were loaded with balls, and directed towards the town, a great many houses and roofs were damaged. Next day the *Swedish* army past the *Spree*, and marched through the city.

- THE elector of *Saxony*, observing the prosperity of the *Swedish* arms, forsook the party of the emperor, and gave the example to all the Protestant princes. The *Swedes* then restored to the elector *Spandaw* and *Custrin*, and entering the *Old March*, encamped at *Werben*, situated at the confluence of the *Havel* and the *Elbe*. *Tilly* marching to join *Pappenheim*, who was now shut up in *Magdeburgh*, advanced towards the camp of the king of *Sweden*, who hearing of his march, surprized his avant guard, and cut three regiments to pieces. The Imperialists, finding it impossible to force the *Swedish* camp, marched towards *Halle*, with the intention of forcing *Leipsic*, and oblige the elector of *Saxony* to quit the party of the *Swedes*. *Gustavus Adolphus* penetrating his design, quitted his camp at *Werben*, passed the *Elbe* at *Wittenburgh*, and being joined by the *Saxons* at *Duben*, fell upon the Imperialists, whom he totally defeated, taking all their artillery, among which there were a great many pieces with the arms of *Brandenburgh*, *Saxony*, and *Luneburgh*, which the Imperialists had appropriated to themselves.

- AFTER this battle, *Gustavus Adolphus* became the arbiter of *Germany*, and penetrated as far as the *Danube*, while *Banier*, at the head of another body of *Swedes*, drove the Imperialists from the bishopricks of *Magdeburgh* and *Halberstadt*, and established in that country a government in the name of his master. The emperor, from the bad success of his arms,

arms, being now become more moderate, made use of a softer stile, in order to detach the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony* from the party of *Sweden*; but these electors now consulted their own interest more than the emperor's. The elector of *Brandenburgh*, though he equally dreaded the Imperialists and the *Swedes*, yet thought it at present the most advantageous for his states to attach himself to the fortune of *Gustavus Adolphus*, which seemed then so well established; the elector, therefore, sent some small assistance to the *Saxons*, who, in *Silesia*, pursued a body of Imperialists, commanded by *Balthasar de Maradas*.

The emperor sends an army against the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg.

Gustavus Adolphus defeats the Imperialists, but is killed in the action.

THE emperor, irritated at the refusal of the two electors, and still more at the irruption they made in *Silesia*, sent *Wallenstein*, at the head of a strong army, to take possession of the two electorates. *Wallenstein*, being joined by *Pappenheim* from *Westphalia*, entered *Saxony*, and took *Leipsic*, *Naumburg*, *Merseburg*, *Halle*, and *Giebichenstein*. The king of *Sweden*, who was then in *Bavaria*, returned to the assistance of *Lower Saxony*, and engaging the Imperialists at *Lutzen*, gained an entire victory, but with the loss of his life. After his death, the *Swedes* drove the Imperialists from *Lower Saxony*, and recovered all the cities which *Wallenstein* had taken. *Wallenstein* and *Galas* afterwards entering *Silesia*, the elector sent 3000 horse, and 5000 foot, as an assistance to *Arnheim*, who commanded the *Saxon* troops in that province, and likewise assembled the *arriere-ban* through all his states; but as he wanted funds to maintain his troops, he never assembled forces sufficient to oppose his enemies. *Wallenstein* advancing into *Silesia*, with an army of 45,000 men, surprised a party of 800 *Swedes* at *Steinau*, and sent parties to ravage *Pomerania*, and the electoral marches, and summoned the city of *Berlin* to send him the keys of its gates. *Arnheim* and *Banier* marching to cover *Berlin* with their army, the Imperial general retired from *Silesia*, leaving garrisons in *Frankfort*, and some other towns. Though the elector was then at the head of an army of 20,000 men, yet there was scarcely a sixth part of them his own troops.

WHILE *Banier* directed the military operations of *Sweden*, *Oxenstiern* was the soul of their negotiations. He having concluded an alliance, in the name of *Sweden*, with several circles of the empire at *Heilbron*, proposed another alliance with the circles of *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*. This alliance was afterwards concluded at *Halberstadt*, and the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony* became the principal members. This minister having concluded these two alliances, and seeing the *Swedish* arms every where triumphant in *Germany*, thought his interest so well established, that he proposed in the assembly at *Frankfort* on the *Main*, that to indemnify *Sweden* for the expences of the war which it had made for the Protestant princes, the empire should cede *Pomerania* to that crown after the death of the last duke.

A. C. 1635. The elector concludes a peace with the emperor.

THE elector of *Brandenburgh* was extremely offended with this proposition of *Oxenstiern*, as it tended to frustrate his rights upon *Pomerania*. But at this time, the archduke *Ferdinand*, and the cardinal-infant, happening to gain a complete victory over the *Swedes* at *Nordlingen*, the electors, who before began to waver, now entirely forsook their party, and concluded a peace with the emperor at *Prague*, by which the emperor promised to the elector of *Brandenburgh* to support his rights upon *Pomerania*, and not to claim any more the goods of the church which he possessed: besides, he confirmed the settlements of confraternity between the houses of *Brandenburgh*, *Saxony*, and *Hesse*.

The Swedes ravage Brandenburg.

NOTWITHSTANDING this peace, *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburgh*, and the old *March*, still continued to feel the troubles of war; for the Imperialists and *Saxons* possessed all the banks of the *Elbe* and the *Havel*; nevertheless, the *Swedes* made irruptions into the country as far as *Oranienburg*. *Banier*, to remove the seat of the war from *Pomerania*, assembled his army at *Rathenau*, and marched towards *Magdeburg*, to relieve the *Swedish* garrison, which was greatly pressed by the Imperialists; but *Magdeburg* at last surrendering, he came back to the *March*, where *Wrangel* joined him with a reinforcement of 8000 men, after which junction, he surprised and took *Brandenburgh* and *Rathenau*, where there were imperial garrisons. Thus the unhappy electorate became a prey to the strongest party; the cities situated upon the *Havel* being, in less than six weeks, twice pillaged by the *Swedes*, and once by the Imperialists. It being the misfortune of the time, that success never entirely declared for one party, those who were now depressed soon became unexpectedly superiors, and the superiors experienced misfortune in their turn. The *Swedes*, in consequence of their reinforcement, gained a victory over the Imperialists and *Saxons* at *Wistock*, after which they over-run the *March*, and *Wrangel* entering *Berlin*, left five companies in garrison, and made a new demand of the fortresses from the elector. *George-William*, who was retired to *Peixt*, answered him, that he committed himself to the discretion of the *Swedes*; but that the Imperialists were in possession of those places, so that he could not dispose of them. *Wrangel* having received this answer, took up his winter-quarters in the new *March*.

At this time died *Ferdinand II.* and his son *Ferdinand III.* succeeded him, as though that throne had been hereditary. Likewise *Bogislaus*, whose family had possessed *Pomerania* for 700 years, died during these troubles, and with him his house was extinct. The *Swedish* armies, then possessed of *Pomerania*, and even of the states of *Brandenburgh*, prevented the elector from making good his claim upon the duchy; he contented himself with sending a trumpet to the states of *Pomerania*, ordering them to treat the *Swedes* as enemies. In the mean while *Klitzing*, at the head of the *Saxons*, delivered the *March*, and the banks of the *Havel*, from the *Swedes*; the war being now carried into *Pomerania*, where the Imperialists were joined by 3000 *Hungarians*. This province had the same fate with the *Marches*, being taken and retaken, burnt and ruined. The *Swedes*, afterwards receiving fresh assistance, forced the Imperialists to retire as far as *Bohemia*, and appeared for the fourth time before the gates of *Berlin*. The elector, to revenge the evils which the electorate suffered from the *Swedes*, ordered 4000 *Prussians* to enter *Livonia*, where they made some devastation; but neglecting to take possession of any cities, they quickly abandoned their conquests, and their expedition became of no service. The *Swedes* made the *Marches* feel the losses which they suffered in *Livonia*, and their commander at *Berlin* blocked up *Spandaw* and *Custrin*, where the elector had retired with his fugitive court.

and after the
fire of the
of Berlin

The states of *Pomerania*, who were then sitting, received the deputies of the elector, who likewise sent envoys to the diet at *Ratisbon* for the duchies of *Wolgast* and *Stettin*; and as the states of *Prussia* were to be held this year at *Koningsburgh*, *George-William* repaired thither to solicit the payment of some subsidies; but he died the third of *December*, leaving his son, *Frederic-William*, a desolated country, in possession of his enemies, allies that could not be depended upon, a few troops, and almost no resources of supplies.

A. C. 1640.

FREDERIC William was born at *Berlin*, the 6th of *February* 1620; his education was that of a hero, being brought up in the camp of *Frederic-Henry*, prince of *Orange*. *Schwartzenburgh*, the minister of *George William*, being secretly in the interest of the emperor, and knowing the transcendent genius of the young prince, removed him early from the court of his father, and kept him in *Holland* as much as he could, fearing the presence of such a penetrating inspector, who would have narrowly examined his actions. However, the young prince sometimes waited upon his father, notwithstanding the endeavours of the minister, and went with the elector in his last journey to *Prussia*, where, by his father's death, he succeeded to his estates.

Frederic-
William, the
grand elector.

FREDERIC William was twenty years of age when he came to the government; but the *Marches* of the electorate were then almost wholly in the possession of the *Swedes*, who had made the country a frightful desert. The duchies of the succession of *Cleves* were a prey to the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*, who raised excessive contributions upon them, and pillaged them under pretence of defending them. *Prussia*, which *Gustavus Adolphus* had seized upon some time before, had not yet recovered the miseries of war; thus was he a prince without being in possession of his provinces, an elector without the power, and an ally without friends. With all these disadvantages *Frederic-William* began his government, but, by the wisdom and prudence of his conduct, he at length recalled prosperity and peace. He began with establishing order in his finances, and proportioning his expence to his income, and dismissed those ministers whose mal-administration chiefly contributed to the misfortunes of the people. The count of *Schwartzenburgh*, who had been governor of the *March*, president of the council, great chamberlain, and grand commander of *Malta*, voluntarily resigned his employments, and retired to *Vienna*, where he died that same year; his son, who had been elected coadjutor of the order and commandery of *Malta*, was not acknowledged by the elector, who besides, ordered him to restore all the bailliages to the state which his father had appropriated. After the death of the count at *Vienna*, the elector sent the baron of *Bogsdorff* to *Spandaw* and *Custrin*, to put his seal to the effects of the deceased; but the commanders of those forts refused to obey him, under pretence that they had taken the oath of fidelity to the emperor. *Bogsdorff* seemed satisfied with this answer, but observing *Rechau*, the commander of *Spandaw*, he took him prisoner one day when he came out of the fortress. The elector ordering the head of this rebellious subject to be struck off, by this example intimidated the commanders of the other places.

The elector, though he could not succeed to the duchies of the succession of *Cleves*, because the difference among the pretenders was not yet decided, yet he received the investiture of *Prussia* personally from the king of *Poland*, upon condition of paying an annual tribute of 100,000 florins, and not making truce or peace with the enemies of that crown; his envoy likewise received the investiture of the electorate from the emperor *Ferdinand III.* These formalities being over, the elector thought of recovering his provinces from those who had usurped them; he concluded a truce for twenty years with the *Swedes*, who evacuated

Receives the
investiture of
Prussia from
the king of
Poland.

evacuated the greatest part of his estates; he likewise paid 140,000 crowns to the *Swedish* a garrisons, which still possessed some of his towns; he concluded likewise a treaty with the *Hessians*, who delivered up a part of the country of *Cleves*, which they were in possession of, and he obtained of the *Hollanders* the evacuation of some other cities.

THE powers of *Europe* now wearied with the war, which became every day more destructive, began equally to desire a peace. The cities of *Osnaburgh* and *Münster* being chosen as the most proper places for the negotiation, the conferences were opened in the year 1645; but by reason of the multiplicity of matters, they were not concluded till two years after. *France*, which had espoused the interests of *Sweden*, demanded, that *Pomerania* should be ceded to that kingdom, as an indemnification for the expences which the war had cost *Gustavus Adolphus* and his successors. Although the empire, and the elector, refused to give up *Pomerania*, it was at last agreed to yield to the *Swedes*, *Hither Pomerania*, with the isles of *Rügen* and *Wollin*, and some other cities; in equivalent for which cession, the bishoprics of *Halberstadt*, *Minden*, and *Camin*, were secularized in favour of the elector, of which he was put in possession, with the lordships of *Hochenstein* and *Reichenstein*; he received likewise the reversion of the archbishop of *Magdeburgh*. This treaty, which serves as a basis to all the possessions and rights of the *German* princes, being published, the elector, the following year, concluded a new treaty with the *Swedes* for the regulation of limits, and for the acquittal of some debts, of which *Sweden* would only pay a fourth; next year the electorate, *Pomerania*, and the duchies of *Cleves* were entirely evacuated by the *Swedes* and *Dutch*. b

Is put in possession of Further Pomerania by the treaty of Westphalia. A. C. 1648.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, the duke of *Newburgh* vigorously persecuting the Protestants of the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, *Frederic-William* declared himself their protector, and sent general *Spar* with some troops into the territories of the duke, at the same time, proposing an accommodation by the mediation of the *Dutch*. An agreement being concluded, the order of possessions was regulated according to the treaty of *Westphalia*, and the liberty of conscience by former treaties. c

Charles-Gustavus declares war against Poland, and demands of the elector the ports of Pillau and Memel.

ABOUT this time, *Charles Gustavus*, prince of *Deuxponts*, succeeding to the crown of *Sweden*, by the abdication of queen *Christina*, made great preparations of war, with design to oblige the king of *Poland* to renounce the pretensions which that crown formed upon the crown of *Sweden*, and likewise to deliver up *Livonia* to the *Swedes*. The truce betwixt d these two kingdoms being near expired, *Charles* demanded of the elector the ports of *Pillau* and *Memel*, pretending that his designs were only against *Russia*. The elector rejected his demand with disdain, but added, that if his real intention was to invade *Russia*, he would assist him in that war with a body of 8000 men, the elector being desirous to stop the progress of the *Muscovites* in *Poland*, to prevent them from approaching his frontiers. Having thus defeated the demand of the *Swedes*, he informed *Poland* of the danger which threatened the republic, but at the same time refused to engage as a party in the war.

A. C. 1655.

DESIRING to secure the tranquility of his provinces, he concluded a defensive alliance with the states of *Holland* for eight years. He courted the friendship of *Cromwel*, endeavoured to make an alliance with *Louis XIV.* and even flattered the pride of *Ferdinand III.* from whom he only received vain promises, that emperor being then employed in augmenting his troops, which the elector observing, followed his example. *Charles Gustavus*, desiring to signalize the beginning of his reign with some warlike expedition, did not wait for the expiration of the truce with *Poland*; but ordering a body of *Swedes*, under the command of general *Wittenburgh*, to advance through the *New March*, without asking leave, towards the frontiers of *Poland*, he invaded that kingdom, and quickly made himself master of two palatinates. As the greatest efforts of the war were towards the frontiers of *Prussia*, the elector marched thither at the head of his troops, to be in readiness to execute those measures which he should find necessary, and concluded a defensive alliance with the f states of *Polish Prussia*.

The elector concludes a treaty with the Swedes at Königsburgh.

THE *Swedes* having made great progress in *Poland*, took up their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of *Königsburgh*, and making several advantageous offers to the elector, he attached himself to their fortune, and concluded a treaty with that crown at *Königsburgh*, by which he acknowledged himself a vassal of *Sweden*, and promised to do homage to that crown for *Ducal Prussia*, upon condition that the bishopric of *Warmie* were secularized in his favour. To strengthen his party, he entered into an alliance with *Louis XIV.* who guaranteed his provinces upon the *Rhine* and the *Wefer*. The elector afterwards changing his treaty with *Sweden* into an offensive alliance, marched by *Mazovia*, and joined the *Swedish* army at the confluence of the *Bog* and the *Vistula*. The allies passing the *Bog*, at the g same time that the king of *Poland* passed the *Vistula* at *Warsovia*, there was now no obstacle that separated the two armies. The ministers of *France*, jealous of the encreasing power of the *Swedes*, went often betwixt the two camps to endeavour an accommodation; but the Poles,

- a Poles, who were more than double the number of the enemy, rejected all terms of agreement. The allies afterwards attacking them in their camp, entirely routed them after several engagements, and next day made themselves masters of *Warsavia*. The king of *Poland*, in order to force the elector to abandon the party of the *Swedes*, ordered a body of *Tartars* to ravage *Ducal Prussia*; and the emperor and the *Danes*, to prevent the *Swedes* from becoming masters of *Poland*, concluded an alliance with that crown, and earnestly pressed the elector to quit the party of the *Swedes*. *Frederic-William*, foreseeing that the emperor and the king of *Denmark* could oblige him to abandon the party of *Charles Gustavus*, by invading his states in *Germany*, concluded a peace with the *Poles* at *Velau*, by which that kingdom acknowledged the entire sovereignty of *Prussia*, and ceded to the elector the bailiages of *Lauenburgh* and *Butau*, which important treaty was confirmed at *Braunsburgh*. By this peace, the antient connections of the elector with *Sweden* and *France* being broken, he thought proper to secure the friendship of other powers, and concluded an alliance with the emperor and the king of *Denmark*.

He concludes a treaty with Poland, by which the sovereignty of Prussia is acknowledged.

- MEANWHILE the king of *Sweden*, irritated at the proceedings of the king of *Denmark*, invaded *Zealand*, by marching his army over the ice, which sudden irruption obliged that king to conclude a peace at *Roschild*; but the *Swedes* were no sooner retired, than he solicited the assistance of the emperor and the elector. *Charles*, being informed of these proceedings, embarked his troops that were in *Holstein*, and sailed towards *Zealand*, with a design of besieging *Copenhagen*. *Frederic-William*, who had promised assistance to the king of *Denmark*, leaving *Berlin* at the head of his cavalry, and 3000 Imperialists, he forced the *Swedes* that remained in *Holstein* to retire beyond the *Eider*, and put a garrison of his own troops into *Gottorp*; and after having drove the *Swedes* from the isle of *Aland*, he put his troops into winter-quarters in *Jutland*. The year following, he opened the campaign with the taking of *Fredericksode*, and the island of *Fione*; but failed in his enterprise upon the isle of *Fuynen*. Returning afterwards from *Jutland* to oppose *Wrangle*, in *Pomerania*, he took *Warnemund*, *Tripsee*, and *Demmin*.

- In the midst of these troubles and confusions, *Charles-Gustavus* dying in the flower of his age, and *John-Casimir* abdicating the crown of *Poland*, the animosities ceased on both sides, and each party sincerely desiring peace; the conferences were opened at the abbey of *Oliva*, near *Dantzick*. By this treaty, the sovereignty of *Prussia* was acknowledged and guarantied to the elector; the other powers agreed to settle their possessions on the same footing they were before the beginning of the war.

- THE states of *Prussia* submitted with reluctance to the treaty of *Braunsburgh*; they pretended that *Poland* had no right to dispose of their liberty; a gentleman, named *Rade*, more seditious than the rest, was seized; and the first motions of the revolt being appealed, the elector received in person the homage of the *Prussians* at *Koningsburgh*. The tranquillity which followed, gave the elector an opportunity of turning his attention to the welfare of his people; he raised again the walls of his cities which had been destroyed, encouraged the cultivation of the country, and the peopling of villages, and by his care and application recovered the provinces from the state of desolation to which the war had reduced them. Receiving likewise the eventual homage of the archbishopric of *Magdeburgh*, he put a garrison into that capital, and re united to his dominions the lordship of *Regiszein*, which was a fief of the principality of *Halberstadt*, maintaining his rights against the pretensions of the dukes of *Brunswick*. The elector did not confine his cares to the private concerns of his electorate; he sent 2000 men to the assistance of the emperor, who was attacked by the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and assisted the king of *Poland* in his war against the *Infidels*; by his mediation likewise, the sons of the duke of *Luneburgh* came to an accommodation with regard to their paternal inheritance. The elector likewise settled the difference with the duke of *Newburgh*, relating to the succession of *Cleves*, concluded a defensive alliance with *Sweden*, and entered into a quadruple alliance at the *Hague* with the king of *Denmark*, the republic of *Holland*, and the duke of *Brunswic*.

The states of Prussia refuse to submit to the elector.

The elector sends assistance to the emperor against the Turks.

- LOUIS XIV. who about this time took the reins of government into his own hand, invaded *Spanish Flanders* in right of his wife, who pretended to be sole heir, and desiring to secure the neutrality of the elector, sent an ambassador to *Berlin*, who prevailed with him not to take any part in the war. The states of *Holland*, averse to the neighbourhood of the *French*, protected the *Spaniards* from the enterprizes of the king of *France*; and to stop the progress of his arms, concluded the triple alliance at the *Hague*, with *England* and *Sweden*. *Louis XIV.* irritated at the states of *Holland*, for presuming to form alliances to oppose his ambitious views, concluded a peace with *Spain*, and resolving to make the *Dutch* feel the effects of his resentment, solicited the elector to join him in that war. But *Frederic-William* refusing the offers of *France*, concluded a treaty with the United Provinces, by which he engaged to furnish them with 20,000 men, one half of whom were to be paid by the

A. C. 1671.

and concludes
a treaty with
the United
Provinces;

and marches to
their assistance,
but is opposed
by Turenne;

who possesses
himself of all
the elector's
provinces in
Westphalia.

The elector con-
cludes a peace
with France.

Louis XIV.
attacks the
empire.

The elector
joins the impe-
rial army on
the Rhine.

The Swedes
invade Pome-
rania,

the states; soon after the emperor *Leopold* acceded to this alliance, the contracting parties promising not to make a separate peace with their enemies.

THE elector, immediately raising his troops, marched to *Halberstadt*, where *Montecuculi* joined him with 10000 Imperialists; after which junction they advanced towards *Westphalia*. Upon the news of their approach, *Turenne* quitted *Holland* at the head of 30,000 French, and taking some towns in the country of *Cleves*, marched to oppose the allies. The elector, though desirous of engaging *Turenne*, was prevented by *Montecuculi*, who would not consent to it, having secret orders not to act offensively. Being thus obliged to conform to the intentions of the emperor, he marched towards *Frankfort* on the *Main*, which obliged *Turenne* to repass the *Rhine*, and freed the *Dutch* from 30,000 enemies. The Imperialists still continuing to oppose any active measures of the elector, he took up his winter-quarters in *Westphalia*, while *Turenne* made himself master of the duchies of *Cleves* and *Marck*, and advanced towards the *Wefer*. During the course of this campaign, *Frederic-William* had a signal occasion of testifying his generosity. A Frenchman, named *Villeneuve*, in *Turenne's* camp, offered to the elector to assassinate his general. Far from hearkening to his offer, he had an abhorrence of his villainy, and informed *Turenne*, that he might guard against the traitor.

THE *Hollanders* neglecting to pay the subsidies for which they had engaged, the emperor and *Spain* not having heartily declared against *France*, and all the provinces which the elector possessed in *Westphalia* being lost; all these reasons, joined to his own weakness, disposed *Frederic-William* to make an accommodation with *France*. The peace was concluded at *Woffen*, and all his provinces were restored to him, except the cities of *Retz* and *Wezel*, which the *French* kept till the peace should be concluded with *Holland*. The elector promised not to assist the *Dutch*, reserving, nevertheless, the liberty of defending the empire in case it were attacked. All the attempts which he made to dispose the king of *France* to comprehend the *Hollanders* in the peace were useless; however, the *French* having weakened their army by putting garrisons into too many places, and *Montecuculi* having joined the prince of *Orange*, they were obliged to evacuate the provinces of *Holland*. *Turenne* afterwards marching into *Franche Comte*, and from thence into the *Palatinate*, ravaged the whole country, in order to oblige the *Germanick* body to observe a neutrality, while he ruined the United Provinces. The miseries which the *Palatinate* suffered awakened the princes of *Germany*, and the emperor having made an alliance with *Spain* and *Holland*, *Frederic-William* engaged to lead 16,000 men to the assistance of the empire. The beginning of the campaign was unsuccessful for the allies both in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine*, where *Turenne* had defeated the imperial generals, *Caprara* and *Bournonville*.

THE elector passed the *Rhine* at *Strasburgh*, and joined *Bournonville* a few days after his defeat; the imperial army, by this reinforcement, being upwards of 50,000 men. The elector pressed *Bournonville* to hazard an engagement, but he would not consent to it; so that *Turenne* was allowed to retire without being attacked. *Turenne*, afterwards receiving a reinforcement of 10,000 men from *Flanders*, surprised the imperial quarters, and took a regiment of the elector's troops prisoners. The elector, after being thus surprised, passed the *Rhine* at *Strasburgh*, and took up his winter-quarters in *Franconia*.

THE *French*, desirous to free themselves from a dangerous enemy upon the *Rhine*, prevailed with the *Swedes* to create a diversion for the elector in his own territories, and *Wrangel* entering the marches of *Brandenburgh* with a *Swedish* army, though at first he observed an exact discipline, declaring that he would evacuate the country when the elector should make his peace with *France*; yet he soon began to use hostilities, taking possession of several towns in the electorate, and ravaging the country. The elector, who was then in winter-quarters in *Franconia*, complained of this invasion to the diet of *Ratisbon*, and soon after leaving his winter-quarters, marched towards *Magdeburgh*, where he arrived on the 11th of *June*, without the knowledge of the *Swedes*, there being no posts at that time in *Germany*. Immediately upon his arrival, he shut the gates of that fortress, using all possible precautions to conceal the knowledge of his approach from the enemy. Towards the evening, his army passed the *Elbe*, and arrived next night at the gates of *Rathenau*, where he surprised a *Swedish* regiment that was in garrison, and not waiting for the arrival of his infantry, who were not yet come up, he marched with his cavalry directly to *Naven*, to post himself between the *Swedes* who were in *Brandenburgh*, and those who were in *Havelburgh*. But the *Swedes*, by this time knowing of his arrival, had quitted *Brandenburgh*, and marched to *Fehrbellin*, where the garrison of *Havelburgh* was to join them. Notwithstanding the elector had only 5600 horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, without any infantry, and the *Swedes* had ten regiments of foot, and 800 dragoons in their camp, he immediately resolved to attack them. On the 18th of *June*, the prince of *Homburgh* being sent with 1600 horse to reconnoitre the *Swedish* camp, rashly engaged the enemy, which would have been fatal to him, had not the elector quickly marched to his assistance with the rest of his troops.

^a After an obstinate engagement, the *Swedes* were entirely defeated, leaving 3000 dead upon the field, and a great number of officers; those who saved themselves fled to *Fehrbellin*, breaking down the bridge behind them. In this action one of the masters of the horse observing that the *Swedes* by their firing remarked the white horse upon which the elector was mounted, prevailed with the elector to exchange him with his, under pretence of furnishing him with a better horse, and the exchange was hardly performed when the faithful domestic was killed.

but are defeated by the elector at Fehrbellin.

GENERAL *Dorffing* arriving with the infantry, the elector pursued the *Swedes* the next day, took a great many prisoners, and recovered great part of the spoil in their baggage. The *Swedish* army being now reduced to 4000 men, retired by *Ruppin* and *Witstock* into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*; and being declared enemies of the empire, for having attacked the *Germanic* body in one of its members, the elector, assisted by the emperor and the *Danes*, attacked the *Swedes* in *Pomerania*, where he took the city of *Wolgast*, and made himself master of the isle of *Hollin*, and the three principal passages of the *Pene*.

THE *Swedes*, by this invasion, having drawn upon themselves many enemies; namely, the empire, *Denmark*, and *Holland*, made some propositions of peace to the elector, in order to separate him from his allies. But *Frederic-William*, far from entering into any negotiation, put himself at the head of his troops, and took *Anclam*, and afterwards blocked up *Stetin*. The *Swedes*, though they had this year defeated the *Danes* at *Lunden*, in *Scania*, yet were very unsuccessful in *Pomerania*, the elector taking several places, and at last forcing *Stetin*, the capital of the province, to surrender. While the elector was thus making conquests in *Pomerania*, the contending powers in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, wearied with the war against *France*, agreed to the negotiations of peace, which was concluded at *Nimeguen* betwixt *France* and the empire.

A. C. 1677.

THE elector, hoping to retain his conquests, refused to be comprehended in the peace, so that the war still continued in *Pomerania*; the *Swedes* losing the island of *Rugen*, and the cities of *Stralsund* and *Gripswald*. Nevertheless, the *Swedes*, hoping to oblige the elector to evacuate *Pomerania*, invaded *Prussia* with 16,000 men from *Livonia*, and advancing in the country, they burnt the suburbs of *Memel*, and took *Tilse* and *Insterburgh*. The elector, to oppose the invaders, left *Berlin* on the 10th of *January*, and passed the *Vistula* on the 15th, at the head of 9000 men, preceded by the terror of his name, which was now become formidable to the *Swedes*. The *Swedes*, retiring at his approach, were greatly harrassed by his troops in their march, losing almost one half of their army, who were either made prisoners, or killed by the peasants, who had joined the van of the elector's troops. The elector, continuing his march, arrived at the *Frisch-baff*, and drew his army over that gulph upon the ice, and likewise passing the gulph of *Courland* in the same manner, he arrived on the 19th of *January* with his infantry within three miles of *Tilse*, where the *Swedes* had their quarters. The same day his general, *Trefensfeldt*, defeated two regiments of the enemy near *Splitter*; and the *Swedes*, who were in *Tilse*, abandoned that place, and retired towards *Courland*. The elector ordering general *Gortz* to pursue their rear, he entirely defeated them, and returned with much booty, and a great number of prisoners; of the 16,000 *Swedes*, who entered *Prussia*, scarce 3000 returning to *Livonia*.

The *Swedes* invade *Prussia* from *Livonia*. A. C. 1679.

but are repulsed by the elector.

THIS expedition was hardly over, when *Louis XIV.* to oblige the elector to an accommodation with the king of *Sweden*, his ally, ordered general *Calvo* to enter the duchy of *Cleves* with 30,000 *French*, requiring the elector to resign all his conquests, and insisting upon the entire re-establishment of the *Swedes* in all that they possessed before the war. *Frederic-William*, being now abandoned by the emperor, and receiving only denials from the *Dutch*, who were far from fulfilling their guarantee, resolved at length upon an accommodation, and sent baron *Meinder* to the court of *France*, then at *St. Germain*; where, after a great many difficulties, the following conditions were agreed to; namely, That the treaty of *Westphalia* should serve for a basis to the peace; the elector should have the property of the customs in all the ports of *Further Pomerania*, with the cities of *Camin*, *Gartz*, *Grieffenburgh*, and *Wildenbruck*; he consented on his side to give up to the *Swedes* all that he had conquered from them, and give no assistance to the king of *Denmark*, upon condition that *France* delivered up his provinces in *Westphalia*, and paid him 300,000 ducats, as an indemnification of the damages committed by *Crequi* in his states.

The *French* enter the duchy of *Cleves*, and oblige the elector to conclude a peace with *Sweden*.

THE peace of *St. Germain* terminated the military exploits of *Frederic-William*, his last years being pacifick, and passing over with less external glory: yet his great genius manifested itself even in all the actions of his life, being equally admirable at the head of his armies, where he appeared as the deliverer of his country; and at the head of his council, where he administered justice to his people. This prince was not only esteemed in *Europe*, but likewise received an ambassador from *Murad Geray*, cham of the *Tartars*, his friendship being courted by these eastern people.

A. C. 1620.

A Spanish
man of war
carried into
Königs-
burgh.

THE king of Spain having delayed to pay him the subsidies which he had stipulated during the war, he sent nine small vessels, which he employed in the *Baltic*, towards the coast of *Guinea*, and seized a large Spanish man of war, which was afterwards brought into the port of *Königsburgh*. About this time, likewise, he entered into the possession of the duchy of *Magdeburgh*, which was incorporated for ever into the electorate of *Brandenburgh*; and having the imperial commission as director of the circle of *Westphalia*, to protect the states of *East Frisland*, he settled the disputes betwixt them and their prince, who they complained had made some encroachment upon their privileges; and as he had the eventual succession of that principality, he took this opportunity of putting a garrison into *Gritz*, and established a company of merchants at *Emden*, who traded to *Guinea*, and built the fort of *Grand Fredericksburgh* in that country.

A. C. 1684.

The French
Protestants re-
tire into Bran-
denburgh.

THE French having surprised *Strasburgh*, a free city of the empire, and taken possession of several other cities and lordships of the empire, under pretence of their being antient fiefs depending upon those provinces which had been ceded to them at the peace of *Nimeguen*, the empire, which at this time was exhausted by the long war, contented itself with remonstrating against these proceedings by memorials; but the elector, who was not comprehended in the peace of *Nimeguen*, refused to sign these writings, but concluded an alliance with the elector of *Saxony*, and the duke of *Hanover*, for the support of the peace of *Westphalia* and *St. Germain*. The elector likewise made an alliance with the circles of *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia* for their common defence; in which it was stipulated, that the princes who should assemble the confederate troops, should draw contributions from the neighbouring states.

LOUIS XIV. not only troubled the repose of *Europe*, but disturbed his own kingdom by the revocation of the famous edict of *Nantes*, denying the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and compelling them, by violent means, to embrace the *Roman Catholic* faith. This persecution obliged thousands of Protestants to leave the kingdom, and seek for liberty and peace in other nations. Twenty thousand of them established themselves in the states of the elector, and by their industry repaired the desolation caused by the war of thirty years, introducing many arts and manufactures that had never before been known in the electorate. The elector, by the protection which he gave these persecuted Protestants, disobligeing the king of *France*, and losing the annual subsidy which had been paid him by *Louis XIV.* since the peace of *St. Germain*, contracted new alliances with the emperor, and sent 8000 men to serve in his armies against the *Turks* in *Hungary*; in recompence for which service, the emperor yielded to the elector the circle of *Schweibus* in *Silesia*, in form of an equivalent for all his rights in that province.

The death of
the elector.

A. C. 1688.

THE death of the elector palatine afforded *Louis XIV.* another pretence for disturbing the repose of the empire; and, under the appearance of supporting the rights of the duchess of *Orleans*, the late elector's daughter, he prepared to invade the Palatinate, which obliged the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Lower Rhine*, to make an alliance of mutual defence at *Augsburgh*. The elector, at that time, likewise, a second time, granted his protection to the city of *Hamburg*, which the king of *Denmark* besieged in person; and he acted also as mediator in the difference betwixt the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holstein*, with regard to the entire sovereignty of his duchies, which the king of *Sweden* had procured to him at the peace of *Roschild*. Death prevented the elector from having the satisfaction of concluding this accommodation; the gout, which for a long time had attacked him, now degenerating into a dropsy, carried him off on the 28th of *April*. Two days before his end, he assembled his council, and having assisted at their deliberations, he thanked his ministers for their faithful services, and exhorted them to serve his son with the same attachment; after which, he addressed himself to the electoral prince, explained to him the duties of a good prince, and made a short analysis to him of the state in which he left his affairs. He strongly recommended to him to assist the prince of *Orange* in the expedition upon *England*, which he was at that time making preparations for, and insisted above all upon his loving and protecting the people which he was about to govern. *Frederic-William* had all the qualifications that make a great man, and Providence gave him great opportunities of displaying them; from his early youth he gave great proofs of prudence and wisdom, and through his whole life, testified himself a great politician, and a humane and good prince. He had two wives, *Henrietta* of *Orange*, mother of *Frederic III.* who succeeded him; and *Dorothy* of *Holstein*, mother of the margraves *Philip*, *Albert*, and *Lewis*, and of the princesses *Elizabeth*, *Sophia*, and *Mary-Annelia*.

FREDERIC III. was born at *Königsburgh* in *Prussia*, on the 22d of *July* 1637. Having early lost his mother, in his youth he met with great trouble and vexation from his step-mother the electrice *Dorothy*, she having found means of alienating the affections of *Frederic-William* from this son of the first marriage, who was weak, deformed, and whose education had been greatly neglected. *Frederic* married *Elizabeth-Henrietta*, daughter of *William VI.* landgrave of *Hesse*; and after the death of that prince, re-married with *Septia-Charlotta*,

Frederic III.
first king of
Prussia.

A. C. 1679.
1684.
1688.

His character.

- a *Charlotta*, daughter of the duke of *Hanover*, *Ernestus-Augustus*, and sister of *George*, who was afterwards king of *England*. Upon the death of his father, he succeeded to the government, although 'tis affirmed that the elector his father, by the solicitations of the electrice *Dorothy*, had made a will, by which he divided all the acquisitions which he had made, during his government, among the children of his second marriage. The *Whig* party made great use of this testament to alienate the new elector from *France*, the emperor engaging to annul this paternal disposition, upon condition that *Frederic III.* returned to him the circle of *Schwibus*.

- FREDERIC III.* was no sooner come to the government than *Louis XIV.* declared war A. C. 1687. against the empire; and supporting his manifesto by arms, in one campaign made himself master of almost the whole course of the *Rhine*. The elector, who had conceived an aversion to the *French*, because they seemed to be the favourites of his step-mother, engaged warmly in the war against *Louis XIV.* and sent a considerable body of troops to the *Upper Rhine*; afterwards taking the command in person, he besieged *Bonn*, where, after the taking of *Mentz*, the allies joined him, and preventing *Boufflers* from assisting the garrison, the governor surrendered on the 12th of *October*. The following campaign, likewise, the elector sent considerable succours to the allies.

Engaged in a grand alliance against France.

- The prince of *Orange*, who was now in possession of the crown of *England*, took the command of the allied army in *Flanders*, and having an interview with the elector, he prevailed with him to send 15,000 men to join the army in *Flanders*, whilst the emperor obtained from him a considerable assistance against the infidels in *Hungary*.

- Though *Frederic* had no direct interest in these wars, yet as he was naturally fond of pomp and show, and as his ambition was awakened by the new acquisitions of grandeur of the prince of *Orange* and the duke of *Hanover*; he used all politic means to court the favour of the emperor, that he might succeed to a plan of aggrandizement which he had formed for himself. As his weakness would not allow him to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours equally powerful as himself, he resolved to procure the grandeur of a title, which, by the external magnificence and pomp that attended it, might flatter his ambition. Having fixed his plan, he employed all his policies to bring it to maturity; and as the good dispositions of the emperor would, in a great measure, procure the suffrages of the whole *Germanic* body, the elector granted to him the circle of *Schwibus*, contenting himself with the reversion of the principality of *Friesland*, and the barony of *Limburgh*. Upon the same principles likewise of prejudicing the emperor in his favour, his troops served in the imperial armies in *Flanders*, upon the *Rhine*, and in *Hungary*; not venturing to pursue his design abruptly, he waited for the opportunity of a favourable conjuncture.

and yields the circle of Schwibus to the emperor.

- While *Europe* was torn to pieces by violent wars, after the example of his father, he accommodated the difference with regard to succession, between the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, *Schwerin*, and *Stralitz*. He likewise founded the university of *Halle*, which he furnished with able professors, and built several fine sluices upon the river *Salle*, to render it more navigable. About this time also, he received at *Berlin* the *Muscovite* ambassador, who had in his retinue the czar *Peter Alexiowitz*, that young prince having left his own kingdom with the noble design of instructing himself, in order to civilize his people.

Czar Peter arrives at Berlin. A. C. 1698.

- FRANCE* being, by this time, quite exhausted, by reason of the long and destructive wars which it had maintained, *Louis XIV.* having formed another scheme of ambition; namely, to procure the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy to the house of *Bourbon*, he gave up all his conquests, and concluded a peace with the allies at *Ryswick*. While in the north, *Augustus*, duke of *Saxony*, obtained the crown of *Poland* by a second election, this new king, exhausted by his liberalities, sold to *Frederic III.* the advowson of the abbey of *Quedlenburgh*, *Petersburgh*, and *Halle*. The kingdom of *Poland*, soon after this election, being disturbed by intestine dissensions, the elector, taking advantage of these troubles, seized upon *Elbing*, to reimburse himself for a sum of money which the republic of *Poland* owed him. An accommodation being afterwards agreed to, the *Poles*, as a security for the money, gave him a crown and jewels of *Russia*, which are still preserved at *Koningsburgh*; after which the elector evacuated the city, and preserved, with the consent of the republic, the possession of the territory of *Elbing*.

General peace concluded at Ryswick.

- In the beginning of this century, *Europe* was again involved in war, upon account of the dispute betwixt the emperor and the *French* king, about the succession to the *Spanish* monarchy. *Frederic III.* who was then at peace, took the part of the grand alliance, of which king *William* was the soul, and the archduke of *Austria* the pretence. All the offers which *France* made to him to detach him from the allies, were in vain. As he hoped that this conjuncture would open the road to the royalty at which his ambition aimed, he warmly espoused the cause of the emperor, and at *Vienna* negotiated the treaty that concerned his grandeur. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to acknowledge *Frederic III.* as king of *Prussia*, upon condition that he furnished an assistance of 10,000 men, at his own expence,

The elector engaged to furnish 10,000 men against France, and acknowledged king of Prussia.

expence, during the whole course of this war, maintained a company of the garrison of *Philipsburgh*, and should be always in concert with the emperor in all the affairs of the empire; that his royalty should not alter any thing of the obligations of his states in Germany; that he should renounce the subsidy which the house of *Austria* owed him; and that he should give his vote for the election of the male children of the emperor *Joseph*, unless weighty and indispensable reasons obliged the electors to chuse an emperor of another house.

THIS treaty being signed and ratified, *Rome* exclaimed against it, the republic of *Poland* was silent, the Teutonic order protested against the act, and renewed their ancient claim to *Prussia*; the king of *England*, who only fought for enemies against *France*, and had need of the assistance of the elector in the grand alliance, was one of the first who acknowledged him, and was followed by *Augustus*, king of *Poland*. *Denmark*, who only feared and envied *Sweden*, made no objection; and *Charles XII.* who, at that time, was engaged in a difficult war, thought not proper to dispute about a title to augment the number of his enemies. The coronation was solemnized the following year; the king, whom we shall henceforth call *Frederic I.* repairing to *Prussia*, where he instituted, in memory of this event, the order of knights of the Black Eagle. Likewise, at the pressing solicitations of his queen, *Sophia Charlotte*, he established a Royal Academy of Sciences at *Berlin*, of which *Leibnitz* was the chief.

A Royal Academy of Sciences established at Berlin.

WHILE the king was employed at *Berlin* in celebrating feasts and diversions, *Charles XII.* who had obliged the king of *Denmark* to conclude a peace, defeated the Saxons at the passage of the *Duna*, and obliged them to retire towards the frontiers of *Prussia*. These transactions greatly alarmed *Frederic I.* As the greatest part of his troops served in the Imperial armies, he was afraid lest the war in his neighbourhood should disturb his new kingdom; but *Charles XII.* at the intercession of the emperor, and the maritime powers, promised to observe a neutrality as to *Prussia*.

A. C. 1702. The king succeeds to part of the estates of the prince of Orange,

THE king having raised 8000 new troops, sent them into *Flanders* to reinforce the allied army, and repaired himself into the country of *Cleves*, to recover the inheritance of *William* of *Orange*, king of *England*. The rights of *Frederic I.* were founded upon the testament of *Frederic Henry* of *Orange*, who had settled his estates, in case of the extinction of males, upon his daughter, the wife of the grand elector. King *William* had left a testament quite opposite in favour of prince *Prison* of *Nassau*, of which the States-general were executors. The estates of the succession consisted in the principality of *Orange* and *Meurs*, and the different lordships situated in *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Frederic I.* threatening to withdraw his troops, if justice was not done him, a provisional accommodation was regulated, by which the inheritance was divided into two equal parts. *Louis XIV.* having put the prince of *Conti* in possession of *Orange*, the king was greatly offended, and augmenting his army, declared war against *France*, because the army of *Boufflers* had committed some excesses in the country of *Cleves*.

A. C. 1703. and concludes a defensive alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden.
A. C. 1704.

WHILE the war of the succession continued, the *Prussian* troops maintained with glory the reputation they had acquired under the grand elector; they took *KeiserSwert* near the *Rhine*, and in the action where *Villars* surprised and defeated *Stirheim*, the prince of *Anhalt* made a fine retreat with the 8000 *Prussians* which he commanded. *Charles XII.* having now driven the Saxons out of *Poland*, and dethroned *Augustus*, *Frederic I.* to secure the tranquility of his provinces, concluded a defensive alliance with that king, who had a victorious army in his neighbourhood, and put strong garrisons into all his towns in *Prussia*.

THE earl of *Marlborough* having led the allied army into *Suabia*, to deliver the empire from the *French*, the elector sent a new reinforcement to his army, which body of troops had a considerable share in gaining the victory of *Blenheim*; by which battle the *French* lost *Bavaria* and *Suabia*. The earl of *Marlborough*, after this glorious campaign, repairing to *Berlin*, easily penetrated the character of *Frederic I.* He was full of submission and complaisance to the king, and artfully flattering his vanity, he was officious to present him with the ewer, when he rose from the table. *Frederic* could not resist him, and granted to the flatteries of the courtier, what he would have perhaps refused to the merit of the great general. The fruit of this negotiation was, that prince *Anhalt* marched into *Italy* at the head of 8000 men.

A. C. 1705. His queen Sophia Charlotte dies.

THE court of *Frederic* was soon after disturbed by the death of the excellent princess *Sophia Charlotte*. She died in the bosom of her family at *Hanover*; and recommended the learned whom she had protected, and those arts which she had cultivated, to the protection of her husband the elector. She was a princess of distinguished merit, who joined all the charms of her sex to the graces of a brilliant wit and solid understanding.

THE forces which the king had sent into *Italy* were defeated at *Casano* with prince *Eugene*; but the loss at *Casano* was soon forgot by the gaining of the famous battle of *Turin*, in which the *Prussians* had a principal part, for which bravery prince *Eugene* complimented the king. During the course of this war, *Frederic I.* made some pacific acquisitions: he bought

- a bought the county of *Tacklenburgh* in *Westphalia*; and *madam de Nemours*, who was in possession of the principality of *Neuchâtel*, happening to die, the council of state of that principality adjudged the sovereignty to the king, as he is to the prince of *Orange*, which determination was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

The king acquires the principality of Neuchâtel.

A popular sedition having disturbed the city of *Hamburg*, *Frederic I.* sent 4000 men to support the prerogatives of the sheriffs and syndicks. He likewise, by stopping the merchandise of the city of *Cologne* upon the *Rhine*, and at *Wesel*, and threatening to prohibit the Roman Catholic worship in his territories, obliged that city to acknowledge their error, the populace having forced the doors of the *Prussian* resident, because he had a Protestant chapel in his house.

- b AFTER a long course of victories, *Charles XII.* being defeated at *Pultowa*, *Augustus*, who saw his antagonist ruined, thought himself disengaged from the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and had a conference at *Berlin* with the king of *Denmark* and *Frederic I.* in consequence of which *Augustus* again entered *Poland* with an army, while the king of *Denmark* attacked the *Swedes* in *Scania*. But *Frederic I.* could not be moved to engage in the war. He made a journey to *Königsburgh*, where he obtained of the czar, who came thither to establish the young duke of *Courland* in his possessions, upon condition that he married the niece of *Peter Alexiowitz*. Upon his return to *Berlin*, he was informed of the reputation of his troops, who distinguished themselves in *Flanders* and in *Italy*.

A. C. 1709.

- c IN *Pomerania*, the *Swedes* seeming to threaten to enter *Saxony*, the king proposed to maintain an army of neutrality, to prevent the war from entering his own territories; while in the South *France* renewed the negotiations of peace at *Gertrudenburg*, and in the preliminaries engaged to acknowledge the royalty of *Prussia*, and the sovereignty of *Neuchâtel*: but the war continuing, the *Prussians* were employed in this campaign under the prince of *Anhalt* at the sieges of *Aire* and *Douay*, which they took; and the king then declared that he would not restore the city of *Gueldre*, where he had a garrison, till the *Spaniards* paid him the subsidies which they owed him. By the peace he preserved the possession of that city.

- d THE passage, and the neighbourhood, of so many armies brought the plague this year into *Prussia*, and the famine which began to be severely felt, augmented the violence of that contagion. The king, who was ignorant of one part of the evil, spent his revenues in magnificence and luxury, while 200,000 souls perished, partly for want, and partly by the distemper. The prince-royal, astonished at the want of feeling in his father towards the *Prussians*, earnestly pressed the counts of *Wartenburgh* and *Witgenstein*, directors of the finances, to buy corn for the subsistence of the poor people who were starving; but these ministers being inflexible, the prince resolved to ruin them, by means of a young courtier, who often played at chess with the king, who dropt so many insinuations against the ministers, and which he took all opportunities of repeating, that at last *Witgenstein* was sent to the fortress of *Spandaw*, and *Wartenburgh* banished.

A. C. 1710.
The plague ravages Prussia.

- e WHILE the allies exhausted their strength in reducing the power of *France*, the emperor *Joseph* died; and the empire elected in his place the archduke *Charles*, who was then blocked up in *Barcelona*. This change in the empire opened a way to a general pacification; the *English*, being now weary of their vast expences, were disposed to enter into a negotiation at *Utrecht*. Meanwhile, the king, who likewise desired to terminate the difference with regard to the succession of *Orange* by a definitive treaty, repaired to the country of *Cleves* to regulate that affair with the prince of *Friseland*; but that unhappy prince was drowned in passing *Maerdick* on his way to the *Hague*.

THE allies, following the example of the *English*, began to think seriously of peace, the emperor alone desiring to continue the war. But these pacific sentiments of the South had no influence upon the North; the king of *Denmark* entered the duchy of *Bremen*, and took *Staden*. The czar and the king of *Poland* endeavoured to make a descent upon the island of *Rügen*, but were prevented by the *Swedes*; they were likewise disappointed at *Stralsund*, and the *Saxons* and *Danes* were defeated at *Gadesbuck* by *Steinbock*.

A. C. 1712.

- f FREDERIC I. though desirous of reconciling the contending parties, to prevent the storm from falling upon his own states, yet was prevented by death, from seeing the conclusion of the peace. He died in the beginning of the year 1713, of a slow disease which had attacked him for a long time. He had three wives; the first was a princess of *Hesse*, of whom he had a daughter, married to the hereditary prince of *Hesse*, afterwards king of *Sweden*; his second wife *Sophia Charlotte*, of *Hanover*, bore *Frederic-William*, who succeeded him; and he divorced his third wife, who was a princess of *Mecklenburgh*, upon account of madness. His person was little and deformed, with an air of haughtiness; he had a very common aspect; his soul was flexible to all the impressions that were given him; and those who had once gained a certain ascendant over him, had the power of animating or

The king dies.

His character.

calming his spirit. Being more attached to that splendor which dazzles, than to the useful, or what is solid, he confounded vain show with true grandeur. But he is worthy of praise for having always preserved his states in peace, while those of his neighbours were ravaged by war; for having a heart naturally good; and for having never violated his conjugal fidelity.

The improvements during his reign.

UNDER the reign of *Frederic I.* the new colonies, which the grand elector had established, arrived at a flourishing state, and by their industry enriched their protector. His court was numerous and brilliant, and abounded in money by means of foreign subsidies. Luxury appeared in his liveries, clothes, tables, equipages, and buildings. The king had in his service two of the most ingenious architects in *Europe*, and a sculptor as perfect in his art as the two first. The fine arts now began to flourish in *Berlin*, an academy of painters being founded; and afterwards, by the solicitation of queen *Sophia Charlotte*, a Royal Academy of Sciences. This princess thought it not unworthy of a queen to esteem a philosopher; and as those who have received from heaven enlightened souls are elevated to an equality with sovereigns, she admitted *Leibnitz* into her familiarity, and proposed him as capable alone to lay the foundations of this new academy. He appointed four classes, one for physic and medicine, another for mathematics, the third for the languages and antiquities of *Germany*, and the last for the oriental languages and antiquities. The king likewise founded at *Berlin* an academy for young people of condition upon the model of that of *Lunenburg*; but unfortunately it did not long subsist.

UNDER *Frederic-William*, the second king, the form of the state was entirely changed, the court was dismissed, and the great pensions were reduced; many people that had once kept coaches, now went a foot, which gave the public occasion to say, that the king had restored the impotent to the use of their limbs. The king likewise, by a severe proclamation, prohibited the exportation of wool, and established a magazine at *Lagerhaus*, from which wool might be furnished to poor manufacturers. He gave also rewards and immunities to those who settled in his cities; he built the city *Potsdam*, which he afterwards peopled, for then it hardly had four hundred inhabitants, whereas, at present, it has more than 20,000. During these alterations, the luxury, magnificence, and pleasures of the former reign disappeared; the spirit of œconomy was introduced through all the states, among the rich as well as the poor.

Of the ancient and modern government of Brandenburg.

A. C. 1420.

A. C. 1631.

THE ancient government of *Brandenburg* when it was Pagan, was in the hands of the Druids; their princes, being properly generals of the nation, were called *Fursten*, that is, Conductors. The first emperors of *Germany*, who subdued these barbarians, appointed margraves, or governors of the frontiers, to rule these warlike people; but the authority of these governors was not very absolute, the inhabitants being still possessed of a great deal of liberty, and even refused homage to the first burgraves of *Nuremberg*, who were established in the *Marche*. The great families were possessed of strong castles, surrounded with moats, and made war upon one another, without regarding the laws and government. Although the elector *Frederic I.* subdued them, the states still remained masters of the government; they granted subsidies, regulated the taxes, and fixed the number of the troops, which were only raised in great extremities; they were consulted upon the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and it was by their advice that the laws were administered. Under *Joachim II.* the credit of the states was so powerful, that they redeemed some bailliages upon which the prince had contracted debts, upon condition that neither he, nor his successors, should henceforth borrow upon them or alienate them; the elector consulted them upon all his affairs, and even promised to undertake nothing without their consent. The states wrote to *Charles V.* and observed to him, that they did not think it proper that the elector should appear at the diet of the empire; upon which *Joachim II.* laid aside the journey. *George-William* consulted the states for the last time, to know if they thought it proper that the elector should make an alliance with the *Swedes*, by putting his towns into their hands: or if he ought to follow the party of the emperor. Afterwards *Schwartzenburg*, the minister, having all power with a weak prince, centered in his person the whole power of the sovereign and the states. He imposed contributions by his own authority, and there remained no more to the states of that power which they had never abused, than the merit of a blind submission to the orders of a court.

THE electors had no other council than the states till the reign of *Joachim-Frederic*; this prince formed a council composed of the minister of justice, and the minister of the finances, and of him who had the charge of the affairs of the empire, and the marshal of the court. From this council, where a stadtholder presided, all decrees in the last instance proceeded, likewise all orders civil and military; and when a journey, or war, obliged the elector to leave his states, this council exercised the functions of the sovereignty. The power of the first minister and council becoming enormous, the elector, *Frederic-William*, appointed

- a appointed to each of his ministers their separate department, and established in each province two counsellors, to regulate and give account of affairs; and residing, during the first years of his government, at *Königsburgh*, he provided the council which he left at *Berlin* with ample instructions relative to the time and circumstances in which he then was. Things remained on this footing during the reign of *Frederic I.* but with this difference, that he let himself be governed wholly by his ministers. *Frederic-William II.* changed the whole form of the government; he limited the power of the ministers, he regulated the finances, which were in great disorder, and he established in each province a college of justice, and a college of finances, subordinate to the ministers. He declared all the fields freehold for a certain annual rent, which the proprietaries paid to the state; it was he, in a word, who gave the state the most advantageous form, and established the government with the greatest wisdom. A. C. 1725.

THE HISTORY OF MECKLENBURGH.

- c **W**ANDALIA was a large country beyond the *Elbe*, and included the kingdom of the *Abodrites*, or *Abodriti*, part of which formed the country that is now called *Mecklenburgh*. We shall omit the very distant accounts given us by *Marcellus* *Thurius* of this district, because the pretended antiquity of them is so remote, that it is impossible to conceive, considering the extreme ignorance of the age, how they could have been transmitted to posterity. The manners of the people were probably the same with those of the *Scythians* their ancestors, and the *Germans*, of whom we have given copious accounts in the preceding parts of this history; and we shall therefore take it up so late as the period of our Saviour's birth, when it is by no means improbable that the natives might have some knowledge of letters, by means of the great number of illustrious Romans, who, upon the fall of their republic, either retired or were banished thither. History of Walachia,
- d **STRUNIC** was then the leader of the *Vandals*, and he made a naval descent upon the dominions of *Frotho*, the third king of *Denmark*, who had been always considered as the lord paramount of *Wandalia*, and whose general, *Eric*, defeated the *Wandalian* fleet. Not content with this, by *Frotho's* orders, he invaded *Strunic's* dominions, put him to death, and laid his country waste. *Frotho*, dreading the resentment of the *Vandals*, whom he knew to be a warlike and restless people, decoyed them into his armies under pretence of employing them and giving them preferment, and put great numbers of them to death. After this, they, with the *Marcomanni*, the *Quadi*, and many other northern nations, attacked the *Roman* garrisons, about the year 166 m. The events of that war, which brought *Rome* almost to destruction, have been already related in the Antient History, and it was not without the greatest difficulty, that the *Romans*, under the emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, after they had defeated his general near *Aquileia*, where he lost above 20,000 men, again reduced them to subjection. The *Vandals* remained some time after this unmolested by the *Romans*; but had many contests with the kings of *Denmark*, some of whom being powerful princes, renewed their claim of tribute from the *Vandals*, which, about the year 261, he made good, their leader, a king of the *Vandals*, being then *Alberic* the First. By this time, the *Vandals* were greatly esteemed in the *Roman*, and all other armies for their courage, and became the terror of all *Europe*, as may be seen in numerous passages of our Antient History. They served even in the armies of *Zensibia*, queen of *Palmyra*, and in the struggles which they made for their independency, they sometimes brought the *Roman* empire to the brink of destruction. The emperor *Aurelian* having often experienced their valour to his cost, that he might disunite their force, assigned to them lands in *Great-Britain*, and other provinces of his empire, which they joyfully accepted of. Their own countries were at once uncultivated and over-stocked with natives, and wherever they were settled, they behaved themselves as brave and faithful subjects of the empire. and of the Vandals who invaded Italy.
- e
- f

ABOUT the year of Christ 340, we find the nation of the *Vandals* governed by *Wisimar*, who had succeeded *Alberic*. Under him they invaded *Jutland* in *Denmark*; but they were at last defeated by *Sitward*, the king of that country. The successor of *Wisimar* was *Meice-* Succession of their princes.

^m See the Antient History.

faus. About the year 341, they renewed their incursions into *Denmark*, where they proved victorious over *Siward*, and took *Jarmerci* his son, and his two daughters. The prince they confined, and the princesses were sold at public sale, while the *Vandals* made themselves masters of all *Cimbria*. The *Danish* monarchy was, at this time, reduced to a low pass by the *Swedes* on the one hand, and the *Vandals* on the other. *Jarmerci* continued still in confinement, and though obliged to work as a slave, he discovered to many noble qualities, that he became *Wisnar's* chief favourite. Not being able however to forget his high rank, and finding himself closely watched, he and one *Gunno*, another *Danish* prisoner, took an opportunity, of a great festival, to murder their guards, whom they had made drunk, together with the queen of the *Vandals*, and with the utmost difficulty they escaped to *Denmark*, where *Jarmerci* peaceably ascended the throne.

Reign of Jar-
merci.

His first care was to reduce the *Swedes*, and then driving the *Vandals* out of *Cimbria*, he restored *Denmark* to its former lustre. He then invaded *Wandalia* itself, where he is said to have been guilty of many cruelties, and forced the *Vandals* to renew their annual tribute. Marching to other wars, the *Vandals* massacred the troops whom he had left to bridle them, for which they were afterwards severely punished by *Jarmerci*, who defeated them in repeated battles. The *Vandals* for some years after this remained in peace, till becoming too populous for the limits of their country, in the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, about the year 405, they joined the *Goths*, and their other barbarous neighbours, and broke like a torrent into the empire. The king of the *Vandals*, at that time, was named *Radagaisus*, or *Radagastis*. He, probably, was no other than the leader whom they had chosen to head their expedition, which they intended to be a migration into *Italy*, where they were to settle with their wives and children. The number of fighting men under *Radagastis*, exclusive of their families, is said to have been 200,000; and the emperor found himself unable to stop their march, though the famous *Stiticho* commanded his armies. *Radagastis* advanced as far as *Tuscany* without opposition, and laying siege to *Florence*, he was defeated, taken, and put to death with his sons, while the few *Vandals* who escaped the sword were publicly sold, and reduced to the most wretched slavery.

The Vandals
defeated.

It was not long before the *Vandals* under *Godegisles*, another of their leaders, being invited, as some conjecture by *Stiticho* himself, underhand, or, as others say, being pressed by famine, invaded *Gaul*; but 20,000 of them were cut off by the *Franks*, who were then the subjects or allies of the empire. It is thought that those incursions were greatly favoured, not only by the intrigues of the several candidates for the empire, but by such of the *Romans* who were still Pagans, as the *Vandals* themselves were. Being joined by the *Alans*, and other barbarous nations, they repulsed the *Franks*, but were subdued by *Constantine*, who, notwithstanding, suffered them to remain in *Gaul*, from whence they were driven by the *Gauls* themselves about the year 410. The name of their king at this time is said to have been *Gundericus*; and he and his followers remained for nineteen years in *Spain*, from whence they went over to *Africa*.

By those frequent migrations into the finest countries of *Europe*, the country of *Wandalia* lay uncultivated and unpeopled, and especially the lands of the *Abodrites* and the *Heruli*, which now form the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* and the county of *Schwerin*. The *Wendi*, or *Venedi*, being pressed on the north side of the *Vistula* by the *Goths*, passed that river, and seized, without opposition, upon the eastern parts of *Wandalia*; and the inhabitants of the whole, about the year 613, were blended together under the denomination of *Slavonians*, by king *Vislaus III.* As the inhabitants of *Mecklenburgh* had then no connection with the *Romans*, we know but little of their history at this period. It appears, that notwithstanding the general name by which they were distinguished, their sects, or tribes, particularly the *Abodrites*, still retained among themselves their ancient appellations; but, after various struggles, in which they were blended sometimes with the *Slavonians*, they were obliged to receive the yoke of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, kings of *France*, under whom they were protected, and enjoyed some respite from the depredations of their neighbours.

Submit to
Pepin and
Charle-
magne.

ARIBERT was king of the *Abodrites* in the year 779, when *Charlemagne*, that bloody enthusiast for the conversion of infidels, undertook to render them Christians. This attempt was the more practicable, as they had been always attached to him and his family; and after presiding in person at one of their diets, where he introduced several very useful regulations, he prevailed with them to admit into their country, missionaries, who were to instruct them in the Christian religion. His zeal was crossed by *Wittikind*, duke of *Saxony*, who publickly declared, that to render *Saxons* Christians was making them slaves. To enforce this doctrine, he raised a great army, and invaded the country of the *Abodrites*. The reader may consult other parts of this work for the events of the wars that followed between those two great princes. It is sufficient here to say, that *Charles* protected the *Abodrites*,

^a *Abodrites*, and defeated *Witikind*. Soon after, the *Abodrites* were invaded by the *Wijfi*, a part of the *Slavonians* settled near the *Baltic* sea; but they too were chastised by *Charles*, and their country was plundered. About this time, *Charles* held frequent diets with the northern nations, from motives partly of religion and partly of policy; and at one of them, in the year 794, the king of the *Abodrites*, who was nearly related to the emperor by marriage, attended, which was so much resented by the heathen *Saxons*, that they murdered him on his return homewards. This assassination was severely resented by *Charles*, who revenged it upon the whole nation, by putting many thousands of them to death.

It is not easy to ascertain the rules of succession at this time among those barbarians; though they seem to have been indetermined, yet they generally kept in the same line of blood when the descendants were fit to govern. The *Abodrites*, on this occasion, were so grateful to *Charles*, that they made him the compliment of desiring him to name the successor to their late king, and he gave them one *Thrasico*. Unhappily for the *Abodrites*, they could not always enjoy the powerful protection of *Charles*, as his extensive dominions often obliged him to march to other parts of *Europe*. No sooner did he leave the North, after raising *Thrasico* to the chieftainship of the *Abodrites*, than they were exposed to two enemies, the *Saxons* and *Godfrey* king of *Denmark*, who demanded from them a renewal of their tribute, which he rated at the payment of an hundred white horses at the accession of every new king of *Denmark*. The *Abodrites*, though pressed at the same time by the *Saxons*, had now forgot that their ancestors ever had been tributaries, and depending on the all-powerful protection of the emperor, they entered into an offensive war with *Godfrey*. But *Charles* was at too great a distance to give them succour, and *Godfrey*, invading their country, defeated their forces, and drove *Thrasico* from his throne. They substituted in his stead one *Godulaibe*, who again made head against *Godfrey*, but his army was routed and himself slain; and the *Dane* at last, though at the vast expence of the best blood of his country, succeeded in obliging the greatest part of the *Abodrites* to receive him as their lord paramount, and to pay him tribute.

History of the
Abodrites;

CHARLES was, at that time, in the more southern parts of *Europe*. The events we have recited touched his ambition, as well as religion; and he sent his son *Pepin* with an army to chastise the *Abodrites*, who had recognized the sovereignty of the *Dane*, which he did in a most signal manner. *Godfrey* (F) saw himself unable to resist the Imperial arms, and sought to enter into a treaty with *Charles*. The demands of the latter were, that the *Dane* should give up all manner of sovereignty over the *Abodrites*, and solemnly promise never again to molest the vassals of the empire or its allies. Those terms were rejected by *Godfrey*, who pretended that the *Abodrites* had given him the first provocation. Hostilities again commenced, and *Charles* put *Thrasico*, who had remained at his court ever since his expulsion, at the head of an army, which at first was successful, but was afterwards defeated, and *Thrasico* himself was killed by the *Danes*. *Charles* then raised one *Sclaomer* to the throne of the *Abodrites*, who continued for several years in peace, till they were required by *Lewis the Debonnair*, son and successor of *Charles*, to assist *Harold* in his dispute with *Regner* for the crown of *Denmark*. The *Abodrites* raised an army, and being joined by the *Saxons*, they entered *Jutland*, after many repeated disappointments, by favour of the ice. The *Danish* princes equipped a fleet, with a good number of land-forces aboard, which watched the invaders so closely, that they were obliged to return home, without doing any thing material but wasting part of the country.

who are pro-
tected by
Charles -
magne,

The successors of *Charles the Great*, being by no means equal to him, either in power or abilities, soon lost the dependence of the *Abodrites* upon their crown. *Sclaomer* thought himself ill-treated by *Lewis*, in obliging him to embark so deep as he had done in *Harold's* quarrel, while *Lewis* declared *Cendragne*, the son of *Thrasico*, who had lost his life in the Imperial service, to be *Sclaomer's* associate in the government of the *Abodrites*. *Sclaomer* upon this, called in the *Danes* to assist him in maintaining his dignity; but he was defeated, and being taken prisoner, he was carried to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the emperor commuted the sentence of death that had been passed upon him for his rebellion, into that of banishment*. Some *German* historians, of the greatest credit, inform us, that in *October* 826, the emperor held a diet at *Ingelheim*, to enquire into the dispositions of his feudatory princes; and that finding cause to suspect the fidelity of *Cendragne*, he detained him; but sent commissaries into his country, to learn how his subjects stood affected towards

and his suc-
cessors.

* History of the Empire by HEISS.

(F) This prince, in the foregoing part of this work, is called *Gotrick*, as the *Abodrites* are called *Abaros*; and several other variations of the same kind may be observed. This is owing to our being obliged to ac-

commodate the spelling of every proper name to that of the historians of the country under which it is mentioned. The *Danish* *Gotrick* therefore is the *German* *Godfrey*.

him. A report being made in his favour, *Cendregne* was dismissed to his government, but not before he had given hostages for his good behaviour.

Attempts to
convert them.

AFTER this, the *Abodrites* appear to have lived in peace for some years; but two causes concurred in breaking in upon their tranquillity. The first was the dislike they had to their dependence upon the emperor; the second was, their attachment to paganism and their hatred of Christianity. The divisions among the descendants of *Charlemagne* had now weakened the empire; and the *Abodrites* were guilty of many rebellions, which were as often suppressed. In such cases they commonly purchased their pardon, by promising to admit Christian missionaries into their country. The emperor *Henry I.* the greatest prince of his time, had their conversion so much at heart, that, after subduing them, he employed the bishop of *Holstein* to convert them. The prelate, we are told, succeeded in making the king a Christian, but the bulk of his subjects still continued gross idolaters. It appears, that at this time, the *Abodrites* were a very considerable people, for the emperor was obliged to station a general officer, under the name of a marquis, at *Brandenburgh*, that he might repel the occasional incursions of the *Abodrites* upon that territory. The reigns of the three succeeding emperors were disturbed by the insurrections, or, as they are called by the Imperial historians, rebellions, of the *Abodrites*. But as the particulars contain neither variety, instruction, nor entertainment, all we can say is, that the *Abodrites*, who probably had no writers among them, are represented by the historians of the contrary party, as having been always defeated, tho' they still continued to hold obstinately out against Christianity. It is true, that some of their princes, from political motives, occasionally conformed to that religion, for we are told, that about the year 986, their king *Mistevojus I.* and his wife, were both of them Christians, but both of them afterwards apostatized.

Their first
Christian
king.

MISTEVOJUS was succeeded by his son *Meiceslaus II.* who married the king of *Hungary's* daughter, and his sister was the wife of *Bolislau I.* king of *Poland*. *Mistevojus II.* succeeded his father *Meiceslaus*, and was the first real Christian king of the *Abodrites*. His first wife, upon that account, was nearly related to the emperor *Otho*, but his second wife, who was a *Saxon* princess, brought him back to paganism, though it was not long before he abjured it; upon which his subjects dethroned, and drove him into exile, where he was murdered by his unnatural wife. A kind of anarchy prevailed among the *Abodrites* after this. The two sons of the last *Mistevojus*, the youngest of whom, *Udo*, had succeeded him, were killed by the *Saxons*; and his son *Gothescale* relapsed into idolatry, chiefly, as it was thought, with a view of raising an army among his own subjects, to revenge his father's death; and after various conflicts and incursions into *Saxony*, he was taken prisoner by that duke; but in consideration of his great qualities was released. Upon his return to his dominions, he found that his subjects had raised another prince to his throne, upon which he fled to *Denmark*, where he married the daughter of *Sveno*, the Christian king of *Denmark*, and abjured paganism. By the assistance of his father-in-law, he recovered his dominions; but his attachment to Christianity, and his affection for the *Danes*, soon procured him to be assassinated; and the *Abodrites* invading *Denmark*, were guilty of the most dreadful inhumanities against the inhabitants, especially of *Sleswick*, which they took by surprise.

Henry, king
of the Abo-
drites.

HENRY, *Gothescale's* son, when very young, escaping the hands of his father's murderers, was carried into *Denmark*; and, by the assistance of that king, he mounted the throne of the *Abodrites*. As the northern nations in those days were much given to acts of piracy, *Henry*, about the year 1097, sheltered two *Danish* outlaws, who had been guilty of vast enormities of that kind; and when *Eric* demanded *Henry* to give them up, he flatly refused to comply. *Eric*, upon this, raised a powerful fleet and army, and besieged *Julinum*, formerly the capital of *Wandalia*, and having taken it, he put the pirates, and all the *Danish* outlaws to death. It is said, that since this siege, *Julinum* has never recovered its lustre, and perpetual wars were carried on between the *Danes* and the *Abodrites* during the remainder of *Eric's* reign. In the mean while, *Henry* attacked the isle of *Rugen*, subdued it, and married the widow of its king, whom he killed. After *Eric's* death, *Henry* made a demand upon *Nicholas* his successor, of some places, the property of which had devolved upon him, in right of his mother *Sigritha*, who was sister to *Nicholas*. *Henry* meeting with a denial, he entered into alliances with his neighbours, invaded *Denmark*, and ravaged *Sleswick*, where he had a private correspondence with *Elif* its governor. This traitor advised his master to move to the relief of his country with a fleet and an army, promising to join him with a large force, which *Nicholas* complied with; but being disappointed by *Elif*, *Henry* fell upon the *Danes*, who were destitute of cavalry, and gave them a total defeat.

His wars,

and agree-
ment with
Canute the
Dane.

THOUGH *Nicholas* removed *Elif* from his government for his treachery, yet he could not prevent *Henry* from besieging *Sleswick* the capital itself, which owed its preservation only

a to the valour of its inhabitants; for they forced *Henry* to raise the siege. *Nicholas* then made his nephew *Canute* duke, or governor, of *Sleswick*, that he, by his great valour and accomplishments, might defend so important a province. *Canute*, before he entered upon hostilities, offered to come to an agreement with *Henry*, provided the latter would repair the ravages he had committed. *Henry*, instead of complying, vowed an irreconcilable enmity to the *Danes*, unless he was put in possession of the places he claimed; and his designs being mingled with some insulting expressions, *Canute*, that very evening, set out with an army to besiege him in a castle where he resided, and before which he appeared at break of day. *Henry*, who had no idea of such an expedition, was unprovided of all the means of defence, and with the utmost difficulty saved himself from falling into the enemy's hands by swimming cross a river, upon which *Canute* took and plundered the castle, and returned to *Sleswick*. *Henry* lost no time in raising an army, to oppose *Canute's* progress; but it was completely defeated, and he was obliged to fly to *Lubeck*, leaving the rest of his country to the mercy of *Canute*.

HENRY, moved by the distresses of his people, applied in his turn for peace; and the behaviour both of *Canute* and him on this occasion, gives us the most exalted idea of their virtues. No sooner were *Henry's* proposals intimated to *Canute*, than the latter, being deterred as much as possible to abridge the negotiations, resolved to have a personal conference with his antagonist, and set out for *Lubeck* with no more than 20 attendants, where his magnanimous confidence inspired the like sentiments into *Henry*. They immediately embraced one another, as if they had always been friends; and they agreed, that *Canute* should pay a sum of money equivalent to *Henry's* demands, and that a lasting amity should ensue; which engagement the king of *Denmark* equitably discharged, without putting *Canute* to any expence. This happened about the year 1127; but, from the complexion of the negotiation, we are apt to conjecture, that one of the terms of the agreement was, that *Canute* should succeed *Henry* in the kingdom of the *Abodrites*, to which he nominated him his heir, he having no children that were of an age for government. On this occasion, the emperor *Lothaire II.* was applied to, as being head of the empire, who readily confirmed the destination.

UPON the death of *Henry*, or, perhaps, before *Canute* mounted the throne of the *Abodrites*, (being at the same time duke of *Sleswick*, by which he was a vassal to the king of *Denmark*) a war breaking out between the latter and *Wratislaus*, duke of *Sclavonia*, *Canute* was summoned to the assistance of the *Danes*; and *Wratislaus* discovering a ready inclination for peace, he ventured himself on board the king of *Denmark's* ship, where he was detained prisoner. *Canute* hearing of this, remonstrated so strongly to his *Danish* majesty upon so dishonourable a proceeding, that he thanked his nephew for the regard he had shewn to his honour, and released *Wratislaus*. *Canute's* noble sentiments upon this, and many other occasions, procured him great numbers of enemies at the *Danish* court, among whom was *Magnus*, the king's son, who was afraid lest *Canute*, on account of his extraordinary virtues, should be nominated to the succession of *Denmark*. One of the chief charges urged against him was his having subjected to the emperor the kingdom of the *Abodrites*, which had formerly been tributary to that of *Denmark*; and his performing all acts of royalty independent of *Denmark*. *Nicholas* was at last induced, by the representations of his son, to have a very bad opinion of *Canute*. The latter was all this while intent upon the duties of a good king and subject. He chastised the pirates who had infested the coasts of the *Abodrites*; he reduced some rebellious provinces which had revolted from *Denmark* to *Sweden*; and then he repaired to the *Danish* court, where he soon perceived that a strong party had been formed for his destruction. For some time *Canute* was powerfully befriended by the queen, whose favourite niece he had married; but, upon her death, *Nicholas* summoned him before a general assembly, where he appeared as *Canute's* accuser. The charge against the latter, was, that of ambition and affectation of popularity, and his presuming to wear in public the ornaments and attendants that were due only to independent sovereigns. *Canute* appeared in the assembly, on his defence, with the greatest firmness and dignity, but, at the same time, with the utmost respect to his king and benefactor, and pleaded his own cause with so much eloquence, that he was not only acquitted by the assembly, but again received into the most cordial friendship of the king, and, seemingly, of his son likewise.

THE latter, however, hated *Canute* more than ever, and invited him to a feast of reconciliation, where he apologized for his unjust suspicions; and informed *Canute*, that being deterred to enter upon a crusade, he intended to leave his wife and children under his protection. *Canute* had some intimations from his wife *Ingeburge*, that these professions were fallacious; but still disdaining all suspicion, he was prevailed upon by *Magnus*, on pretext of some very important private business he had to communicate, to give him the meeting in a wood, where he was treacherously assassinated by *Magnus*, and some ruffians whom he had

who becomes king of the Abodrites,

He is persecuted at the court of Denmark,

and murder-

had concealed there for the purpose. The famous *Ingeburge* was then pregnant with a son, of whom she was delivered, and who afterwards mounted the throne of the *Abodrites*, by the name of *Waldemar*; but the subjects of *Canute* were equally grieved and enraged at the loss of their prince, the most amiable of any in his age or country. *Canute* had left two bastard brothers, *Harold* and *Eric*, who took upon themselves, but from very different views, the guardianship of the young prince and his kingdom; and, to animate the people the more to revenge, they publicly exposed the bloody cloaths in which *Canute* had been murdered; so that, in a short time, they assembled a great army, who chose *Eric* for their general.

His death re-
venged.

He had many virtues, and sincerely wished to revenge his brother's death; but *Harold* was ambitious and designing, and aspired to the throne, and the greatest inveteracy subsisted between the two brothers. The formidable army, however, under *Eric*, struck terror into *Nicholas*, who still sat upon the throne of *Denmark*, and who not only disowned the assassination of *Canute*, but banished his son *Magnus* on that account. Those compliances appeased the *Abodrites*, till they saw *Nicholas*, in contempt of his oaths and engagements, recal *Magnus* to his court. They then again flew to arms, and *Eric* being once more chosen their general, was offered the kingdom of *Denmark*, which he declined to accept of, till his services should deserve it. It is said, that *Nicholas*, by flattering *Eric's* ambition, which, it seems, he was not without, prevailed on him to agree to a cessation of arms, and treacherously took that opportunity to cut off the greatest part of his troops, and to drive *Eric* himself, and the remainder, into *Zeland*; where *Eric* accepted of the title of royalty which he had before refused. It was then that *Harold* discovered his real views, by deserting his brother, and joining with *Nicholas*. *Eric* shewed himself worthy of the crown he had accepted of, for, after a vast deal of blood had been spilt in the struggle, *Magnus* was killed in battle, and *Nicholas* himself afterwards fell a sacrifice to the burghers of *Sleswick*, for whom he had always entertained the highest contempt; and who took arms to revenge the death of *Canute*. Upon the death of *Nicholas*, *Eric* mounted the throne of *Denmark*. But it is now time to return to the history of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*.

Piracies of the
Abodrites, or
Mecklen-
burghers.

It does not clearly appear, during the above dispute, how the infant son of *Canute* was disposed of; it is said, that upon *Canute's* death, the *Abodrites* raised to their throne *Pribislaus I.* and *Nicholas*, the grandsons of *Godescale*, by his eldest son *Bucco*, who died in 1075. From this time the succession to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* may be said to have descended in an hereditary line to its present dukes. The *Abodrites*, while *Nicholas* and *Eric* were disputing for the throne of *Denmark*, had made some incursions into that country, for which *Eric* made severe reprisals; and under pretence of converting the *Vandals*, he carried fire and sword into the country of the *Abodrites*. It was then the age of crusades; but, upon *Eric's* death, the two kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, instead of marching against the Infidels of the East, undertook a crusade against the Pagans of the North, and laid siege to *Dobinum*, or *Doberin*, in *Mecklenburgh*. This place was a famous asylum of piracy, to which not only the *Vandals*, but all the northern nations in general were now addicted. The *Mecklenburghers* in *Doberin*, by the assistance of the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*, forced the king to raise the siege with great slaughter, and committed such ravages upon the coasts of *Denmark*, that *Sveno*, its king found himself obliged to advance a large sum of money to *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, on condition of his assisting him with a numerous body of troops for the entire reduction of *Mecklenburgh*. *Henry* eluded the performance of this engagement, having himself an eye upon the reduction of *Wandalia* to his own subjection. Nothing had hitherto stood in the way of his ambition but the fear of the emperor, whom he soon reconciled by his services, and he gave *Henry* a permission to establish bishops in *Wandalia*, or, in other terms, to conquer it.

Pribislaus II.
a Christian.

KING *Pribislaus II.* the nephew of *Pribislaus I.* was then upon the *Abodrite* throne. Notwithstanding all the pains that had been taken for their conversion, the generality of his subjects continued still pagans. Though *Pribislaus II.* was a brave prince, and made a noble stand for the independency of his country, yet being defeated in several bloody battles, he was obliged to resign to his conqueror, *Henry the Lion*, part of his dominions, and to content himself with the title of prince of *Mecklenburgh*, which was the capital of his reserved territory. This city had suffered so much by war, that its episcopal see was translated to *Schwerin*, and the province of *Butzow* was appropriated to support it; but, to prevent the effects of future apostacies, *Henry* appointed one *Guncelin*, to superintend and guard the affairs of the church and bishop, under the title of count of *Schwerin*. Many of the Saxons, *Henry's* subjects, having served in *Italy*, their manners were less ferocious than those of the *Mecklenburghers*, whose country had been greatly depopulated by their late wars. To repair this waste of men, *Henry* encouraged many of his Saxons to settle in *Mecklenburgh*, and their residence there polished the minds of the inhabitants.

As

^a As to *Pribislaus*, being deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, he thought it his duty to submit to his conqueror, by punctually fulfilling all he had undertaken, and by seconding him in all his views for polishing and improving the manners of his people. This made him a favourite with the duke of *Saxony*, who employed him in many of his northern expeditions, especially against *Waldemar*; who, about the year 1154, became sole king of *Denmark*. The duke of *Saxony* being engaged in more distant wars, *Waldemar* sought to revenge himself upon *Pribislaus*, by attacking *Mecklenburgh*, and this occasioned a rupture between him and *Henry*. The reader is to observe, that there was still, in other parts of *Wandalia*, a copious field for the ambition of both those princes; and, after some disputes, they came to an accommodation, which ended in each making an addition of some *Vandal* territories to his own dominions. The duke of *Saxony* thus leaving his dominions in peace, undertook, according to the mode of those times, an expedition into the Holy Land, in which he was attended by *Pribislaus*, who, being now old, died by a fall from his horse in a tournament at *Luneburgh*. He was three times married, first to *Petronella*, daughter to *Canute*, king of the *Wendes*. Secondly, to *Voisboda*, daughter to the king of *Norway*; and thirdly, to *Matilda*, daughter to *Boleslaus Crispus*, duke of *Poland*.

Submits to the Saxons.

PRIBISLAUS II. left two sons, *Canute* and *Henry Burewin*, and was succeeded by the former. The ambition of *Henry the Lion*, by this time, had raised him up enemies on all hands, and drawn upon him the resentment of the head, and the other princes, of *Germany*, by whom he was put to the ban of the empire, and obliged to fly to *England*, where he was received by his father-in-law *Henry II.* All the princes and others whom he had despoiled of their dominions, or their heirs, then resumed possession of them, and among other prince of *Pomerania*, with whom the *Mecklenburghers* took part; while *Jarimar*, prince of *Rugen*, assisted the *Danes*, and having taken *Henry Burewin* prisoner, he made a present of him to *Canute* king of *Denmark*. That prince was then secretly resolved to revive the *Danish* claims of subjection from the country of the *Abodrites*, and, indeed, from *Wandalia* in general. As *Canute* prince of *Mecklenburgh* had no issue, his succession was disputed by his uncle *Nicholas*, who opposed *Henry Burewin*; and the *Dane* was artful enough to prevail with both parties to chuse him for their umpire. His decision was, that *Nicholas* should enjoy the town of *Rostock*, with the district of *Kissins*; while *Henry* was to succeed to the cities of *Mecklenburgh* and *Hovia*, with all their dependencies; and both were to hold their principalities as fiefs of the crown of *Denmark*. Twenty-four hostages, among whom was *Henry's* son, (his elder brother *Canute* being now dead) were required and delivered for the performance of this treaty, upon which the kings of *Denmark* ground their right to the title of kings of the *Vandals*, for reasons that must be obvious to the reader.

Disputes about his succession.

Origin of the king of Denmark's title as king of the Vandals.

^e As the encroaching bishops of *Rome* never failed to make the propagation of the Christian religion one of the terms of territorial acquisitions, which they pretended to be invalid without their consent; *Canute*, who now looked upon himself as lord paramount of the vast country of *Wandalia*, granted to the knights of the Teutonic order, then a powerful body in *Germany*, large tracts lying towards the eastern part of *Wandalia*, on condition of their serving as a kind of military missionaries for the propagation of the Christian religion in that country; and part of those estates now form the inheritance of his present *Prussian* majesty, and the princes of the house of *Brandenburgh*. A marquis of *Brandenburgh* was then in being, and a party in the confederacy with *Adolphus*, count of *Dessau* and *Holstein*, against *Canute*, who, in virtue of his paramount powers over the two princes of *Mecklenburgh*, whom he had lately settled, ordered them to oppose this confederacy with all their troops. A battle followed, which proved fatal to the prince of *Rostock*, but glorious to *Henry*, who entirely defeated the count of *Dessau*, or *Holstein*, and made himself master of the greatest part of his estates, and forced himself to retire to *Hamburg*. He afterwards, by an ill-judged treaty, fell into the hands of his enemies, and remained long prisoner in *Denmark*, till he was released chiefly through the intercession of the prince of *Mecklenburgh* with *Waldemar*, who succeeded *Canute* in the throne of *Denmark*.

Canute reduces Mecklenburgh.

^f THE glory which the prince of *Mecklenburgh* acquired by conquering *Adolphus*, inspired him with ideas of independency upon the crown of *Denmark*, which he thought his country had been wrongfully deprived of; and he, in concert with the count of *Schwerin*, made some efforts for that purpose, which drew upon them the arms of *Waldemar*, which *Henry Burewin* was unable to resist, and therefore made his submission. *Waldemar* upon this, as an additional security to his rights, applied to the emperor *Frederic II.* who granted him letters patent, confirming him in the possession of all the *Wandalian* territories, which he, or his predecessors, had acquired. To this grant a very remarkable clause was added, prohibiting all future emperors, or princes of the empire, from molesting the king of *Denmark* in his possession, under any pretext whatever. It does not appear that, after this, *Henry Burewin* was

was engaged in any war; for he applied himself to the arts of peace, and to the removing those disorders which war had introduced into his country. After he had governed *Mecklenburgh* for thirty-six years, with indefatigable attention to the good of his people, he resigned the administration into the hands of his two sons, and betook himself to a very private station. He was twice married; first, to *Maud*, daughter of *William*, prince of *Brunswic*, and mother of his two sons and a daughter, who was married to the count of *Oldenburgh*; and secondly, to *Adelbard*, daughter of *Lofeus Albus*, king of *Poland*, but she brought him no issue.

The family of
Burewin,
princes of
Mecklen-
burgh,

THE names of *Henry Burewin*'s two sons were, *Henry*, who resided at *Gustrow*, and *Nicholas*, who resided at *Mecklenburgh*, while the count of *Schwerin* continued still to enjoy a very considerable property in the principality, and therefore his history has an immediate relation to this part of our work, and contains one of the most remarkable transactions of that age, which has been already hinted at. Upon his undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land, he recommended his wife to the protection of *Waldemar*, who became so enamoured of her, that he scandalously seduced her from the duty she owed her husband. The count, upon his return, being informed of what had passed, dissembled his resentment, and repaired to *Waldemar*, who was then a hunting in the island of *Luitb*. After partaking for some days of that diversion, he one evening invited *Waldemar*, who was attended by his son, into his tent, where the king was overpowered by sleep; and the count seized that opportunity of conveying him on board a ship, which carried him to *Schwerin*, where he was confined in the fort of *Danneburgh*. There is some reason for suspecting, that the amour between *Waldemar* and the count's wife did not give rise to this very singular adventure, though something like it might have been a concomitant cause. The truth is, that *Waldemar* was now become too powerful to the south of the *Elbe*; and the princes there, whom he had either rendered tributary, or oppressed, had entered into a general confederacy to do themselves justice. The daring action of so inconsiderable a prince as the count of *Schwerin*, and his confining, by his own power, so great a king for above three years, cannot otherwise be accounted for; and our conjecture is strongly confirmed by the event. The native *Danes*, who were passionately fond of their sovereign, offered to ransom him at a rate so high, that it must have shaken the resolution of a far greater prince than the count, had he not been influenced by very extraordinary motives; for had conjugal resentment been the only spring of his conduct, he undoubtedly would have taken a more signal revenge of the king than merely putting him under confinement. The affections of the *Danes* for their imprisoned sovereign, proved to be the strongest bar to his liberty; for they made no effort to rescue him, lest the count, in the mean time, should have put him to death. *Frederic II.* was then emperor of *Germany*, and secretly approved of the confederacy against *Waldemar*, whom he thought to be too powerful in the empire. The clergy, the nobility, and the people of *Denmark*, joined as one man, in a petition that he would exert his authority for the deliverance of *Waldemar*; and a diet of the imperial states was convoked upon the subject, while the *Danes*, at the same time, had recourse to the see of *Rome*, imploring the intercession of the spiritual arms in the cause of their sovereign.

and recover
their independen-
dency.

THE matter being debated in the diet, *Waldemar* was offered his liberty if he would give up all his possessions on the south of the *Elbe*, or lying near that river; and, in short, if he would resign all the conquests and acquisitions he had made. The pope offered to interpose in his favour, provided he would render his crown tributary to the *Roman* see. *Waldemar* rejected both proposals with equal indignation, and the count of *Schwerin* shewed a noble disdain at the menaces of the pope, who pretended to be the sole umpire in the matter. The count perceiving the firmness of *Waldemar*, had recourse to the confederacy he had formed. The two princes of *Mecklenburgh*, count *Adolphus* of *Holstein*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, and many of the neighbouring princes, who had been injured by *Waldemar*, took the field, and acted with so much success, that the *Danes* were stripped of all their conquests, especially those they had made in *Wandalia*; and each proprietor, after dispossessing the *Danish* prefects and governors, returned to the possession of his own estate. This revolution, which appears to have been wisely and firmly conducted, reduced *Denmark* to so miserable a state, that *Waldemar*'s family, and chief subjects, joined in throwing themselves at his feet, to beg that he would relent. At the same time, they distributed large sums among the princes of the empire, that they might favour his cause. They could not, however, mitigate the terms of his release, which *Waldemar* was at last prevailed on to accept. He was obliged to swear, that he would never attempt to resume *Holstein*, *Hamburg*, *Schwerin*, and the countries that had been taken from him on both sides the *Elbe*; to renounce all his family pretensions to the third part of *Schwerin*, which had fallen to his grandson *Nicholas*, whose mother was daughter to that count; that he

a never should express any resentment against the authors of his imprisonment, and that he should pay, within a certain time, the sums stipulated for his ransom. For the performance of those terms the king gave two of his sons and some of his chief nobility as hostages.

MECKLENBURGH having thus re-asserted her independency, lost *Henry Burewin* after a bloody struggle; one of her princes, while the pecuniary terms, of the late treaty were punctually complied with, and the *Danish* hostages withdrawn. But the pope, as might have been easily foreseen, having absolved *Waldemar* from the obligation of his oath, and the *Lubeckers*, though not included in the late treaty, having recovered their liberty, *Waldemar*, collecting a great army, marched towards the *Elbe*, but he was opposed by the princes of *Mecklenburgh*, the bishop of *Lubec*, the count of *Holstein*, whose territories he had again seized on, and other parties in the late confederacy. Both armies were numerous, resolute, and well commanded, for *Waldemar* was allowed to be a consummate hero; but after performing wonders in a general battle then fought, (in which he lost an eye, and, falling from his horse, was carried off the field by a common soldier) he sustained a total defeat. Not discouraged with this, he assembled the broken remains of his army, and receiving some reinforcements, he made fresh attempts for recovering the territories he had renounced; but all of them were ineffectual, as the duke of *Saxony* had by this time joined the confederacy.

NICHOLAS of *Mecklenburgh*, the younger son of *Henry Burewin I.* who was now dead, about the year 1228, was unfortunately buried in the ruins of a house where he had for some time resided, and left no issue; and thus all the county of *Mecklenburgh*, excepting *Schwerin*, fell to *Burewin II.* and his sons; among whom, according to the mode of succession in those days, he portioned it out at the time of his death; and this occasions some intricacy in part of the ensuing history. His eldest son *John* had for his division, *Mecklenburgh-Proprietary*. Part of the country of the antient *Heruli* fell to *Nicholas*, as *Rostock*, and its dependencies, did to *Henry Burewin*, whom we shall call by his family-name *Burewin III.* and the territory that was called *Wandalia-Proprietary*, was inherited by the fourth son *Pribislaus*. From this distribution, it is evident, that the *Burewin* family was then very powerful. But being thus parcelled out, it was not near so formidable as when united under one head. The growing power of the emperors filled the *Mecklenburgh* princes with the most dreadful apprehensions of their falling under their dominion, for which reason they entered into a treaty with *Eric VI.* king of *Denmark*, whose power was less formidable to them than that of the emperor, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. To strengthen this alliance, *Burewin III.* married *Margaret*, sister of *Eric*, and the count of *Schwerin* was admitted as a party in the treaty, which proved extremely fortunate for *Eric*, for he was faithfully served by the *Mecklenburgh* princes, in the long bloody wars which he waged with his brother. With the same fidelity they served *Christopher I.* *Eric's* brother, and succeeded for in the kingdom of *Denmark*. We have already mentioned *John*, the eldest son of *Henry Burewin II.* His character is uncommon, especially for that age and country. He was the immediate ancestor of the present *Mecklenburgh* family, and when young he studied divinity at *Paris*, where he acquitted himself so well, that he received the degree of doctor, and the epithet of *The Divine*. But his theology had nobler objects than useless disputations and unintelligible distinctions. His country, notwithstanding all that had been done for its reformation, still contained a great number of pagans, and of half reformed Christians, who, having no sentiments of true religion, had turned free-booters, and lived upon plunder. *John*, upon his return, applied himself to reform the former, and extirpate the latter, in which he succeeded. He likewise was a main instrument with the princes of his family, in restoring peace to *Denmark*, and effecting an accommodation (though it was a short-lived one) between *Elizabeth* of that kingdom, and *Abel*, duke of *Sleswick*. He likewise employed his arms to excellent purpose in repelling the incursions and depredations of the *Livonians*; but a spirit of reformation and regularity, joined to a studious course of life, formed a character so little understood in those times, that *John* was not respected so much by his subjects as his exemplary virtues deserved; so that when he died in the year 1260, his merits were soon forgotten. The name of his wife was *Luitgarda*, by whom he had six sons, *Henry*, *Nicholas*, *Poppo*, *Herman*, *John* and *Albert*.

The eldest, *Henry*, succeeded *John* in his dominions, but the latter took a turn different from that of the father; for it partook of the madness of the age, the spirit of crusading in the Holy Land, for which he acquired the appellation of *John of Jerusalem*. His zeal for visiting the Holy Sepulchre was such, that when *Lewis IX.* of *France*, to whom he had attached himself, returned to *Europe*, *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh* set out for *Jerusalem*; but being taken prisoner on his journey, he was sent to *Grand Cairo*, where he was carried before the

but they again submit to the Danes.

History of John the Divine.

His son Henry taken prisoner.

Delivered,

the sultan of *Egypt*. *Henry*, when he was taken, was attended by a domestic, who was carried with him into captivity, and who had been bred up to the silk manufactures (probably in *Italy*, with which country *Germany* had then great connections). This faithful servant was so expert in his business, that besides his own occasions, he supplied those of his master during a long captivity of twenty-six years. Here the *German* historians give the *Egyptians* a *German* sultan, who having been long employed in the armies of the *Franks*, (for so the *Europeans* in general were then called all over *Asia*) raised himself to that dignity by his valour. This sultan had been once a Christian, and had some knowledge of *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*, by his having served in his father's armies, and set him at liberty without any ransom. All *Egypt* and the neighbouring countries were then under the power of banditti, who intercepted *Henry* in his return to *Germany*; so that it was his fate once more to be carried a prisoner to *Grand Cairo*, where the sultan again set him at liberty, furnished him with necessaries for his journey, and provided him with a proper escort, till he could proceed in safety to his own dominions, where his subjects were overwhelmed with joy upon his return.

and returns to
Mecklen-
burgh.

This happened about the year 1300, and perhaps, his long absence was profitable to his dominions, which thereby did not feel the scourge of war. They were governed by one of his brothers in peace, and with so great œconomy, that he was enabled to purchase the dominions of *Pribislaus*, *Henry* the II'd's youngest son, who was obliged to sell them, that he might pay for his ransom to *Rudolphus*, bishop of *Schwerin*, who had taken him prisoner. *Henry* was scarcely resettled in his dominions, when entering into a fresh war, he laid siege to, and took the city of *Wismar*. Next year he died. By his wife *Anastasia*, a *Pomeranian* princess, he had two sons and two daughters. The sons were, *Henry* who succeeded him, and for his valour was called *The Lion*, and *John*. The daughters were *Anne*, who was married to *John*, count of *Holstein*, and *Luitgarda*, the wife of *Primislaus*, king of *Poland*, who is said to have strangled her.

Nicholas Bu-
rewin mort-
gages Ros-
tock.

DURING the administration of *Henry the Lion*, *Nicholas Burewin*, of the *Mecklenburgh* family, quarrelled with the margraves of *Brandenburgh*, by refusing to execute a marriage-contract he had entered into with their sister; and *Nicholas* in the end was obliged to sell his principality of *Rostock*, and put himself under the protection of the king of *Denmark*. This intimidated the margraves from continuing their hostilities, and all the differences between them and *Nicholas* were submitted to the arbitration of his *Danish* majesty and *Henry the Lion*, who settled every thing amicably. In the mean while, the inhabitants of *Rostock* did not think that *Nicholas* had any power to transfer their allegiance from the *Mecklenburgh* family to the king of *Denmark*; and their opposition appeared to be so determined, that his *Danish* majesty, to quiet them, was obliged to appoint *Henry the Lion* to the government of *Rostock*, but took an acknowledgment from him, promising to hold it only during his, the king of *Denmark*'s pleasure. *Henry* had married *Beatrix*, the last margrave of *Brandenburgh*'s daughter, and in her right he claimed a large estate, which was disputed by her brother the margrave *John*, whom he defeated, and obliged him to resign the province of *Stargard*; a cession so disadvantageous to the *Brandenburgh* family, that the disputes between them and *Henry* were often renewed; but *Henry* still maintained his possession.

War with the
Lubeckers.

ABOUT the year 1307, the nobility of *Holstein* rebelled against *Gerhard* their count, who defeated and forced them to fly to *Lubec*, which was then a city very considerable for its strength and commerce, where they were favourably received. This so greatly exasperated the count, that he raised a fort at the mouth of the *Trave*, to interrupt their trade, and to intercept all their communications by water. The *Lubeckers*, upon this, applied to the duke of *Saxony*, and to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, under whose protection their city was, for assistance; and the latter sent them some troops. The count of *Holstein*, on the other hand, had recourse to *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*, who joined him, and forced the *Lubeckers* to a peace, by which they were obliged to leave the fort upon the *Trave*, for four years, in the possession of the count, and, after that, all differences between the parties were to be referred to the emperor *Albert*. The divisions between the count and his nobility were afterwards accommodated by the mediation of the king of *Denmark*, and the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, who were chosen by both parties to be guarantees of the accommodation, and judges in all future disagreements. Next year, viz. 1308, those princes interested themselves in favour of *Bergen*, the late king of *Sweden*, who had been taken prisoner and deposed from his throne. The imprudence of the two kings, *Eric* and *Bergen*, had occasioned a general revolt of the chief men of their party, and they must have been ruined, had it not been for the firmness of the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, who stood by them, and was the means of putting an end, for that time, to the war. The next military affair in which the prince of *Mecklenburgh* was engaged, was on occasion of a difference that had arisen

- a arisen between the king of *Denmark* and the *Rostockers*, who refused to suffer him to celebrate a tournament which he had proclaimed to be held in their city. Others say that this quarrel was occasioned by the prince of *Mecklenburgh* having appointed his nuptials to be celebrated in *Rostock*, and that the *Rostockers* had shut their gates against him, as not thinking it safe to admit his numerous attendants. The prince, upon this, applied to his friend and ally, *Eric* king of *Denmark*, who, as lord-paramount of the city, peremptorily required the city to open their gates to the prince, which they as peremptorily refused to do. Upon which, his *Danish* Majesty equipped a fleet, with which he blocked up *Rostock* by sea, and having raised some force which he thought to be sufficient for continuing the blockade, he returned to *Denmark*, while the prince of *Mecklenburgh* was still carrying on the siege by land. No sooner did the king of *Denmark* withdraw, than the *Rostockers* attacked the works he had left to guard the mouth of the *Warnaw*, and not only demolished them, but built two strong forts to prevent their city from being blocked up, in like manner, for the time to come. Not contented with that, they invaded *Denmark* with their shipping, and ravaged several of its principal sea ports. This provoked *Eric* so much, that he returned afresh to the siege, and, after an obstinate dispute, he took the towers upon the *Warnaw*; but, being obliged to return to *Denmark*, he once more left the siege under the command of the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, who straitened the city so much, that the inhabitants being driven to despair, murdered all their senators who fell into their hands, while the rest were obliged to throw themselves upon the prince of *Mecklenburgh* for protection. The citizens, in like manner, submitted to his mercy, and offered to give up the place; upon which, a cessation of hostilities was granted. But notwithstanding all the miseries the *Rostockers* had suffered, they still refused to admit the prince within their walls, even to finish the treaty, which they insisted upon being transacted without their gates. The prince, exasperated by their obstinacy, had recourse to stratagem. He loaded two covered waggons with armed soldiers, which was pretended were provisions, a pretent so grateful to the half-famished citizens, that they opened their gates to admit them, upon which the soldiers, concealed in the waggons, jumped out, and securing the gates, gave an opportunity to the prince to march into the city at the head of a strong detachment of his troops. Notwithstanding this, the citizens bravely put themselves under arms, and a smart encounter happened between them and the prince in the market place, in which, probably he would have been defeated, had he not proclaimed aloud that he came thither only for the sake of justice, to give the inhabitants peace and protection, and that every thing should be settled according to their minds, by the strictest rules of equity. This declaration had its weight with the people, fainting under hunger, and the tumult ceased. The prince then sent for the principal burghers, remonstrated to them that their conduct had been refractory and rebellious, and he pronounced that they should pay, at three instalments, 14,000 marks in silver, as an indemnification for the king, himself, and the marquiss of *Brandenburgh*, who was their ally. This compromise being finished, the king again asserted his right to the sovereignty of the city, and gave the government of it to the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, upon condition of his holding it under the crown of *Denmark*.

and the Rostockers.

An accommodation with them.

- THE strict alliance between the king of *Denmark*, and the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, at this time, was founded upon reciprocal maxims of policy. The *Mecklenburghers* assisted the king in keeping those states and cities in awe who owed him fealty, while the king was a powerful protection to the prince, against the encroachments of the Imperial power. In the year 1326, *Waldemar* of *Sleswick*, having been elected king of *Denmark*, pursued a different plan of policy, for he assisted the prince of *Rugen* with troops, in a territorial dispute he had with the prince of *Mecklenburgh*. The latter, for some time, was obliged to give way, and even to conclude a treaty with the *Rugeners*, though he paid no regard to it longer than the continuance of the *Danes* upon their island; but it is uncertain, how the quarrel ended. *Christopher* king of *Denmark*, being driven out of his kingdom, had recourse to the princes of the house of *Mecklenburgh*, for his being restored. They accordingly raised some troops both by sea and land, who, with prince *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh* at their head, took *Wardinburgh*, esteemed to be the strongest place in *Denmark*; while the *Mecklenburghers* were in their turn besieged by the count of *Holstein*, and the place was defended with such obstinacy, that the besieged were reduced to the last degree of famine, but made so good a countenance, that the besiegers thought themselves happy in concluding a capitulation, by which *Christopher*, who had been shut up in the place, together with *Henry*, and all their soldiers, had liberty to retire to their ships. After this, *Christopher* was pursued from place to place; but at last he retired to *Rostock*, which city, together with all the territory that now forms the duchy of *Mecklenburgh Strelitz*, was ceded to *Henry*. The reader, in the preceding part of this work, has been informed of the fate of *Christopher*, who, chiefly

Great friendship between Denmark and Mecklenburgh.

Death of
Henry the
Lion.

chiefly by the assistance of the prince of *Mecklenburgh*, recovered his dominions, or, at least the greatest part of them. *Henry* died in the year 1329, his first wife was *Beatrix*, whom we have already mentioned to have been daughter to *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; and, by her, he had a daughter, named *Maud*, who was married to *Otto*, duke of *Luneburgh*. *Henry's* second wife was *Anne*, sister of *Adolphus*, duke of *Saxony*, by whom he left two sons, *Albert*, who succeeded to the principality of *Mecklenburgh*, and *John*, who, by his father's will, inherited the lordship of *Stargard*. *Henry*, by the same marriage, had two daughters; *Anne*, who was married to the count of *Holstein*, and *Agnes*, who was married to *Nicholas*, one of the *Mecklenburgh* princes.

Peace be-
tween Meck-
lenburgh and
Branden-
burgh,

THE death of *Henry the Lion* encouraged the marquis of *Brandenburg*, to attempt to re-unite *Stargard* to his own dominions; but he met with so vigorous a resistance from the two princes of *Mecklenburgh*, that he was obliged to renounce *Stargard*, and to accept of *Lentzen*, a town on the *Elbe*, in lieu of it by way of portion for his wife *Ingeburga*, *Albert's* daughter, whom he married, upon condition that *Albert* should likewise release, without ransom, an hundred of the subjects of *Lewis*, whom he had taken prisoners. After this, *Nicholas*, who had sold *Rostock* to the king of *Denmark*, having been attacked by the duke of *Pomerania*, and finding himself hard pressed, applied for assistance to his kinsman *Albert*, who marched in person against the duke, and recovering for *Nicholas* the town of *Grun*, he left him in quiet possession of his reserved territory. *Germany*, especially in the neighbourhood of the *Mecklenburgh* dominions, being then pestered with banditti and robbers of all denominations, *Albert* formed the noble design of exterminating them. As they were resolute and numerous, *Eric*, duke of *Saxe Lauenburgh*, undertook to protect them; but he had soon reason to repent of so scandalous a measure. *Albert*, without any regard to the duke's interposition, attacked them, and defeated them in all their fastnesses, especially in the counties of *Wurtemberg* and *Rattsburgh*, and obliged *Eric* himself to sue for peace.

War with
Bavaria.

THE difficulties which the emperor *Charles IV.* had in mounting the Imperial throne, may be seen in the preceding part of this history. His cause was vigorously espoused by *Albert*, and the princes of the *Mecklenburgh* family, and therefore they were declared enemies to the house of *Bavaria*. A margrave of *Brandenburg*, to whose estate *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had succeeded, having died in the Holy Land, an impostor started up, who pretending to be the real margrave, returned to *Germany*, and he acted his part so well, as to gain a great many friends, and particularly *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the prince of *Anhalt*. The king of *Denmark*, the brother-in-law of *Lewis*, resented this so much, that they fitted out a large armament both by land and sea, with which he ravaged the *Mecklenburgh* estates in a most merciless manner, and then marching into *Pomerania* he made himself master of *Stargard*. *Albert* was not wanting to himself upon this occasion; he drew together an army, with which he shut up the king in *Stargard*, and *Albert* must have become master of the place, and his person, had not the margrave of *Brandenburg's* brother come to his assistance, which obliged *Albert* to raise the siege of *Stargard*, and to march against the *Brandenburger*, whom he entirely defeated, and he narrowly escaped falling into *Albert's* hands. The king took the opportunity of *Albert's* raising the siege to draw his army out of *Stargard*, and he marched with it against the *Mecklenburgh* territory, which he once more filled with desolation and ravages. From thence he marched against *Berlin*, which had declared for the impostor, and besieged it, but was closely followed by *Albert*, and the *Mecklenburgh* princes. A most bloody battle must have ensued, had not some princes, who were not so deeply engaged in the quarrel, together with the principal subjects of both parties, interposed, and prevailed upon them to chuse the king of *Sweden* to be the umpire of their differences. An accommodation, under his mediation, accordingly took place, and it was agreed, that the princes of *Mecklenburgh* should abandon the cause of the pretended margrave; that the reigning margrave of *Brandenburg* should pay ransom for all his subjects who were prisoners in the hands of *Albert*, that he should absolve some towns, formerly belonging to *Wandalia*, from the oath of allegiance he had imposed upon them, and that he should marry *Ingeburga*, daughter of *Albert*; and in this peace were concluded the allies of both parties.

A peace.

Mecklen-
burgh created
into a duchy.

It is here proper to acquaint the reader, that by this time, viz. 1349, the emperor *Charles IV.* had, in consideration of the great services performed to him by the house of *Mecklenburgh*, created *Albert* and *John* of *Stargard*, dukes of the empire. Not only their personal merit and high reputation pointed them out as proper subjects for this honour, but the great power and influence they had in the empire seemed to demand it. They had carried the terms of the late treaty with a very high hand; and notwithstanding the powerful confederacy against them, headed by his *Danish* majesty, they acquitted themselves with great honour, and instead of giving up any share of their family estates, they secured them from

- a from future invasions. *Waldemar* was then king of *Denmark*, and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, as well as the emperor, who had espoused the impostor, being now convinced of their error, *Waldemar* sought to enter into nearer connections than heretofore with the house of *Mecklenburgh*. For this purpose, a treaty of marriage was set on foot between *Henry*, son to duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, and *Ingeburga*, daughter to his *Danish* majesty, though she was then no more than three years of age; but was to be delivered to the tuition of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, till she was marriageable. By way of portion, her husband was to receive the towns of *Kibnitz*, *Cropentius*, and *Tiffin*, and all the territories belonging to them, together with 6000 marks of silver. About the year 1352, the duke of *Stetin* declared war against *Albert*. *Waldemar*, who valued himself for being a faithful ally, immediately raised an army, nominated a regency, and marched in person to *Albert's* assistance. The duke of *Stetin*, upon this, immediately submitted to a negotiation, which terminated in an alliance between him and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, in which *Pomerania* was included. The duchy of *Mecklenburgh* for some time after this peace, seems to have enjoyed a state of repose. In the mean while, a war raged in *Sweden*, between king *Magnus*, and his son *Eric*, whom the senate had raised to the throne. The dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, and the count of *Holstein*, offered their mediation to compose the differences between them, and succeeded so far, that they effected an accommodation by *Magnus* delivering up part of his dominions to his son, who was to retain the regal title. This proved fatal to the young prince, for having declared his intention to marry, he was poisoned some days after by the hand of his own mother, who could not brook the mention of another queen of *Sweden* besides herself.
- c THE tyranny of *Magnus* continuing over the *Swedes*, he called in the assistance of *Waldemar*, whom he is said to have made heir to his kingdom, to protect him against the resentment of his subjects. The latter, in like manner, applied for protection to *Haquin*, king of *Norway*. This last prince was to have been married to *Margaret*, daughter of *Waldemar*, who was then but seven years of age, and was afterwards the famous *Semiramis* of the North. The *Swedes*, being equally exasperated against *Waldemar* as against *Magnus*, prevailed with *Haquin* to drop this match, and to marry *Elizabeth*, sister to the duke of *Holstein*, in order to strengthen his interest in *Germany*. The *Mecklenburgh* family could not, without great uneasiness, behold the growing connections between *Magnus* and *Waldemar*, as they tended to render the latter too powerful; and being equally dissatisfied with the proposal of *Haquin's* marriage with *Margaret*, favoured the match between him and *Elizabeth*; but that princess, in her voyage to *Norway*, being forced upon the *Danish* coast, was made prisoner, and detained by *Waldemar*. This ungenerous proceeding was resented by the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and the count of *Holstein*, who flew to arms, that they might oblige *Waldemar* to release the lady; but before that could be effected, the politic *Dane* succeeded in persuading *Haquin* to marry the princess *Margaret*; and it is said, that to secure the succession to the crown of *Sweden*, to them and their posterity, he procured poison to be administered to *Magnus* and his queen *Blanche*, the same who had poisoned her own son. Whatever may be in this fact, which is far from being strongly attested, it is certain that the *Swedes* were so much exasperated at the conduct both of *Magnus* and *Haquin*, that they proceeded to the election of a new king, and offered their crown to *Henry*, count of *Holstein*.

Marriage between duke Henry and Ingeburga, daughter to the king of Denmark.

Magnus king of Sweden, deposed.

- f THE progress of those transactions have been already related in the histories of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. We shall, therefore, here confine ourselves to that of *Mecklenburgh*. Duke *Albert's* professed principle in all those differences was to prevent any one monarch in the North from growing too powerful for *Mecklenburgh*, and the other *German* princes upon the *Elbe*. With this view, he, and the princes of his house, had endeavoured to balance parties; and, in order to prevent *Waldemar* from conquering *Schonen*, the duke invaded *Fionia* with a fleet and army at the same time, which reduced almost the whole country, and he returned triumphantly with a great number of prisoners, whom he detained as hostages. He had undertaken the invasion at the request of the *Jutlanders*, who hated *Waldemar*, and the princes of *Holstein*. Duke *Albert*, by this precaution, preserved himself from being duped by *Waldemar*, as the rest of his confederates were, by being trepanned into a negotiation, after *Waldemar* had reduced *Schonen*, one of the finest provinces in *Sweden*. *Waldemar* next joined the hanse towns, who had united to support their independency against *Waldemar*. They had been exasperated by that prince having plundered *Wisby*, one of the richest cities in the North, and they gave the command of their fleet to the count of *Holstein*, who attacked and plundered *Hafnia*, now *Copenhagen*, and afterwards made himself master of its citadel. On this occasion, the city of *Lurec* fitted out a squadron at its own expence, which was commanded by the consul *John Wittenburgh*; and in confidence of being supported by the *Lubeckers*, the confederates laid siege to *Helsingburgh*; but they were obliged to raise it, because *Waldemar* intercepted, took, or destroyed, the

Copenhagen reduced.

Lubec

Lubeck Squadron, before it could arrive to support the siege. This success on the part of *Waldemar* encouraged the other garrisons of the country, that were in his interest, to defend themselves with great obstinacy. The count of *Holstein*, to re-establish the credit of his arms, which had suffered at *Helsingburgh*, laid siege to *Wardinburgh*; but the garrison defended themselves so well, that he was obliged to offer to raise the siege, provided the prisoners, that had been made during it, were restored to him. The beleagued punctually complied with this condition; but the count, in the mean while, receiving a reinforcement, perfidiously resumed the siege with the greatest vigour; so that the commandant of the town, pretending to be reduced to the last extremity, offered to capitulate, and desired the count to send into the town some of his officers to receive the keys of the place. The count, not mistrusting the commandant's sincerity, commissioned some of his chief officers for that purpose, to whom the commandant, in terms of his promise, delivered up the keys; but he immediately after put them under arrest, and detained them as prisoners. From this resolute action, the count perceiving, that the commandant was in a much better condition than he had imagined, broke up the siege, upon which the duke of *Mecklenburgh* proposed to treat with *Waldemar*. An interview succeeded, in which the duke's three sons, *Henry*, *Albert*, and *Magnus*, attended him; and every thing being amicably adjusted on the part of the allies, the duke received the arrears of the fortune due to his son *Henry's* wife, daughter of *Waldemar*.

Albert of
Mecklen-
burgh chosen
king of
Sweden,

WE have already mentioned the *Swedes* having made an offer of their crown to the count of *Holstein*, but he declined it, and recommended to their choice his cousin prince *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, who being son to the sister of *Magnus*, had, at least, some pretensions to that crown, upon the exclusion of his uncle and his son. The policy of the great princes of the North began now to unfold itself. *Albert*, without hesitation, accepted of the crown of *Sweden*, and was powerfully supported by his father, and the princes of the *Mecklenburgh* family, while the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* united against him. *Albert* immediately repaired to *Gothland*, which was the rendezvous of the nobility, who were in opposition to *Magnus*, and was there proclaimed king, while his father, with a strong fleet, reduced *Stockholm*; and the nobility, assembling in that capital, publicly declared their reasons for dethroning *Magnus*, and recognizing *Albert*.

and conquers
Magnus.

NOTWITHSTANDING those successes, *Magnus*, the late king, was still very powerful. *Haquin*, king of *Norway*, was his son, and the reader has already seen the connections he had with the king of *Denmark*, who was in possession of great part of *Sweden*, and some of its strongest towns. On the other hand, *Albert*, who had been crowned for a second time in the capital, was possessed of the hearts of the nobility and the people, and he raised an army sufficient to face that of the confederate kings, which had advanced as far as the province of *Upland*. A battle ensued, in which *Albert* proved victorious; *Magnus* was taken prisoner, and his son escaped with wounds. This victory obtained by *Albert*, great as it was, was far from being decisive. The kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* poured their forces into *Sweden*, which prevented *Albert* from reducing the strong places that still held out for *Magnus*, who remained a prisoner in the castle of *Stockholm*. From the complexion of history, it appears, that *Albert* was resolved to sacrifice every thing that could secure him the possession of his newly acquired sovereignty, and that *Waldemar* was equally determined to sacrifice the interests of *Magnus*, that he might quietly keep his *Swedish* acquisitions. *Albert* called together the states of *Sweden*, who appeared in a very thin body, and obtained their consent for treating with *Waldemar*. A negotiation succeeded, and a treaty was concluded, by which *Albert* gave up to *Waldemar* the isle of *Gothland*, the city of *Wisby*, the fort of *Helsingburgh*, with many other places and dependencies. *Waldemar*, at the same time, engaged to leave *Albert* in quiet possession of the crown of *Sweden*, and to drop all pretensions of sovereignty over *Mecklenburgh* and *Rostock*, or the county of *Schwerin*, which, by the failure of the male line of the counts of *Schwerin*, had devolved upon himself in right of his wife *Richarda*, the only issue of *Otho* the last count.

Confederacy
against Den-
mark,

As this treaty did not expressly include the reigning duke of *Mecklenburgh* as a party, he began to encroach upon that duchy. Duke *Albert*, who was now old, still stuck by his plan, and prevailed with the nobles of *Jutland*, and the duke of *Sleswick*, the count of *Holstein*, the hanse towns, and several other states, to league themselves against *Denmark*. This confederacy was not purely defensive, for it soon appeared to be a treaty of partition, by which all the acquisitions of the crown of *Denmark* were to return to their original proprietors; and even *Albert* king of *Sweden* entered into it. *Waldemar*, then stricken in years, did not retain spirits sufficient to face this storm, and after settling a regency with full powers to act for him, he resolved to abandon his government, in hopes that his absence would mitigate the resentment which his enemies had conceived at his person. Meanwhile, the confederates took the field, and, in pursuance of their plan, each seized the portion

a portion of territory, which had been allotted to him by the treaty, whilst *Waldemar* was pursuing his journey to *Rome*, to which, as he pretended, he had vowed a pilgrimage. This resolution had proceeded only from his first consternation, for, upon second thoughts, instead of going to *Rome*, he repaired to the emperor's court, before which he laid the wrongs he had suffered in the most pathetic manner; and his Imperial majesty recommended his cause to some princes of the empire, who were as unwilling, as they were unable, to assist him. Every one knows to what a height of power and insolence the court of *Rome* had arrived at this time. *Waldemar* had high ideas of the services which his holiness, who was pope *Gregory XI.* could render him, and applied to him, but not in person, with presents, and by his ambassadors. The reader has already seen how this application terminated, and with what spirit *Waldemar* resented the menaces of the pope, who had threatened to excommunicate him.

THE prudence of the grand marshal of *Denmark*, who had been left at the head of the regency, broke the confederacy against his country by detaching from it the hanse- towns, and thereby sowing dissensions among the other allies; upon which *Waldemar* returned to *Denmark*, where he soon after died in peace. By this time *Haquin*, who still continued to make war with *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, had made such a progress in that kingdom, that he delivered his father *Magnus* from his confinement, but upon conditions very advantageous to *Albert*; and *Magnus* soon after was crowned. But the death of *Waldemar*, without male issue, was a very interesting circumstance to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, old as he was. His son *Henry* had been married to *Ingeburga*, the eldest daughter of *Waldemar*, and therefore the hereditary right to the crown of *Denmark* indisputably devolved upon *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, the issue of that marriage; while *Margaret*, who was but the second daughter, now a widow, put in her claim to the sovereignty, and was, by the states of the kingdom, declared regent, till her son *Olaus* should be of age. It was in vain for the old duke of *Mecklenburgh* to fill all the courts of *Europe* with complaints of the injustice that had been done his son; for he was obliged to support them by a strong army which he raised, and which was joined by the troops of his son the king of *Sweden*, and likewise by a naval armament. But the latter was dispersed by storms, which disconcerted the measures of the *Mecklenburgh* princes; for *Albert* being obliged to return to his capital of *Steckholm*, found a great part of the *Swedes* had formed an association against him, on account of the partiality he had shewn to the *Germans* about his court; and that many of them had gone over to *Margaret*, who promised them her assistance in dethroning *Albert*, on condition of her succeeding to the crown of *Sweden*, and of its being made hereditary in her family, to which they agreed by oath.

THE old duke of *Mecklenburgh*, through those unexpected events, was deprived of his son the king of *Sweden*'s assistance, and he himself was unable to prosecute his grandson's right to the crown of *Denmark*, though he had, on the principle of hereditary right, a very strong party in that kingdom. Several meetings of the states were held without any election being made; but at last *Margaret* managed so well, that *Olaus* was chosen, and being but eleven years of age, his mother was declared regent during his minority. Old duke *Albert*, perceiving the *Danes* to be almost unanimous in their choice, was obliged to submit his grandson's right to arbitration, and it was agreed to stand by the new establishment, which was not to injure the title of the *Mecklenburgh* prince, who was, in right of his mother, to inherit such a part of the *Danish* succession as should be adjudged to him by the marquis of *Misnia*. This agreement was made, but not ratified, when old duke *Albert* died. His wife was *Euphemia*, sister to *Magnus Smeck*, king of *Sweden*, and by her he had issue three sons, *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, *Magnus* and *Henry*, and two daughters, *Anne*, who was married to *Adolphus VII.* count of *Holstein*, and *Ingeburga*, whose first husband was *John I.* margrave of *Brandenburgh*, and her second to *Lewis*, margrave of *Brandenburgh*; likewise son to the emperor *Lewis* of *Barbaria*.

Young *Albert*, competitor for the crown of *Sweden*, did not long survive his grandfather; and his death left *Olaus* in the unrivalled possession of the *Danish* crown. *Olaus* himself dying soon after, the dispute lay between *Margaret*, the late regent, (for her son died after he came of age) who now claimed in her own right, and her elder sister *Ingeburga*, wife to *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*. *Margaret*, during her regency, had shewn great capacity for government; and the *Danes* had such an aversion to the *Swedes*, to whose king *Henry* was brother, that she was raised to the throne, to which she soon after added that of *Norway*, which had been sometime vacant by the death of her husband *Haquin*. A female ruling two northern crowns was a prodigy that had never been known before, and her new subjects became uneasy under *Margaret*'s government; especially, considering the calamities to which both crowns might be subject in case of her death without issue. She loved power too well to accept of a husband; but, being pressed to name her successor, she referred the nomination to the states, who pitched upon prince *Eric*, son of *Wratislaus*,

Ulrich, duke of *Pomerania*, by *Mary* the daughter of *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*, and *Ingeborg*; who was accordingly accepted of as her successor. About the same time, *Margaret* added the title of queen of *Sweden* to that of *Denmark* and *Norway*, which exasperated *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, to the last degree; so that *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh* and he agreed upon a joint war against *Margaret*, who was backed by the duke of *Pomerania*, father to the young prince, whom she had adopted for her successor, and who had been sent into *Denmark* for his education. After many personal, and some of them coarse and indecent, altercations, between *Margaret* and the *Mecklenburgh* princes, both parties took the field. *Mecklenburgh* was, at that time, in a flourishing condition, and its ducal family, when united, formed a power next to that of the emperor, and superior to that of any German prince. The *Swedes*, on the other hand, were divided; many of them had gone over to *Margaret*, and had actually elected her their queen, which had given her the pretext for assuming that title, while others opposed *Albert* in all his domestic measures. Notwithstanding this, he was at the head of an army, and was in possession of most of the strong holds in the kingdom; but two of them, *Oberstein* and *Orstien*, were surrendered to *Margaret*, after she had taken upon herself the title of queen, and after the nobles of her party had come to a formal resolution to dethrone *Albert*, and to transfer their allegiance to her.

Difficulties
and distresses
of *Albert*.

ALBERT finding the defection against him increasing every day, and that the senate had actually recognized the right of *Margaret*, collected all his strength, and a general battle was fought on a plain near *Falkoping*, which proved decisive in favour of *Margaret*. *Albert*, and his son *Eric*, were taken prisoners, as was the prince of *Holstein*, and many of the first noblemen of *Sweden*. As the battle had been obstinately fought, many thousands of the *Swedes* were killed, and among them nineteen of their general officers. The king, and his son, were put under a strict guard, and *Albert*'s misfortunes effaced the memory of his miscarriages; for the *Swedes* refused to crown *Margaret* during their king's imprisonment. It is allowed on all hands, that had the *Swedes* discharged their duty as well as the *Brandenburghers*, and other *Germans* did, in the late battle, *Albert* must have been victorious. Many reproaches passed between them on that account; for the *Swedes* threw upon the *Germans* all the blame of their king's misfortune, and even such of them as refused to recognize *Margaret*'s authority, refused to join in any attempt to deliver *Albert*.

Revolution in
Mecklen-
burgh.

By this time, *Magnus* and *Henry*, the sons of old duke *Albert*, were both dead, and the succession to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* devolved upon *John*, the son of *Magnus*. This prince supported the king his uncle's cause with great firmness, and for that purpose borrowed a large sum from the grand-master of the Teutonic order, upon a mortgage of some of his estates. The cities of *Rostock* and *Wismar*, with some other hanse-towns, joined him, and an armament both by sea and land, under the command of duke *John*, was immediately fitted out, and proceeded towards *Stockholm*. That city was now besieged by queen *Margaret*, and contained a strong garrison of *Germans*, who were all of them faithfully attached to their imprisoned king, for which reason they exercised the greatest cruelties upon the *Swedish* inhabitants, whom they accused of endeavouring to give up the city to *Margaret*. Duke *John*, before he sailed, had published a manifesto at *Wismar* and *Rostock*, containing a kind of a general letter of marque and reprisals, indemnifying the commanders of all vessels, and their crews, who should take any ships belonging to *Sweden*, *Norway*, or *Denmark*. In his voyage to *Stockholm*, he was overtaken by a tempest, which dissipated his fleet for some time, but having collected it, he proceeded on his voyage; and landing at *Stockholm*, he found the siege still continued, and the prudence of the governor of the castle, and some moderate senators, alone prevented the garrison and townsmen from cutting one another's throats. Duke *Albert* immediately landed his forces, and, after driving the besiegers from their posts, he reinforced the city with all kinds of provision and ammunition. He then reembarked his troops, and, in a short time, all the coasts of *Sweden* were filled with flames, slaughter, and rapine. The *Mecklenburghers*, and their allies, made descents wherever they found an opportunity; but the chief calamities of the *Swedes* arose from the pirates, who, by *John*'s manifesto, had been authorized to commit the like hostilities, without being obliged to any service in return, but that of supplying the garrison of *Stockholm* when in want of provisions. At one place, duke *John*'s troops were attacked by the exasperated peasants, who, having no leader to head them, were soon cut in pieces. It must be confessed, that those ravages were so far from serving the cause of the imprisoned king that they ruined it. The pirates, who assumed to themselves the name of purveyors, had no regard but to their own plunder, and the sufferings of the *Swedes* inspired them with horror at the *Germans*, which extended to the person of their late king.

Duke *John* re-
lieves *Stock-*
holm.

In the year 1394, matters continued in this ruinous situation in *Sweden*, where the cause of *Albert* was supported only by the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, but so powerfully, that *Margaret*, though her right had been recognized by all orders among the *Swedes*, was forced

a to listen to terms of an accommodation. The first conference was held at *Helsingburgh*, but that proved ineffectual, by the governor of *Stralsund* being killed in a skirmish between the *Danes* and the *Mecklenburghers*. Soon after, queen *Margaret*, and duke *John*, had a personal interview at *Lubek*. Here it was agreed, that *Albert*, and his son, should be restored to their liberty; that they should, within three years, renounce all their pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*, or return to their prison; that, in case of non-performance, the hanse-towns should be bound to pay to *Margaret*, the sum of 60,000 marks; that a truce, among all parties, should take place during the said three years; but that king *Albert*, with the consent of queen *Margaret*, should give up, during that time, *Stockholm* to the hanse-towns, as a security for the sum for which they were engaged. Besides this general treaty, one of a more private nature was transacted between duke *John*, and queen *Margaret*, who demanded a considerable ransom for *Albert*, which the exhausted state of *Mecklenburgh* rendering it extremely inconvenient for the duke to pay, was generously raised by the ladies, who for that purpose sold their jewels and paraphernalia. This public spirit was rewarded by a law, which passed, rendering the daughters of the *Mecklenburgh* nobility capable to succeed to the estates held in fee of the duke.

A truce concluded.

The vast affection which duke *John* shewed for his uncle, and the prodigious efforts he made for his deliverance, are the more extraordinary, as by the family modes of succession in *Mecklenburgh*, the uncle generally reigned jointly with the nephew, which he accordingly did upon his return to *Mecklenburgh*. The glory of having been a king for twenty-three years, had got such possession of his spirit, that it could not be effaced by all the miseries and inquietudes he had suffered during that period; so that he was but little disposed to fulfil the intention of the late treaty. Instead of that, he redeemed the city of *Stockholm* from the hanse-towns, by paying them the 60,000 marks for which they stood engaged; and he even redeemed from the Teutonic order, the island of *Gothland*, which had been mortgaged to them by his uncle; so that *Margaret*, though she had been formally recognized, and crowned, and had procured the succession to be settled in the person of *Eric*, and his descendants, could not as yet be said to be the sole queen of *Sweden*. The death of prince *Eric*, king *Albert's* son, put an end to all her inquietudes; for that event rendered *Albert* so unambitious, that he consented to the evacuation, not only of *Stockholm*, but of several fortresses he still held in *Sweden*; and sent to *Margaret* a formal renunciation of that crown. He then returned to the cares of domestic government, and, aged as he was, he married *Helen*, daughter of *Magnus Terquatus*, duke of *Brunswick*.

and king *Albert* returns to *Mecklenburgh*.

Though the late immense expence of the war with *Margaret* had exhausted *Mecklenburgh*, yet that duchy was the better enabled to bear them, through the wise and vigorous measures which had been taken by duke *Henry*, *Albert's* brother, during his administration. This prince had found the duchy invested by banditti, who were often encouraged and protected by the nobility, to whom, when convicted, he shewed as little favour as to the meanest peasant, for they were immediately executed; by which severity he is distinguished in history by the epithet of *suspensor*, or *the hanger*. Having thus left to his brother and nephew the duchy, in a state of peace and security, it soon recovered the wounds of war; but the abdication of *Albert* now introduced a revolution in the politics of the *Mecklenburgh* family. The provision which that prince had made for the independency of *Mecklenburgh* upon the crown of *Denmark*, instead of being salutary, was judged to be dangerous, now they had no ally in the North. It was easy for them to foresee, that either the emperor, or *Margaret*, would renew their claims of superiority over *Mecklenburgh*; but they preferred that of the latter to the former; and in the year 1411, both duke *John*, and duke *Ulric* of *Stargard*, did homage to *Margaret*, and to *Eric* their cousin, who was her associate, and was to be her successor in her three kingdoms, and engaged not only to assist them in all her wars, but to enter into no treaty with their enemies.

Affairs of that duchy.

f NEXT year being 1412, died *Albert* king of *Sweden*, and duke of *Mecklenburgh*. By his wife *Ricarda*, daughter to the count of *Schwerin*, he had a son and a daughter, *Eric*, whom we have already mentioned to have died before him, and *Ricardo*, wife to *John*, duke of *Moravia*, the emperor *Sigismund's* brother. He had issue by his second wife *Helen*, *Albert*, who was fifteen years of age when his father died, and became partner in the government with duke *John*. We are told, however, that this method of co-regency was found to be so very inconvenient, and so detrimental to the state, that a new rule of succession was settled, by which the elder branch was absolutely to preside in all affairs of government, while the younger was to act as his substitute, or first minister. We know of no wars in which *Mecklenburgh*, or its dukes, were involved till the death of queen *Margaret*, when her successor, *Eric*, refused to ratify an award that had been pronounced by *Ulric*, duke of *Stargard*, between queen *Margaret*, and the duke of *Brunswic*, *Holstein*, and *Sleswic*. *Eric* pretended that the interests of his crown were not to be subjected to any arbitration,

Death of *Albert*, king of *Sweden*.

bitration, and that the matter must be decided before a general assembly of the states; and he required the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to attend while the process was depending. The dukes, concerned on the other side, refused to submit to a tribunal, composed of judges who were subjects to the prince with whom they were contending; and they prepared to make good their claims by force of arms. They were joined by *John*, duke of *Mecklenburgh*, who, probably, thought that *Eric* had over-estimated his authority, and that the case of the dukes might be sometime or other his own. The war was, for a while, carried on with great animosity, but with no decisive advantage on either side. At last, duke *John*, having retired to *Sleswick*, he was there besieged by *Eric*, and the place being untenable, the duke, on the 17th of *July*, 1417, was obliged to agree to a capitulation, by which he engaged never again to carry arms against the crown of *Denmark*. This capitulation, by which *John* was suffered to return to his dominions, greatly weakened the common cause in which he engaged; but the truth is, he, and the princes of his family began now to think that it was time to give repose to their dominions. As the first-fruits of their leisure, they founded and endowed the university of *Rostock*, in which they were assisted by the townsmen in 1419, privileged by a bull from pope *Martin V.* which was afterwards confirmed by the emperor *Ferdinand I.* This was a wise and useful institution, as it tended to take off from the *Mecklenburghers* that ferocity of manners to which they were as yet but too much addicted, and which led them to despise the arts of peace, to the infinite detriment of their country. This, and other public-spirited works, raised the reputation of the two dukes to the highest pitch in the North; and, in the disputes which then raged between the crown of *Denmark*, and the princes of *Holstein*, they were generally chosen umpires; but their differences were of such a nature as not to be reconcileable by any mediation. In 1423, those two princes died. *Albert* had no issue by his wife *Margaret*, who was daughter to *Frederic*, elector of *Brandenburgh*. *John* was married first to *Judith*, daughter of the count of *Hoya*; and his second wife was *Katherine*, daughter to *Eric*, duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh*. He had two sons, *John III.* and *Henry the Fat*, who succeeded him.

The dukes of
Mecklen-
burgh pursue
the arts of
peace.

As to the other branches of the *Mecklenburgh* family, particular mention is made, at this time, of *Ulric I.* duke of *Stargard*, and his son *Henry*, who was in a confederacy with *Christopher III.* king of *Denmark*, for reducing *Lubeck*, in which they failed. The perpetual wars that were now carrying on between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, gave a breathing-time to the states of *Mecklenburgh*, which their princes wisely improved to the best purposes, the advancement of commerce, literature, and manufactures in their dominions. For some years, this desirable situation rendered prince and subject equally happy, and each repaid the benefit of reciprocal obedience and protection he received from the other. In 1443, died, without issue, *John III.* he had been married to *Anne*, daughter to *Casimir*, duke of *Pomerania Stettin*, and by his death, his brother *Henry the Fat* became sole duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and prince of *Wenden*, the male line of which principality had been extinct in 1436; for the male issue of *Nicholas*, already mentioned, failed in *William*, whose daughter was married to *Ulric*, the second duke of *Stargard*, great-grandson to *John I.* of that duchy; and upon *Eric's* death, without issue, his succession devolved as aforesaid upon *Henry the Fat*; who, by this accession, became master of a powerful territory, which he ruled in great tranquillity till the time of his death, which happened in 1477. He was married to *Dorothy*, daughter to *Frederic I.* elector of *Brandenburgh*, by whom he had four sons; *Albert*, who succeeded him, but died in the same year without issue; *John*, who died in his father's life time; *Magnus*, who succeeded *Albert*; and *Balthazar*, bishop of *Schwerin*; and two daughters, *Anne*, who died without issue, and *Elizabeth*, abbess of *Ribnitz*.

Uncertainty
of their suc-
cessions

NOTWITHSTANDING all the pains which the princes of the house of *Burcwin* had taken to settle their succession in the elder branch of their family, it never could be effected; for the second brother claimed the same title, and exercised an almost co-ordinate power with the elder. *Balthazar*, wearied of an ecclesiastical life, married *Margaret*, daughter to *Eric*, duke of *Pomerania*; and, assuming the title of duke of *Mecklenburgh*, he entered upon the exercise of the government. The hanse-towns were then very powerful, and that of *Rostock* held itself to be equal to many sovereign princes, for which it had been often chastised by the emperor and the pope; so that in the year 1437, having fallen under the ban of the empire^a, its academy was removed to *Griefswalde*, from whence the professors returned in 1443. Duke *Magnus* of *Mecklenburgh*, like his immediate predecessors, cultivated the arts of peace, and gave orders for erecting the church of *St. James*, in *Rostock*, into a cathedral. In this he was vigorously opposed by the haughty *Rostockers*; but

^a BUSCHING'S Geography, Vol. VI. p. 385.

a Magnus, being determined to assert his rights of sovereignty, proceeded in his design, and actually established a chapter in the church. The citizens, upon this, took arms, expelled the canons, killed the provost, and imprisoned the dean. This happened about the year 1487, when the university was removed to *Lubec*. The duke endeavoured to reduce the rebels by besieging their city; but his efforts, though very vigorous, proved ineffectual; and, at last, both parties being tired of the war, it was agreed, that the citizens should indemnify the duke for his expences, that the exiles and prisoners should be re-instated and restored, and that the *Rostockers* should be confirmed in all their antient privileges. *Defence of Rostock.*

b THE *Lubeckers*, about this time, shewed a like spirit with those of *Rostock*, by the opposition they made to their sovereign *John*, king of *Denmark*. That prince was so deeply engaged in a war with *Sweden*, that he could spare but few troops to employ against the rebels; and therefore he was obliged to have recourse to the method of negotiation; in which he employed the pope's legate, with duke *Magnus*, to whom was afterwards added prince *Frederic*, his *Danish* majesty's brother. A congress was accordingly held at *Lubec*, but through the obstinacy of the *Lubeckers*, who aimed at nothing less than absolute independency upon the *Danish* crown, the mediation proved fruitless; and soon after, duke *Magnus* of *Mecklenburgh* died. He was a wise and a worthy prince, and was married to *Sophia*, daughter of *Eric*, duke of *Pomerania*, who had been betrothed to his elder brother. By her he had three sons and four daughters. The sons were, *Eric*, *Henry*, and *Albert the Handsome*, who reigned co-ordinately. The daughters were, *Sophia*, the wife of *John*, elector of *Saxony*; *Dorothy*, who was abbess of *Ribnitz*; *Anne*, who married the landgrave of *Hesse*, as did the fourth daughter *Catherina*, the duke of *Saxony*. *Eric*, the eldest son, had his education in some of the chief universities in *Europe*, and had so great a turn for learning, that he intermeddled but little in affairs of government, and died about five years after his father. His brother *Henry* was so excellent a prince, that he obtained from his contemporaries the glorious epithets of "the Peaceful," and, "the Father of his People." Among the first cares of his government was to check the insolence of the *Lubeckers*, which was now become insupportable. They extended their fishery, of which they made vast profits, as far as *Dessau*, a town belonging to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*; and some of their fishermen being one day insulted by three drunken peasants a quarrel ensued, in which two of the peasants were made prisoners, while the third escaped, and alarmed the country for the safety of their companions, and particularly the owner of the estate where they lived. A party, under arms, was immediately assembled, who posted themselves at the bridge of *Dessau*, that they might intercept the fishermen in their return. While they waited there the two peasants came on shore, and reported, that far from being mal-treated, they had been most jovially entertained by the *Lubeckers*; upon which the party dispersed. The report of this adventure reaching *Lubec*, a troop of horse was immediately detached against the supposed party, whom the *Lubeckers* imagined to have assembled to disturb their fishing; but though the troop found all quiet, they had the insolence to commit some trespasses on the estates of the *Mecklenburghers*. A scuffle naturally ensued, in which one of the troopers was killed, and the others, being wounded, fled back to *Lubec*. Upon this, the *Lubeckers*, almost to a man, rose in arms, and plundered, wasted, or burnt, the *Mecklenburgh* estates; so that in one incursion, besides noblemen's houses, it was computed that thirty villages were destroyed. The dukes made reprisals, and not only ravaged the lands of the *Lubeckers*, but laid siege to *Moelen*, which, however, they were not able to carry. In the mean while, those republicans compromised their affairs with *Denmark*, by which, being at liberty to employ all their force against *Mecklenburgh*, the war was carried on with the utmost fury, but without either party having any apparent advantage. At last, both being tired of mutual ravages, they made peace by the interposition of the neighbouring princes, and both sat down with their own losses. *Congress of Lubec.* *Death of the duke of Mecklenburgh.* *Dispute between the Mecklenburghers and Lubeckers.*

By this time, the reformation was dawning in *Germany*, and duke *Henry*, having examined into *Luther's* principles, began to relish them; but proceeded on a plan of conduct very different from that of many other princes who favoured the new doctrines. He was so far from considering it in a political or party-light, that he refused to enter into the league of *Smalkald*; nor did he so much as encourage any of his subjects to follow his example, by embracing the principles of the reformation. Rational, religious, enquiry was all that he recommended or enjoined, and he shewed the same countenance to all his subjects, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, if he was convinced that their principles were conscientious. In short, he was, as far as he could, of no religion but that of Christ, to whose precepts and practice he conformed himself, without regard to human authority, farther than as he thought it was confirmed by the Gospel. *Dawning of the reformation in Germany.*

Wars of Albert duke of Mecklenburgh...

His brother, the other duke of Mecklenburgh, *Albert the Handsome*, was far from Henry's amiable character. Upon the expulsion of *Christiern*, king of Denmark and Sweden, for his tyranny, *Albert* entered into intrigues with the *Lubeckers* for restoring him to his throne. The reader, in the history of Denmark, will find a detail of these proceedings. The dispute, at this time, lay between the deposed *Christiern II.* and *Christiern III.* son to his uncle *Frederic*, who had succeeded him in the throne. *Christiern III.* was disagreeable to the Roman Catholic party among the Danes; and though he had been recognized by the province of *Jutland*, yet the *Lubeckers* had been so active for the deposed king, that he was in possession of *Scania*, and many important places of Germany. In the mean while, a war broke out between the *Lubeckers* and the *Holsteiners*; upon which the former applied to the abbot of Mecklenburgh for his mediation, wherein he was perfectly successful; a peace being restored between those two people, upon condition that neither should assist the enemies of the other. This gave a new turn to the war, the complexion of which was now entirely altered. *Christiern III.* marched into North *Jutland*, where he chastised some piratical *Lubeckers*, while duke *Albert* of Mecklenburgh raised an army, which he led into Denmark, and joined with that of the count of Oldenburgh, who had espoused the interest of *Christiern II.* *Christiern III.* had seized the isle of *Fionia*, and the *Lubeckers* gave duke *Albert* the command of a fleet which was intended for the relief of *Christiern II.* but, in the mean time, to block up *Christiern III.* in *Fionia*. In this expedition, duke *Albert* commanded the sea forces, as the count of Oldenburgh did the land troops. *Christiern III.* was then besieging the town of *Assen*, and the confederates sent orders to the garrison to make a brisk attack upon his camp, while they attacked his entrenchments. *Christiern* was aware of their design, and far from declining an engagement, he burnt his tents, and marched out against his enemies, whom he attacked and entirely defeated. This did not discourage duke *Albert* and the count of Oldenburgh; for though they had lost about half their army in the late engagement, they encouraged their party to make a fresh attempt, and duke *Albert* proceeded with the *Lubeck* fleet, and some reinforcements he had received, to Copenhagen, where they were soon after besieged by a more powerful fleet under *Christiern III.* The city was defended with great obstinacy, and held out till their provisions were exhausted, and they were reduced to extremity. At last, they were obliged to capitulate, and more to their advantage than they could well have expected, after so ill-conducted an expedition. *Christiern III.* and his friends were not only tired of the siege, but he began to have suspicion of his allies the Swedes. The terms he granted to duke *Albert* are said to have been honourable, though others say, that *Christiern* obliged him to ask pardon for his behaviour, but that his humiliation was very slight. It is certain, that *Albert's* duchess, during the siege of Copenhagen, had been delivered of a child in that city, and that the capitulation was no sooner concluded, than *Christiern* presented her with all kinds of refreshments, while he expressed so much resentment for the wicked behaviour of the count of Oldenburgh, that he declared, had it not been for the blood relation between them, he would have taken off his head.

Obliged to submit to the king of Denmark.

His marriages and death.

THIS duke *Albert* was married, first, to *Anne*, daughter of *Joachim I.* elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had six sons and a daughter. The sons were, *John Albert*, *Ulric*, who was afterwards bishop of Schwerin, *George*, *Christopher*, bishop of Ratzeburgh, *Charles*, who succeeded to that bishopric, and *Lewis*, the sixth son, who was born during the siege of Copenhagen, died in his cradle. *Albert's* only daughter *Anne* was the wife of *Gottard*, duke of Courland, and *Albert* himself died in 1547. *Henry the Peaceable*, his elder brother, was first married to *Ursula*, daughter of *John*, elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had a son, *Magnus*, who was bishop of Schwerin, and having embraced the Lutheran religion, he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Frederic the First*, king of Denmark; but he died without issue two years before the death of his father *Henry*. The latter had likewise two daughters by his first marriage; the eldest, *Sophia*, was married to *Ernest* of Zell, duke of Lunenburgh; the second, *Ursula*, was abbess of Ribnitz. *Henry*, for his second wife, had *Eleanor*, daughter to *Philip*, elector palatine, and he had a son and two daughters. The son's name was *Philip*, but as he grew up, his understanding appeared to be so defective, that he was universally adjudged to be unfit for government. The daughters, by the same marriage, were *Margaret*, who was married to *Henry*, duke of Munsterburgh, as the other daughter was to *Frederic III.* duke of Leignitz. *Henry the Pacific* had a third wife, who was *Ursula*, daughter to *Magnus II.* duke of Saxe Lawenburgh; but by her he had no children. As to *Henry the Pacific* himself, he died in 1552, after an administration that had proved extremely beneficial to his subjects.

Albert and Ulric dukes of Mecklenburgh.

THROUGH the weakness of *Henry's* son *Philip*, we look upon his male issue to have been their extinct, and the administration of Mecklenburgh consequently devolved upon *John-Albert*, the eldest son of *Albert the Handsome*, and *Ulric*, bishop of Schwerin. Those princes possessed

a fessed the virtues of their family, by the attention they paid to all literary institutions, particularly the university of *Rostock*; the revenues of which had been greatly abused, but were by them converted into comfortable provisions for men of learning and merit. Both of them professed the *Lutheran* religion, which, in their time, becoming that of their dominions, they were more zealous than their uncle had been in abolishing image-worship, and other abuses of the *Romish* church. They deserved equally well of their country in their legislative capacity, by composing a code of excellent laws; and their people must have been happy to the last degree under their administration, had not ambition intervened.

b *ULRIC* had married the widow of *Magnus*, bishop of *Schwerin*, daughter, as we have already seen, to *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*. As *John-Albert* pretended, from family-conventions, to confine *Ulric* to the government and revenues of his bishopric of *Schwerin*; the latter being now the husband of a king's daughter, found them to be too scanty for her support, and demanded of his brother a proportionable share of the *Wenden*, and other territories, which had fallen into their house since those conventions had been made, and therefore, as he alledged, were not included in them. *John* rejected this demand with some disdain, and *Ulric*, being encouraged by certain neighbouring princes, had recourse to arms to make them good, and actually invaded *John's* part of the *Mecklenburgh* dominions. *Ulric's* chief ally was the duke of *Brunswic*, by whose assistance he took *Boitzezenburgh*, one of the strongest places of *John's* dominions, without his being able to relieve it. *John* had no recourse but to the assistance of his nobles, which he demanded in terms c of their holdings, but they declined all concern in a quarrel between their two princes. This conduct is a plain evidence, either that the *Mecklenburgh* nobility thought *Ulric's* claim to be just, or that they expected to reap some advantage by the ducal power not being invested in one person. Duke *John* was obliged to submit to the necessity of the juncture, and to admit his subjects to be umpires between him and his brother. Their award was, that *Ulric* should have a moiety in the government of all the family territories that had fallen to the house since the conclusion of the above mentioned conventions; and that, besides his enjoying the undivided revenues of the bishopric of *Schwerin*, he should have half the ready money left by the uncle. As to the duke of *Brunswic*, the *Rostockers*, d who undoubtedly thought themselves to be benefited by this convention, advanced to him 16,000 crowns for the payment of the auxiliaries he had lent to *Ulric*.

Ulric associated in the government.

This compromise seems to have exasperated *John-Albert* so much, that he was resolved to make the *Rostockers* sensible of his resentment. The people and the magistrates of that city had been long at variance, and they accepted of *John-Albert's* mediation between them. He thought it a hardship to be a mediator where he ought to be a sovereign, and resolved to chastise both parties. The people had directed, upon the strength of certain Imperial constitutions, a court of sixty tribunes, chosen out of their own number, to protect them against the encroachments of their magistrates. Upon the day of hearing, the people produced those writings, but *John* committed them to the flames, which threw them e into the utmost despondency, and proportionally encreased the exaltations of the magistracy; but both were disappointed. *John-Albert*, who came attended with a body of troops to give weight to his mediation, demanded not only that the keys of the city should be delivered up to him, but that the city itself should pay him above 73,000 crowns, to indemnify him for the expences they occasioned to him on several occasions. The *Rostockers* paid the greatest part of the money; but the duke being determined to bridle them for the future, beat down some of their walls, and began to erect a citadel to over-awe the place: in this attempt, he was greatly assisted by the king of *Denmark*, who likewise had his reasons for being displeased with the *Rostockers*; but the latter, being strongly supported by the other hanse-towns, *John-Albert* was obliged to accept of an ineffectual submission on f their part, by which they asked pardon for their conduct, while he himself was forced to demolish the citadel he had began to erect.

John's unsuccessful war with the Rostockers.

John-Albert married *Sophia*, the daughter of *Albert* duke of *Prussia*, by whom he had three sons; *John IV.* his eldest, who succeeded him; *Albert*, who died in his cradle; and *Sigismund-Augustus*, who was married to a daughter of the duke of *Pomerania*, but died in his father's life-time, without issue. As to *John-Albert* himself, he died in the year 1576. *Ulric*, his brother and coadjutor in the government, had a daughter, *Sophia*, who was married to *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, who, in the year 1577, paid a visit to his father-in law on the following occasion. A great number of differences had long subsisted between the crown of *Denmark* and the city of *Hamburg*; and as the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* had, im- g memorially, been the umpires of the north, both parties, who had suffered considerably by their quarrels, applied to duke *Ulric* to compose their differences, which he accordingly did, and likewise those between the same city and the duke of *Holstein*. But while duke

His death and family.

Ulric

The Rostock-
ers chastised.

Ulric was thus labouring for the peace and prosperity of other states, as well as his own. His tranquillity was interrupted by a fresh quarrel he had with the hanse-towns, on account of the *Rostockers*, who even contumeliously sought every opportunity to assert their independency upon him. The duke complained of their behaviour to the king, his son-in-law, who immediately equipped a fleet, which seized upon all the ships of the *Rostockers*, and blocked up the mouth of the river *Warnow*, while duke *Ulric* advanced against them with an army by land. The king, on this occasion, gave a proof how well he understood his own dignity, and that of his father-in-law; for instead of publishing any manifesto, or making any proposals to the *Rostockers*, he gave them to understand, that he would continue to deny them all commerce with his dominions, and order his ships to destroy their trade, till they brought him a certificate of their good behaviour, under the hand of duke *Ulric*. The *Rostockers* were obliged to comply, and having, on promise of future amendment, obtained the certificate in question, the blockade of their city was raised, and their commerce returned to its former channels. In 1588, his *Danish* majesty, with whom his son-in-law, duke *Ulric*, had always lived in the most affectionate friendship, died, and was attended to his grave by the duke: who, next year, was present at the marriage of *James VI.* king of *Scotland*, and afterwards of *Great Britain*, with his grand-daughter, *Anne of Denmark*; and likewise of the nuptials of her sister *Elizabeth* with the duke of *Wolfenbuttel*.

John IV. of
Mecklen-
burgh kills
himself.

ALL this time, *John IV.* of *Mecklenburgh*, son of *John-Albert*, must be supposed to be co-ordinate with his uncle in the government; but he had, in fact, no share in it, being of so melancholy a cast of mind, joined to so bad a state of health, that in 1592, in the 34th year of his age, he put an end to his own life. He had been married to *Sophia*, the daughter of *Albert*, duke of *Holstein*; and *Charles* his brother, bishop of *Ratzeburgh*, became guardian to his two infant sons, *Adolphus-Frederic*, and *John-Albert II.* He likewise left a daughter, *Anne-Sophia*, who became a nun. The latter part of *Ulric's* administration was tranquil and peaceable; and he died in the bosom of that repose which he loved, at the uncommon age of seventy-five; by which he acquired the epithet of the *German Nestor*. He was twice married, first to *Elizabeth*, daughter to the king of *Denmark*, and widow to his cousin, as we have already observed; and secondly, to *Anne*, daughter to *Philip*, duke of *Pomerania*; but he left no issue except *Sophia*, who was married to the king of *Denmark*.

Adolphus II.
and John-Al-
bert dukes of
Mecklen-
burgh,

DUKE *Ulric* thus dying without male issue, the government of *Mecklenburgh* devolved upon his brother *John-Albert's* grandsons, *Adolphus-Frederic*, and *John-Albert II.* the eldest having for his portion the duchy of *Schwerin*, and the other that of *Gustrow*. *John-Albert*, as soon as he came of age, married his cousin *Margaret-Elizabeth*, daughter to the bishop of *Ratzeburgh*; but upon her death, in 1616, he married *Elizabeth* daughter of *Maurice*, landgrave of *Hesse*. *Adolphus-Frederic*, whom we are to call the duke of *Mecklenburgh Schwerin*, in 1622, married *Anna Maria*, the daughter of *Enno*, prince of *East-Friesland*. Here it is necessary, for the sake of connection, to resume part of the history of *Europe*, so far as religion is concerned in it.

enter into a
confederacy
with the king
of Denmark.

IT was provided by the peace of *Augsburgh*, in 1555, that a toleration should be granted to the protestants, who were to retain all the church-lands they were in possession of; and this provision kept *Germany* peaceable for several years after; but some fresh broils happening, two new parties were formed; one, of the Protestant princes, under the term of the Evangelical Union, and the other of the Roman Catholic powers, under that of the Catholic League. The Protestants of *Bohemia* had offered their crown to the elector-palatine, who was married to the daughter of *James I.* of *Great Britain*, whose grandmother, as we have seen, was a princess of the house of *Mecklenburgh*. *Frederic*, the count palatine, was rash enough to accept the proffered royalty, not doubting of being effectually supported by his father-in-law and the Protestant interest in *Germany*. How he was disappointed in both, may be seen in former parts of this history. It is sufficient here to say, that he was utterly defeated at *Weissenburgh* by the imperialists, and forced to fly towards *Silesia*; and afterwards, with all his adherents, he was put to the ban of the empire. As to his dominions, they were partitioned out by the emperor to the two princes of the empire who had been the most instrumental in his defeat, the duke of *Bavaria*, and the elector of *Saxony*. From *Silesia* the elector palatine was obliged to fly to *Denmark*, where he met with a most affectionate reception from king *Christiern IV.* and a confederacy was entered into by the Protestant princes, the duke of *Mecklenburgh* among others, to restore him to his electoral dominions. Before they proceeded to force, his *Danish* majesty, in imitation of what king *James* had done, tried the success of negotiation, and sent a most magnificent embassy to *Vienna*, remonstrating upon the irregularity of having put the elector palatine to the ban of the empire, and exhorting the emperor to restore him to his dominions.

a dominions. This application proving ineffectual, though the elector palatine offered to make all the submission and satisfaction that could reasonably be required of him, the confederate powers resolved to take the field, and *Christiern* was chosen for their captain-general. He had some pretence for taking upon him this title, because he was one of the principal members of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, which was, at this time, desolated by the Imperial forces under count *Tilly*.

ABOUT this time, *Adolphus-Frederic* of *Mecklenburgh* married for his second wife *Mary-Catherine*, daughter of *Ernest*, duke of *Brunswic*; and his brother *John-Albert* took for his third wife *Leonora Mary*, daughter to *Christiern*, prince of *Anhalt-Dernburgh*. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that the two dukes had but little time to spare for war-like operations; nor do we in fact perceive, that they were very active during the first year of the confederacy. The truth is, his *Danish* majesty was sensible that his troops were raw, and by no means to be compared to those under *Tilly*, who was one of the most accomplished generals in *Europe*; and therefore the first campaign passed without much action. The king industriously avoided coming to a battle, and employed himself and his officers in disciplining his soldiers, a practice, which, tho' well intended, and judicious in itself, served to intimidate and dispirit them. In the year 1626, the king of *Denmark*, having divided his army into three parts, headed one division himself, and penetrated into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*. The duke of *Saxe-Weimar* acted in *Westphalia*, at the head of the second division; and the third passed the *Elbe*, under count *Mansfeld*, in his march to *Silesia*. It had been resolved by the princes of the confederacy, that the duke should be joined by the contingency of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, consisting of 9000 men, who had been actually raised and were ready for that purpose; but *Mansfeld* being himself a soldier of fortune, gave but little attention to the discipline of his troops on their march, for wherever they came, they equally plundered friends as enemies. In short, the open country, and all the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, was threatened to be filled by their rapines. This altered the plan of the two dukes. Instead of joining the count with their 9000 men, they employed them in strengthening the garrisons of their fortified places, into which they ordered their subjects of the open country to retire with their effects; but, at the same time, they gave orders, that the count's army should be plentifully supplied with forage and provisions. Those wise dispositions, though they prevented the duchy from being plundered, weakened the army of the count, which chiefly consisted of Low-country troops, who had little affection for the *Germans*; and he was defeated by *Wallenstein*, at the bridge of *Deffau*. The count, after his defeat, retired into *Brandenburgh*, where he was joined by the army of *Mecklenburgh*, and some troops sent him by the king of *Denmark*; who, after various operations, was entirely defeated by count *Tilly*, and all that the king could do, was to repass the *Elbe* with some of his cavalry.

NOTWITHSTANDING this misfortune, the death of *Mansfeld*, and the dissipation of his army, *Christiern* was so active, that he raised a new army, consisting of 36000 men, among whom was a large body of *Mecklenburghers*. Before the king took the field, he published orders, that no officer or soldier should, on pain of death, and confiscation of goods, molest the peasants or farmers, or any one concerned in agriculture; a precaution the more necessary, on account of the misfortunes that had befallen the common cause from neglecting it. He then marched to the relief of *Menburgh*, which had been long besieged by *Tilly*, and had the good fortune not only to oblige that general to raise the siege, but to do considerable execution upon his army in their retreat. But to counterbalance this advantage, the Imperialists, under the count of *Fruštenburgh*, much about the same time, made themselves masters of *Northheim*, after a most obstinate resistance.

WHILE *Germany* became thus the theatre of a bloody war, the two dukes of *Mecklenburgh* were put under the ban of the empire, and their dominions given to *Wallenstein*, who immediately assumed the title; and thereby, with the accession of his other estates, he became, under the emperor, the most powerful prince of the empire. Upon his accession to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, he convoked an assembly of the nobles, and affected great moderation, which was the more suspected, as it was well known to be very foreign from his nature. He promised to maintain all the members of the states of *Mecklenburgh* in their rights and privileges, and offered to grant them all the favours they could desire. But, at this time, he was become too powerful for a subject, and appeared abroad with a pomp superior to that of most of the sovereign princes in *Europe*, being attended by a body of 600 horse-guards in rich uniforms. Notwithstanding the grant which had been made to *Wallenstein*, the *Mecklenburghers* made a very noble resistance to the Imperialists; but it proved only fatal to themselves. His *Danish* majesty, though he was sincerely attached to the two dukes, and though his troops were superior in number to those of *Tilly*, could not be prevailed upon to hazard a general action for their relief. Instead of that, he took

The dukes of Mecklenburgh put to the ban of the empire, and their dominions granted to Wallenstein.

up strong camps all along the *Elle*, raised fortifications in convenient places, all which he never failed to abandon to *Tilly*, upon his approach; so that the whole duchy of *Mecklenburgh* came into the quiet possession of *Wallenstein*. As to his *Danish* majesty, he retired piece-meal into *Holstein*, where he endeavoured to shelter himself by laying part of the country under water. Notwithstanding this, *Tilly* and *Wallenstein* having united their forces, took possession of almost all *Holstein*, excepting *Gluckstadt* and *Rensburgh*, and *Christiern* was obliged even to abandon them, after setting fire to the houses, and throwing his artillery into the sea, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Imperialists, who soon after penetrated into *Jutland*, and even threatened the conquest of all *Denmark*.

*Distresses of
Denmark.*

*Negotiations
for,*

*and conclusion
of a peace.*

It was no wonder if this deplorable state of the Protestant interest in *Germany* and the North, cooled the zeal of many of its patrons. The example of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, who were now obliged to follow the distressed fortunes of his *Danish* majesty, terrified the elector of *Brandenburgh*; and he published an edict, commanding all his subjects to quit the king of *Denmark's* service; and the marquis of *Baden-Dourlach*, another of the confederates, privately made his terms with the emperor. All that his *Danish* majesty could do, was to have recourse to the regency of *Bremen*, and the other hanse towns, requiring them on account of their neighbourhood and antient treaties, as well as for the good of the Protestant cause, to raise troops for the relief of *Mecklenburgh*; but they were so far from complying, that they drove out of their cities all the *English* and other Protestant agents, who concerned themselves in favour of the dukes. In the mean while, the states of *Denmark* assembled, and took upon them to write to the emperor in a very pressing manner, that he would give peace to *Denmark*, by ordering a cessation of arms to take effect in *Jutland*, and to appoint a place for treating of peace; promising, that *Christiern* should comply with any reasonable terms to be required of him. *Christiern*, to give the greater force to this proposal, or to break it off entirely, equipped a fleet of forty-seven ships of war, with which he destroyed a squadron of eighteen ships belonging to his enemies, and retook the island of *Femern*, and some other places. After that, he carried his fleet against *Kiel* in *Holstein*, which he endeavoured to retake, but he failed in the attempt. He then proceeded to *Stade*, which was besieged by the Imperialists, and bravely defended by an *English* garrison under colonel *Morgan*; but the king finding it impracticable to relieve the place, abandoned that enterprize likewise, and *Morgan* was obliged to accept of an honourable capitulation from *Tilly*, who received him without the gates of the town, and openly expressed his admiration of his courage, and that of his garrison, which was conducted to *Bremen*. All this while, negotiations for a general peace were going forward in different parts of the empire; but all without effect, through the insincerity of the emperor. At last, the four Catholic electors interested themselves so far for the restoration of public tranquillity, that the emperor consented to send ambassadors to *Lubec*, under their mediation; and the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* not only sent their own plenipotentiaries thither likewise, but were joined by those of his *Danish* majesty. The truth is, *Christiern* had suffered so much in the war, that he seems to have been secretly determined to sacrifice the interests of the *Mecklenburgh* dukes to the recovery of his own dominions. On the other hand, *Wallenstein*, who had now a decisive influence over the emperor's councils, as well as a command over his armies, was indifferent about the terms of pacification, provided he could secure to himself the possession of *Mecklenburgh*; so that on whatever quarter the two dukes threw their eyes, their situation was truly deplorable.

WALLENSTEIN was then at *Gustrow* in *Mecklenburgh*, where he received the proposals of the Protestant electors, which tended chiefly to the restitution of the king of *Denmark's* estates, without any particular notice being taken of those of *Mecklenburgh*. The emperor's demands, on the other hand, were thought to be so exorbitant, that the Protestant plenipotentiaries threatened to break up the congress, which occasioned those of the emperor to repair to *Gustrow*, there to consult with *Wallenstein*. That general, in pursuance of the plan he had adopted, favoured the demands of the *Danes*, and drew up such terms as were agreeable to his *Danish* majesty, and to all the other parties; but such as left him in absolute possession of *Mecklenburgh*. His *Danish* majesty, however, either to save appearances, or out of friendship to the two dukes, or both, published strong manifestoes, and wrote the most pressing addresses to the emperor in their favour; but *Wallenstein* having represented the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* as being the only barrier between the emperor and the northern powers, and that by its returning to its former possessors, it would always be a ready inlet for the *Danes* to invade *Germany*, his Imperial majesty rejected all proposals in behalf of the two dukes. At last, the very means that had been made use of for their destruction, operated towards their preservation.

THE famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, then king of *Sweden*, had reasons which are foreign to this history to be dissatisfied with the house of *Austria*, which had now extended its arms over

- a over the *Elbe* and to the *Baltic*, and the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* now laid their distresses before him, imploring his protection and friendship. The king convoked the diet of his kingdom, and in consulting the members upon the expediency of a war with the house of *Austria*, he plainly intimated that he himself was for it, while, at the same time, he most pathetically expatiated upon the misfortunes of the two dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, and the injustice that had been done them. The other cause which operated towards the relief of the two dukes, was the insolence and arrogance of *Wallenstein*, which was as odious to the princes of the empire, as his power and credit appeared dangerous to the emperor. He had even obtained a patent, constituting him admiral of the *Baltic*, after making himself master of *Rostock* and *Wismar*, both which cities had possessed some rights independent of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, ever since the year 1621. This ridiculous patent was no obscure intimation of *Wallenstein's* ambition, especially as he soon after besieged *Stralsund*; but he was obliged by *Gustavus* to abandon his enterprize. *Gustavus* being now thoroughly determined upon a war with the house of *Austria*, and to comply with the earnest requests of the *German* Protestant princes, published a manifesto, in which he declared the restitution of the *Mecklenburgh* princes to be one of the capital reasons for his taking up arms. He had before this time sent ambassadors to the congress at *Lubeck*, demanding this restitution in the strongest terms; and it had not only been refused, but his ministers were treated in a most opprobrious manner. The abovementioned manifesto was published in 1630, at the time when the diet of *Ratisbon* was sitting, and the princes of the empire were unanimously preferring complaints against the insolence and power of *Wallenstein*. The emperor, who was of himself sufficiently jealous of his authority, and had many reasons for managing the princes of the empire, at first endeavoured to soothe *Wallenstein* into a compliance with their demands; but finding him untractable, and that the Roman Catholic, as well as the Protestant princes, were his enemies, publicly required him to renounce the investiture which he had obtained of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*; and *Wallenstein* not complying, he was dismissed from his command in the army.
- We shall not here repeat the progress made by *Gustavus* in *Germany*, farther than as it relates to the history of *Mecklenburgh*. His first step was to secure to himself possession of *Stetin*, then belonging to the duke of *Pomerania*, with whom he entered into a treaty; and then he took *Wolgast*, with some other places, by which he opened to himself a passage into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*. Nothing could contribute more to the success of the *Swedish* arms, than the part which *Gustavus* acted towards the two dukes. They were pitied by all *Europe* for their sufferings in the cause of the Protestant religion; and their attachment to their kinsman the king of *Denmark*; and *Gustavus* could not do his cause any service so effectual as to begin his operations in *Germany*, with restoring them to their dominions. The two dukes had behaved with a most wonderful prudence. After being put under the ban of the empire, they had retired to *Lubeck*, that they might give no offence to the emperor; they there lived in a private manner, and took no farther concern in public affairs, than by their most humble solicitations that they might be reinstated in their dominions; nor was it till all other expedients had failed them, that they applied to the king of *Sweden*. The duchy of *Mecklenburgh* being now the theatre of war, the command of the Imperial army there was committed to an *Italian*, *Torquato di Conti*. He had under him one *Quinti Aligheri*, an *Italian* likewise; and by a collusion between them, it was agreed, that *Aligheri* should make a sham desertion to *Gustavus*, who gave him a considerable post in his army, and admitted him into his confidence. One day, *Aligheri* knowing that his majesty was to reconnoitre a post at a considerable distance from his army, he privately repaired to *Torquato's* camp, and receiving the command of 500 cuirassiers, he ambushed them by detached ways near a spot which he knew his *Swedish* majesty must pass in his return. Nothing but the wonderful intrepidity of *Gustavus* could have saved him at this time. He defended himself at the head of his little party till his horse being shot under him, he was, for some minutes, a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, but rescued by the valour of his attendants, most of whom were cut in pieces; when a *Swedish* officer at an out-post, being uneasy at the king's long stay, came up to his assistance, and saved him just as he was sinking under the superiority of his enemies.
- AFTER this, *Gustavus* took *Bart*, *Damgarten*, and *Ribnitz*, all of them depending on *Mecklenburgh*. He then entered the duchy itself, where he was received by the inhabitants as their guardian-angel and deliverer; and published manifestoes, requiring the inhabitants to expel their *Austrian* tyrants, and to return to their allegiance under their lawful dukes. They were easily persuaded to this, as they had never laid aside their loyalty; but *Gustavus* being obliged to march into *Pomerania*, where he reduced some places, they

Gustavus
Adolphus
filed the
dukes of
Mecklen-
burgh.

Intrudes Ger-
many,

and re-instates
them in their
dominions.

were for some time deprived of his protection. It was partly supplied by the spirit of the inhabitants. One *Melk*, a native *Mecklenburgher*, though no more originally than a common soldier, was distinguished on this occasion. By the surprising proofs he gave of his personal conduct and courage, he raised himself to the command of 300 foot and about 30 horse, with which he resolved to attempt the reduction of *Malchin*, which was a strong fort upon the *Pene*, and garrisoned by two companies of dragoons. He made his dispositions in the dark, and furnishing each of his men with two lighted matches, the better to deceive the garrison as to their numbers, he advanced to the gates of the fort, which he summoned to surrender instantly, under the pain of the garrison being all put to the sword; with which they complied, on the supposition that his numbers were formidable. When the day-light undeceived them as to *Melk's* numbers, rather than to risk the punishment they expected from their generals for their precipitate surrender, the two companies of dragoons enlisted under the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*.

THE latter, not to be wanting to themselves, had, by this time, assembled a body of their faithful subjects, and partly by force, but much more thro' the affections which their subjects still bore towards them, they reduced great part of the duchy to their obedience. In the mean while, his *Swedish* majesty was making a most rapid progress. He laid siege to *Damin*, which is situated between *Mecklenburgh* and *Pomerania*, and took both the town and its citadel by storm, the garrison of the latter enlisting in his armies. The garrison of the town was commanded by *Savelli*, an *Italian*, who made a very gallant defence; but being obliged to capitulate, the king forced the commandant to sign an obligation, by which he engaged himself not to serve against *Sweden*, or her allies, for three months. He afterwards reduced *Frankfort upon the Oder*, by the assistance of the *Scots* who served in his army; and obliged *Landsburgh*, tho' it contained a very strong garrison, to capitulate. His successes every where, great as they were, must have been far more considerable, had it not been that the Protestant princes in the interior part of the empire, partly intimidated by the power of the house of *Austria*, and partly jealous of *Gustavus*, did not give him that cordial assistance that might have been expected from princes of the same religion, and in the same interest. Duke *Adolphus* of *Mecklenburgh* was more hearty, as well as more grateful. He accompanied *Gustavus* to *Berlin*, and was a main instrument in persuading the elector of *Brandenburgh* to join in the common cause, though he could not be brought to be hearty in it. The elector of *Saxony*, the other great Protestant prince of the empire, was still more averse to the cause he ought to have befriended; for all that either *Gustavus* or duke *Adolphus* could obtain of him, was not to obstruct any provisions that might be sent to the relief of *Magdeburgh*, a place of the utmost importance, at that time besieged by *Tilly*. But when, at the request of that elector, the Protestant princes, or their deputies, assembled at *Leipsic*, all they did was to agree upon certain ineffectual remonstrances that were to be presented to the emperor, as head of the house of *Austria*. The consequence was, that *Magdeburgh* was taken by *Tilly*, and that the Imperialists exercised cruelties upon the garrison of the inhabitants, that would have disgraced the greatest barbarian.

ABOUT this time, *Gustavus*, after he had reduced *Gripswald* in *Pomerania*, returned to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, which, before this, had entirely submitted to its dukes, excepting the towns of *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and *Dæmits*. It was then thought proper, for many wise reasons, that the two dukes, who had been so long proscribed from their sovereignty, should be re-inaugurated. The ceremony was performed in a most edifying manner. The elder duke, as if mourning for the sufferings of his country, appeared in black, and led the procession, which was, in other respects, magnificent; he being attended by 800 of the senators, clergy, and nobility. The king of *Sweden* assisted in it on horseback, as did *Ulric*, the prince of *Denmark*, third son to that king, with all the princes and princesses of the house of *Mecklenburgh*; the cavalcade being closed by an hundred and thirty coaches, and one thousand eight hundred horsemen, well armed, and mounted on excellent horses. The procession arriving at the great church, the people who were assembled there for that purpose, received their dukes with transports of loyalty and affection; and this joyful event was so agreeable to *Gustavus*, that he recommended it as an indispensable duty to the people, that they should inculcate upon their children the warmest principles of gratitude to Providence, for the signal restoration of their dukes, and their deliverance from the popish and *Austrian* tyrants.

THE victories of *Gustavus*, far from making the Imperial court more tractable, seemed to encrease its insolence; which, at last, awakened the Protestant princes of *Germany* to a due sense of their danger. The elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse* now cordially fell in with the interest of *Gustavus*, and not only joined him with their forces, but agreed to admit his garrisons into their towns, which were to be evacuated at the end of the war. The battle of *Leipsic* succeeded, in which *Gustavus* completely beat the Imperialists

Defection of
the Protestant
princes.

Gustavus
returns to
Mecklen-
burgh.

His success.

- a perils under Tilly, and that was followed by the surrender of *Leipfic* itself, and a most rapid course of victories, which extended the conquests of *Gustavus* from the *Baltic* to the frontiers of *Lorraine*; while the elector of *Saxony* penetrated into *Bohemia*, and took *Prague*. All this time, the blockade of *Rostock*, which had been formed by *Gustavus*, was continued by the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, who, after the battle of *Leipfic*, again became masters of it, by granting to the inhabitants an honourable capitulation. Their first care was to reëstablish the government of that city, and they then applied themselves to raise a body of troops for the service of the common cause. This done, they penetrated into *Lower Saxony*, where they were joined by a strong detachment from *Gustavus*; and their appearance there gave so much protection and encouragement to the Protestant princes, that they immediately declared themselves against the house of *Austria*, as did the free towns.

- b An event happened, at this time, which may naturally be supposed to have given the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* great disquiet; for *Tilly* growing too cautious by his late defeat at *Leipfic*, the Imperial ministers persuaded their master to recal *Wallenstein* to the command of his armies. Deputies were accordingly sent to that general, who, ever since his dismission, had retired to a private life, where he rejoiced over the misfortunes of the Imperials, and he was re-invested in the command of the army, with powers superior to any that ever had been granted to any *European* general; while *Tilly* was employed in defending the river *Lech* against *Gustavus*, whose progress was irresistible. *Tilly* was defeated, and died of his wounds, and *Augsburgh* surrendered to *Gustavus*. He had hitherto only acted in the quality of the deliverer of *Germany* from the tyranny of the house of *Austria*, and, as such, he had been joined by the Protestant princes, and several of the Roman Catholics. But upon the reduction of *Augsburgh*, he not only established, by his own authority, the Protestant religion, but obliged the *Augsburghers* to take an oath of allegiance to himself; which act of sovereignty over a free imperial city, and one of the greatest in *Germany*, raised, among his best friends, very disadvantageous suspicions that his views were different from his professions. *Gustavus* after this besieged *Ingelstadt*, but in vain; and took *Munich*, which was redeemed from plunder and devastation by the inhabitants, at the expence of 300,000 rixdollars. *Wallenstein*, mean while, shewed himself worthy of the command which he had extorted from his master, by retaking *Bavaria*, and checking the progress of the Swedish arms.

- d THE battle of *Lutzen* delivered the house of *Austria* from the greatest scourge it ever had known, by the death of the brave *Gustavus*, who was killed upon that plain in the arms of victory. The Protestant cause, for some time, was nobly supported in *Germany* by *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-Weymar*; but the principle of union being gone, the Protestant princes were dispirited and disunited; nor could all the efforts of the Swedish chancellor *Oxenstiern*, who directed the administration of that kingdom, reconcile them so as to act vigorously for the common cause, though the Swedish arms continued to be for some time successful. The Swedish general *Horn* defeated an army of *Italians*, then in *Germany*, under the duke of *Feria*, who had been sent to counterbalance the now dangerous power of *Wallenstein*. That general, ever since he had been stripped of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, had been meditating new schemes of ambition, and thought that nothing less than the crown of *Bohemia*, and the possession of *Moravia*, could indemnify him for his loss. With this view, he had established a kind of an independent command over the army, and formed an association among his officers, to stand by him upon all occasions. This was soon known at the Imperial court, where *Wallenstein*, who still retained the title of duke of *Mecklenburgh*, was again disgraced. It is said, that to facilitate his ambitious schemes, he resumed the thoughts of conquering *Mecklenburgh*; and this was one of the charges brought against him by the Imperial court. This accusation is, however, not very probable, after we reflect that some time before his death, he actually had offered to put himself at the head of the Protestants in *Germany*, if they would consent to assist him in his views upon the crown of *Bohemia*. It is not, therefore, likely, that he had any design against the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, whose cause was espoused by all the Protestants, and even patronized by the court of *Vienna*. But, be that as it will, he rendered himself so obnoxious to the emperor, that he was put to the ban of the empire, and soon after killed by three *Scotch* officers in his own tent.

- g AFTER various fortunes of war between the *Swedes* and the Protestant *Germans* on the one side, and the Imperialists on the other, the treaty of *Prague* was concluded, and signed on the 30th of *May* by all parties; and among others, by the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, whose rights to their dominions were thereby acknowledged by the emperor. The *Swedes* considered this treaty as a defection from the common cause, and accused the Protestant princes, who had brought it about, of perfidy and ingratitude. The elector of *Saxony*, on

War continues between the Swedes and the Imperialists.

on this occasion, declared himself on the side of the emperor, and *Mecklenburgh* again became the seat of war. That duchy had never been evacuated by the *Swedes*, who still kept possession of its most important towns; nor could all the efforts of its dukes, who offered themselves as mediators, effect a reconciliation between the *Saxons* and the *Swedes*. Such was the state of affairs when *John-Albert*, one of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, died, in the 45th year of his age. By the princess his wife, he had two sons, who died infants, and two daughters, *Sephia-Elizabeth*, and *Christina-Margaret*. The former was married to *Augustus*, duke of *Wolffenbuttle*, the treaty of marriage having been far advanced in the father's lifetime. The second wife of duke *John-Albert* was *Elizabeth*, daughter to the landgrave of *Hesse*, by whom he had no issue. His third wife was *Elesnora-Mary*, daughter to *Christiern*, prince of *Anbalt-Dernburg*, by whom he had a daughter *Anna Sophia*, and a son, to whom, in gratitude to his great benefactor, he gave the name of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was but three years of age at the time of his father's death.

As duke *Adolphus-Frederic* was still alive, he claimed the guardianship of his nephew young *Gustavus*, which was disputed with him by the mother, who applied to the emperor, who adjudged to her the guardianship of her own son. Tho' this decree was both just and natural, yet it was far from corresponding with the views of *Adolphus-Frederic*, who suspected that the mother would educate her son in the Roman Catholic religion. He therefore had recourse to arms, that he might assert his right, as being the nearest male relation, and even forced the infant from his mother's tutelage, without the emperor interfering in the matter. When young *Gustavus* was brought to his uncle's court, he was educated a Lutheran. The *Swedes* still kept their footing in *Mecklenburgh*, which was no longer able to supply them with provisions; for the duke of *Saxony* entered it, at this time, with another army, but was forced by the *Swedish* general *Bannier*, who had been reinforced by 12,000 of the elector of *Brandinburgh's* troops, to retreat. The elector of *Saxony* then marched into *Pomerania*, to join the Imperialists in that province; and tho' he was beaten out of it by the *Swedes*, yet being reinforced by a body of *Austrians*, he laid siege to, and took *Magdeburgh* and *Tangermund*, and then pushed *Bannier* back to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, where *Maracini*, one of his generals, took *Stargard*, before which he had been formerly repulsed, and plundered it. The subjects of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, though they had regained their antient sovereigns, were, at this time, in a woeful condition, by having two powerful armies lying in their country. The *Saxons* avoided a battle, and nothing decisive being done, encreased the distresses of the *Mecklenburghers*, who suffered equally from both parties. *Bannier*, at last, attacked the fortified posts of the *Saxons*, whom he utterly defeated, and took the fortress of *Werben*, in *Pomerania*, the garrison of which enlisted in the *Swedish* army. *Bannier* then passed the *Elbe* near that place, and pursued the Imperialists through *Hesse* into *Westphalia*.

NOTWITHSTANDING those losses, the Imperialists, under general *Galas*, indemnified themselves in *Lorraine*, where they took *Kaisar-lauter*, which was an immense loss to the duke of *Weymar*, and put all the garrison to the sword. *Galas* then laid siege to *Deux-Ponts*, and count *Mansfeld*, another Imperial general, blockaded *Mentz*. But a *French* army of 18,000 men, marching into *Germany*, under cardinal *La Vallette*, *Mentz* was re-victualled, and the siege of *Deux-Ponts* was raised. The duke of *Mecklenburgh*, during those and a vast number of other military transactions which were then desolating his country, was busied in his negotiations for an accommodation between the *Swedes* and the *Saxons*, who now acted in the Imperial interest. The chief impediment of his success lay in the convenient situation of his duchy for both parties. The possession of it secured to the *Swedes* a safe retreat into *Jutland*, which the Imperialists were equally eager to cut off; while the duke, partly through inability, and partly in commiseration of his subjects, acted no other part than that of a mediator. He was encouraged by the consideration that both the powers, by which his duchy suffered, were Protestants. But he was disappointed; for ambition and interest took place of all other motives; and the *Swedes* were so much exasperated by the defection, as they called it, of the princes who had invited *Gustavus* into *Germany*, that nothing gave them equal delight, than, without regard to any religion, to multiply the miseries of the empire.

THE treaty between the *French* king and duke *Bernard* of *Saxe-Weymar*, who was thereby constituted general of all the troops in alliance with *France*, encreased the duke of *Mecklenburgh's* perplexities, as it was a kind of declaration of the continuance of the war. In the mean while, the emperor had convoked a diet at *Ratisbon*, previous to the election of his son to be king of the *Romans*; a measure which he had greatly at heart. The Protestant deputies at the diet laid hold of this opportunity to insist upon the pacification of *Germany*, and refused to concur in the election till that could be effected. They were so firm in this refusal,

Duke Adolphus-Frederic obtains the guardianship of his nephew.

Continuation of the war.

Successes of the duke of Saxe-Weymar and Bannier.

- a refusal, that an assembly was called at *Cologne*, and another at *Hamburg*, to which the Protestant princes repaired; but though a king of the *Romans* was elected, the deliverance of *Germany* from the miseries of war was still at a great distance. The courage and successes of *Bannier* and the duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, the Protestant generals, served only to contribute to the unhappiness of *Mecklenburgh*, where both armies, every winter, took up their quarters. The imperialists, though often routed, were gaining upon the main, by means of the vast resources they had in men, money, and provisions; and the death of the landgrave of *Hesse* seemed to leave the *Mecklenburgers* without all hope of relief; for the imperial court, which had been always haughty, became then untractable, and rejected all proposals for an accommodation; so that the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, to their great mortification, saw the confederacy between *France* and *Sweden* renewed for three years.

- b COUNT *Galas*, in the year 1638, commanded the Imperialists in *Mecklenburgh*, where a famine raged through the subsistence which the inhabitants were obliged to furnish for so many armies. *Galas* was attacked by *Bannier* in *Mecklenburgh*, and was obliged to pass the *Elbe* with the loss of 3000 men, while the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* continued his operations through all the winter. This was the more necessary, as the constancy of the Protestant princes had been greatly shaken by the death of the landgrave of *Hesse*. Passing the *Rhine*, he took several towns, and besieged *Rhinsfeld*; but it was relieved by the imperialists, who were afterwards completely defeated by the duke, and then *Rhinsfeld* submitted of course.
- c *Neuburg*, *Rotteln*, and *Brissgau* followed the example of *Rhinsfeld*; and then the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* laid siege to *Brissac*, which the duke of *Lorraine* endeavoured, but in vain, to relieve. The campaign was carried on with less success in other parts of *Germany*, where the prince-palatine, and his brother prince *Rupert*, were defeated in their retreat to *Minden*; but in the year 1639, the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* and *Bannier* agreed upon a joint irruption into the emperor's hereditary territories, as the only means of disposing him to peace. In their march, *Bannier* cut in pieces seven Imperial regiments, and four *Saxon* battalions, and then laid siege to *Friburgh*. Understanding that *Hatzfeld*, the Imperial general, was marching to the relief of the place, and that he was to be joined by a great body of *Saxons*, he raised the siege, and totally defeated the Imperialists. He then broke into *Bohemia*, attacked and defeated *Hofkirk*, another Imperial general, killed 2000 of his men, and made him and *Montecuculi* prisoners. But though *Bannier* was thus victorious, he was unsuccessful upon the whole. He had no resources of men or money to supply the waste of war, nor could he garrison the places which he took. He was in hopes, however, of being joined by the duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, and of making the emperor's hereditary dominions of *Bohemia* and *Silesia* defray the expence of the war; but all his schemes were blasted by his receiving news of the death of the duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, which was reported to have been effected by poison, administered to him by the *French*, because he was too much in the interest of the Protestants, and had refused to deliver up to them *Brissac*. Death of that duke.
- e THE duke of *Saxe-Weymar*'s death was an irreparable blow to the Protestant interest in *Germany*. The *French* arrested the prince-palatine, who pretended to succeed him in the command of his army, which now accepted of a *French* general, the duke of *Longueville*, and gave up all *Weymar*'s conquests to the Most Christian king. The duchy of *Mecklenburgh* continued all this while to be torn in pieces by the *Swedes*, whom *Bannier* had left there under the command of *Oxel-Cili*, and the Imperialists, who wanted to drive the *Swedes* out of *Germany*. All that the duke of *Mecklenburgh* could obtain from either party, was, a permission for some of his towns and territories to remain neutral; and he thereby gained so much respite, that, in 1640, he was present at the nuptials of his niece *Christina-Margaret*, daughter to duke *John-Albert*, with *Francis-Albert*, duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh*.
- f THE Protestant army in *Germany* then continued to be commanded by marshal *Bannier* and the duke *de Longueville*, who acted together, but with very different views; while *Picolomini* was general of the Imperialists, and lay on the frontiers of *Bavaria*, to prevent *Bannier* from penetrating into that duchy. Upon this, *Bannier* resumed his old plan, and required the duke *de Longueville* to join him with his army, that they might force *Picolomini* to a battle. The duke would have gladly avoided the junction, had he not been apprehensive of the consequence, *Bannier* having declared, that if he did not join him, he would no longer look upon the *French* as the allies of *Sweden*, but provide for the safety of his army and himself. The Imperial court endeavoured to improve this misunderstanding, by offering to *Bannier*, that if he would detach himself from his *French* and *German* allies, he should be recompensed with two rich duchies in *Silesia*. *Longueville*, though he could no longer defer his junction with *Bannier*, entered into intrigues to
- zhwart

thwart him in all their councils of war. They had, by this time, been joined by the troops of *Hesse-Cassel*, *Brunswick*, and *Lunenburgh*, and they marched to *Salzfeld* to fight *Picolomini*. That cautious *Italian* knew the temper and views of his enemies too well, not to be sensible that they could not act long in concert together, and therefore he cautiously avoided a battle, to which all the arts and power of the confederates could not force him; so that the campaign was spent in fatiguing marches and counter-marches till both armies went into winter quarters.

NEXT year, the active *Bannier* must have surprised the emperor at *Ratisbon*, had not his project been disconcerted by a sudden thaw. A diet had been convoked for the often-mentioned purpose of restoring peace to *Germany*, and the emperor furnished passports to the ministers of the powers at war, that they might repair to it; but the *French* were to treat at *Cologne*, and the *Swedes* at *Hamburg*. The negotiations met with great difficulties, and the only thing concluded on was, that there should be a congress for a general peace to be held at *Munster*, where the *French* plenipotentiaries were to meet, and at *Osnaburgh*, which was assigned to those of *Sweden*. The emperor refused to ratify those preliminaries, which, as he alledged, were derogatory to his honour; and thus the war broke out with greater fury than ever. *Bannier* penetrated into *Bohemia*, while *Picolomini* besieged and took *New-marck*. After this, *Picolomini* joining his troops with those of *Gleen*, another Imperial general, the whole formed an army vastly superior to that of *Bannier*, whom they pursued across the *Bohemian* forest; but he had the good fortune to escape to the river *Pleiss*, over which he transported his army in boats, when the Imperialists appeared upon the opposite bank. That river, however, did not stop the pursuit; for the *Austrian* horse forded the river, and *Bannier* was now shut up in such a manner between the *Pleiss* and the *Moldaw*, that his ruin was by all *Europe* looked upon as inevitable. Nothing but the utmost efforts of generalship could have prevented it. He made so judicious a disposition of some troops at a pass near a mill, and defended it so bravely, that the *Austrians* were kept in play, till his army, baggage, and artillery reached *Zuickaw on the Moldau*; where he was joined by *Guebriant*, the *French* general. This retreat was one of the best-conducted that ever was made, and an equal honour to the judgment and the courage of *Bannier*, but it proved fatal to him; for though he had youth and a robust constitution on his side, he sunk under the fatigues he had undergone, and died at *Halberstadt*, in the 41st year of his age.

and of Bannier.

NOTWITHSTANDING the death of this great man, who was as amiable in his personal, as he was great in his military capacity, the war was carried on by the *Swedes* with the utmost spirit and intrepidity under *Torsten*son, who succeeded *Bannier* in his command, and, like him, was a great and an able general, and did wonders in *Germany* against the *Austrians*, though he could not bring *Guebriant* to act in conjunction with him, and though the war which then broke out between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, retarded his supplies. He made his winter quarters, however, good in *Bohemia*; he ravaged *Germany*, and in 1645, he narrowly missed surprising the emperor, and his son the archduke *Leopold*, at *Prague*; and compleatly defeated their army in a general engagement. In short, it was thought, not without reason, that had *Torsten*son been properly supported, he must have put an end to the greatness of the house of *Austria*; but we must refer our readers for particulars to the foregoing parts of this history.

Treaty of Munster concluded, which settles the affairs of Mecklenburgh.

LITTLE occurs, during this period, that particularly relates to the affairs of *Mecklenburgh*. That duchy, and the ducal family, participated of the common calamities of *Germany*. Manufactures, trade, and agriculture, were forgotten in the profession of arms, and all civil subordination was laid aside, the inhabitants having been so long enured to military customs. It is true the dukes were at peace with both the parties that were harassing their dominions; but even that consideration brought them little relief; for their duchy was upon all occasions treated as a conquered country, and if one party granted to a place, or a state, a neutrality, the other party obliged the inhabitants to break it. Happily for the repose of *Germany*, the negotiations for a general peace were all this while going on at *Munster* and *Osnaburgh*; and, at last, the same took place in 1648, while the *Swedes* were on the point of conquering all *Bohemia*, under the duke of *Deux-Ponts*. By this peace, which now commonly goes by the name of that of *Westphalia*, the palatine family were reinstated in part of their dominions; the protestant princes received additional securities for their religion and properties; and the duke of *Mecklenburgh* was reinstated in the peaceable possession of all his dominions, excepting the town and port of *Wismar*, which were granted to *Sweden*, together with the bailiwicks of *Pohl* and *Neukloster*.

WISMAR was formerly a hanse-town, and a place of great trade, enjoying even the privilege

a privilege of coining; nor is it at present inconsiderable. It is situated on a bay of the Baltic, and has a good harbour. So far back as the year 1201, it was annexed to the duchy of *Schwerin*, by which it came into the possession of the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*. In 1627, the Imperialists seized upon it, but were dispossessed by the Swedes in 1632. It lay so conveniently for the Swedes, to whom it served as an inlet into *Germany*, that their plenipotentiary offered to put the duke in possession of the bishopric of *Minden* in exchange for it; but the *Mecklenburgh* envoy having no instructions to treat on that head, the proposal was dropped. The bailiwick of *Pohl*, which was ceded at the same time to Sweden, is an island about a German mile distant from the mouth of the harbour of *Wismar*, and contains several towns and farms; as does the bailiwick of *Neukloster*, which is now farmed for 7690 rixdollars.

*A count of the
c. 1000 made
by the duke;*

In compensation for those cessions, the emperor gave the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* the several towns and districts which had formerly belonged to the bishoprics of *Schwerin* and *Ratzeburgh*, which were now secularized, together with *Miro* and *Nemero*, two bailiwicks in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, formerly commanderies of the order of St. John, and belonging to the *Sonneburgh* grand-mastership; but with a proviso of paying the responsibility, which is a kind of tribute to the order. Some other secularized benefices were likewise ceded to the dukes at the same time. Sweden, besides the acquisition of *Wismar*, obtained by the peace of *Westphalia*, in property, the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which they acknowledged to be fiefs of the empire; but the mode of this cession was so indetermined, that it afterwards created great disputes. They likewise obtained the isle of *Rugen*, and all the *Upper Pomerania*, with five millions of crowns, to indemnify them for the expences of the war, and *Brisac* and *Alsace* were ceded to *France*.

*and of his ac-
quisitions.*

Such were the northern arrangements of *Germany* made by the treaty of *Westphalia*, when duke *Adolphus-Frederic* of *Mecklenburgh* re-entered into the peaceable possession of his dominions; which, as we have already observed, he found in a most deplorable condition. His first attention was turned towards securing his subjects in their possessions; in restoring boundaries and land marks; in re-establishing manufactures; but, above all, in restoring agriculture. At the same time, courts of justice began to resume their usual function, as did the ministers of religion; so that the people were soon reconciled to that subordination, which is so requisite in a civil government. The duke, in 1647, had given his daughter, *Anna-Maria*, in marriage to *Augustus*, duke of *Weissenfels*; and in 1649, his niece *Anna-Sophia* was married to *Lewis*, duke of *Leignitz*. Next year, his daughter *Sophia-Agnes* was contracted in marriage to *Augustus* margrave of *Brandenburgh-Bayrent*; but the bridegroom dying before the marriage was consummated, the princess renounced all farther concern with the world, and retired to a religious life. The same year, *Christian*, the eldest son of *Adolphus-Frederic*, married his cousin *Christiana-Margaret*, widow of the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh*, who had been killed in the late wars between the Swedes and the Imperialists.

*Tranquillity
restored to
Mecklen-
burgh.*

The cares of duke *Adolphus-Frederic* were not confined to his own family and dominions, but extended to those of his nephew *Gustavus Adolphus*, duke of *Mecklenburgh* *Gustrow*, who, when he came to be of adult age, entered upon the possession of a fine, and, considering the times, of a flourishing estate. This young prince married *Magdalen-Sibylla*, the daughter of his near neighbour the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*. In the year 1658, died *Adolphus-Frederic*, in the 90th year of his age. The great equanimity with which this prince bore a long train of misfortunes, his patience, prudence and piety, and the paternal care he always exercised towards his subjects, cannot be sufficiently admired; and his virtues were at last rewarded by his uncommon length of life, and by his being enabled to restore to his country order, tranquility, and affluence. His first wife was *Anna-Maria*, princess of *East-Friesland*, by whom he had *Christian*, his eldest son, and successor in his government, and three other sons, *Charles*, *John-George*, and *Gustavus Rodolphus*; with two daughters, *Sophia-Agnes*, and *Anna-Maria*, whose marriage we have already mentioned. His second wife *Catherine*, was of the house of *Brunswic*, and by her he had *Frederic*, to whom he left the district of *Grabow*; with five daughters, *Juliana*, *Sybilla*, *Christina*, *Mary-Elizabeth*, and *Anna-Sophia*. Seven months after his death, his duchess was delivered of a posthumous son, to whom he had eventually bequeathed the district of *Stralitz*, which now goes by the name of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz*.

*Administered
of duke Adol-
phus-Frede-
ric.*

His issue.

CHRISTIAN, duke of *Mecklenburgh*, son to *Adolphus-Frederic*, was one of the most extraordinary characters of his age. He was giddy, capricious, and voluptuous, unthinking, improvident, immoral, and irreligious. With those bad qualities, he was polite, generous, and obliging to the last degree. He had a most pleasing turn of conversation, and he made up the want of deep erudition, by his being master of that kind of learning that is agreeable, striking, and entertaining; and he was possessed of a

*History and
character of
his eldest son
Christian.*

fund of wit, that rendered him the delight of all who approached him. With all those accomplishments and blemishes, he was reckoned to be in his person the handsomest prince of his age; and this, perhaps, was a main source of the irregularities and misfortunes into which he fell; as it was difficult for any woman, if not armed with the severest virtue, when he paid his addresses to her, to look upon him with an eye of indifference. The excellent condition in which the duchy of *Mecklenburgh Schwerin* was, when *Christian* succeeded his father, rendered it easy for him to gratify his passions to the full; the first effect of which was, the ruin of his domestic felicity. His wife, who passionately loved him, could not bear his open infidelity to her bed; nor could he bear her continual bitter reproaches on that head, till, at last, she was exasperated into resentment, and he into hatred, which made a state of separation the most eligible for both; but political, as well as domestic reasons, contributed to *Christian's* unhappiness. a

His father had succeeded in reducing the common people of his duchy to regularity and subordination; but, during the late war, the nobility had been so little sensible of the ducal power, that they had not only acquired a taste for independance, but they refused to pay to their duke the common dues and fines, and even encroached upon his prerogative as sovereign. Mutual recriminations passed between them, the nobility being unanimous in their refusal to pay the sums demanded, and, at last, the cause was brought before the emperor, who was the only judge in such a case. It may be easily imagined, that, during this dispute, the duke must pass his time very indifferently in his court, where he was deserted by all his nobility, and entertained only by the upbraidings of his wife. To put an end to so disagreeable a situation, he named a regency, composed of his counsellors, and came to a resolution of travelling to *France*, in hopes that the gaieties of that court would dispel his disquietudes. While he was there, he fell in love with *Isabella Angelica de Montmorenci*, widow to the duke of *Chatillon*, and sister to the marshal *Montmorenci*. But the duke's first wife being still alive, no expedient could be thought of to complete their union by marriage, but his renouncing his religion; a sacrifice which was easy for a man of his principles and disposition to make; and cardinal *Barterini*, after having received, by the pope's orders, the duke's abjuration of *Lutheranism*, baptized him anew by the name of *Lewis*. b

who turns
Roman Catho-
lic,

and re-mar-
ries.

It does not appear that the execrable purpose of this abjuration was publicly owned by the duke at the time of his abjuration. He was highly caressed by his name-father, *Lewis XIV.* and by him presented with the order of the Holy Ghost; but a short time only cleared up the motives of his conversion. Under the ridiculous pretext of his former marriage having been contracted within the degree of consanguinity prohibited by the canons of the church, and of his not having received the papal dispensation, it was declared to be invalid by the same cardinal; and soon after, he was married to the duchess of *Chatillon*. It was not long before he found his domestic situation more disagreeable than ever. His new wife, without having the same affection for his person as his first had, was extravagant in her resentment of his irregularities, and persecuted him even to a degree of fury. Under those unhappy circumstances he had recourse to philosophy, and sought to divert his uneasiness by the conversation of learned men; but that soon proving ineffectual, he took a most extravagant resolution, but well suited to a man of his volatile temper, which was that of travelling incognito to *Rome*, to see the famous *Kircher*. This jesuit was, in his time, the mountebank of learning. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of erudition, but it was of the abstruse kind; and not having a proportionable share of critical knowledge, he was vain, credulous, and ostentatious, though his works were entertaining and amusing, and carried with them great marks of authenticity, particularly in his researches into the *Chinese* and *Egyptian* learning; and, in short, of antiquity in general. The duke did not find in *Kircher* either the entertainment or improvement he expected. He was disgusted with the father's dry pedantic manner, nor could he conceal his chagrin at being disappointed in his purpose; and when he took his leave, they were equally dissatisfied with each other. c

WHILE *Christian* was thus pursuing either his pleasures or his disappointments in *France* and *Italy*, his duchy of *Mecklenburgh* was once more rendered the seat of war, by the hostilities which again broke out between *France* and *Germany*. The *Swedes*, as usual, took part with the former, and invaded the dominions of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who forced them to retreat into *Mecklenburgh*. The usual plea of necessity superseded all other considerations; for tho' that duchy was equally in alliance with both the belligerent powers, yet it enjoyed no benefit from its neutrality, and the inhabitants were treated with the same severity as if they had been enemies to both. The duke, whose residence upon his own dominions might have alleviated, if not prevented, the calamities of his country, received a farther mortification by the emperor intimating to him, his displeasure at seeing so considerable d

a considerable a member of the *Germanic* body residing at the court of a prince who was the public enemy of the empire. His abjuration of Protestantism, and his treatment of his first wife, who was still alive, and whose brother was the reigning duke of *Gustrow*; his differences with his subjects, and many other causes, contributed to dissuade him from returning to *Mecklenburgh*; but, as the emperor could have no objection to his living in *Holland*, he went to the *Hague*, where he spent the remainder of his days, and died in the 69th year of his age, in the year 1692, without leaving any lawful issue.

He dies in Holland.

FREDERIC duke of *Mecklenburgh Grabow*, brother as we have seen to *Christian*, had been four years dead at this time, and had left by his wife, who was daughter to the landgrave of *Hesse*, three sons; *Frederic-William*, *Charles-Leopold*, and *Christian-Lewis*, and a daughter, *Sophia-Louisa*. The eldest of those sons, *Frederic-William*, claimed the succession to the late duke, as being son of the elder brother; but his title was disputed by *Adolphus-Frederic* of *Strelitz*, *Christian's* posthumous brother, as being next in blood to the deceased. The difference was referred to the arbitration of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who adjudged the succession to the nephew *Frederic-William*, and that too, upon very just principles. Scarcely was this affair settled, when *Gustavus Adolphus*, the duke of *Gustrow*, died likewise. By his wife *Magdalen Sibilla*, daughter of *Frederic*, duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, he had eight daughters; *Mary*, who was wife to *Adolphus-Frederic II.* duke of *Mecklenburgh Strelitz*; *Magdalene*, who died unmarried; *Sophia*, who was wife to *Christian Ulric*, duke of *Wirtemberg-Bensladt*; *Christina*, married to *Christian-Lewis*, count of *Stolburgh*; *Hedwiga*, the wife of *Augustus*, duke of *Saxe-Mersburgh*; *Louisa*, married to the king of *Denmark*; *Elizabeth* to *Henry*, duke of *Saxe Mersburgh*; and *Augusta*, who died single; besides several other children, who died either in their infancy, or without issue. *Gustavus Adolphus*, duke of *Gustrow*, before his death, had fixed the marriage between the king of *Denmark* and his daughter *Louisa*, who, after his death, was received in a most magnificent manner at *Copenhagen*, and married to his *Danish* majesty, in presence of his sister the duchess of *Strelitz*, and the chief nobility of *Denmark* and *Mecklenburgh*.

Account of the line of Mecklenburgh, and the disputes about the succession,

THE death of *Gustavus Adolphus* renewed the disputes between the duke of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz*, and his nephew the duke of *Mecklenburgh-Schwerin*. This, and the former dispute rested on the same principles; the duke of *Strelitz* claimed from proximity of blood; the duke of *Schwerin* by priority of descent, which was strengthened by his having married the eldest daughter of the late duke of *Gustrow*. The succession was too considerable to be decided by any other arbitration than that of arms. The duke of *Schwerin* being more powerful than his uncle, the latter put himself under the protection of the *Swedes*, who, glad of a fresh pretext to get footing in *Germany*, invaded *Mecklenburgh*, and took *Gustrow*. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the court of *Vienna* than this invasion; and the emperor was so much alarmed at it, that he ordered the princes of the *Germanic* body to be assembled, and by representing the danger to which the *Germanic* body was exposed by this irruption of the *Swedes*, they consented that the duchy of *Gustrow* should be sequestered till the succession to it should be determined in a legal manner by the emperor. The cause was accordingly heard, and the right of succession was formally adjudged to the duke of *Schwerin*.

between the branches of Schwerin and Strelitz.

THIS decision, impartial as it was, was not, it seems, agreeable to the modes of succession which generally prevailed in the *Lower-Saxony*, and which are regulated by proximity of blood, and not priority of succession; and therefore the emperor's decision was universally disliked. But besides the hereditary right, pleaded by the duke of *Schwerin*, we find that so far back as the year 1523, the nobility and commons of the duchies of *Schwerin* and *Gustrow* entered into an indissoluble compact of union, which consisted in a conjunction of the provinces, as well as of the states, of which each is composed. The duke of *Strelitz* readily agreed to the vote of sequestration upon the duchy of *Gustrow*; but his acquiescence proved insignificant, for the *Swedes* were in possession of the city, and refused to give it up, or any of the places in *Mecklenburgh*, which they were possessed of. They agreed, however, that the matter should be referred to arbitration; and that the arbitrators should meet at *Hamburg*, which they accordingly did in 1701, after *Mecklenburgh* had been for four or five years desolated by a foreign invasion. The award pronounced at *Hamburg*, was, That duke *Frederic-William* of *Schwerin* should hold the principality of *Gustrow*, with that of *Schwerin*; but that *Adolphus-Frederic* should, besides his duchy of *Strelitz*, hold the principality of *Ratzeburgh*, with the lordship of *Stargard*, and the commanderies of *Miro* and *Nemero*, with a yearly pension of 9000 dollars in specie, out of the *Boitzenburgh* toll. This compact was accepted of by both parties, and ratified by the emperor *Leopold*, who likewise settled a right of primogeniture and lineal succession in both houses.

The Swedes invade Mecklenburgh.

The disputes accommodated by a family compact.

^a BUSCHING, Vol. VI. p. 369.

^c Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 372.

FROM this decisive compact, the division between the lines of *Schwerin* and *Strelitz* in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* took place, and the titles of both dukes now are, duke of *Mecklenburgh*, prince of *Wenden*, *Schwerin*, and *Ratzeburgh*, count of *Schwerin*, and the country of *Rostock*, and lord of *Stargard*. Duke *Frederic William* was a wise and a moderate prince, and made the good of his subjects the only object of his administration; but the dispute between his predecessor *Gustavus Adolphus*, and the nobility of *Gustrow*, though suspended, had never been decided, and it was revived upon his succession. The nobility required of the duke a formal renunciation of his uncle's claims; but the affair was of too great consequence to his posterity for him to give them up, so that his moderation led him to accept of a stated revenue till the difference could be legally decided. This point being settled, he married in 1704, *Sophia-Charlotte*, daughter to the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*. But, notwithstanding all his attention to the ease and happiness of his subjects, the situation of his country brought it under inexpressible difficulties. When *Charles XII.* of *Sweden* undertook to dethrone *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, *Mecklenburgh* became once more the seat of war, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts made by the duke to preserve a neutrality. In short, all the strong places of *Mecklenburgh* were seized by one or other of the parties, and the country itself laid desolate. *Strelitz*, having little or no defence, was again and again plundered by both; and in 1708, *Adolphus-Frederic II.* duke of *Strelitz*, died. His first wife was *Mary*, daughter to the last duke of *Gustrow*, by whom he had a son, who succeeded to his dominions, by the name of *Adolphus-Frederic III.* and a daughter, *Gustava Carolina*, whose husband was *Christian-Lewis*, administrator of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh Schwerin*. The second wife of *Adolphus-Frederic* was *Johanna*, duchess to *Frederic*, duke of *Saxe-Goth*; and his third wife was *Christina-Anelia-Antonia*, daughter to the prince of *Schwartzburgh-Sanderhausen*; and by her he had *Sophia-Christina-Louisa*, who died an infant, and *Charles Lewis-Frederic*, who was but three months old when his father died.

Marriages of
Adolphus-
Frederic,

and of
Charles-
Leopold.

CHARLES Leopold, duke of *Mecklenburgh Schwerin*, married *Sophia-Hedwiga*, daughter of *Henry Casimir-Nassau*, hereditary stadtholder of *West Friesland*; but some disputes happening in their conjugal state, their marriage was annulled by consent of both parties, after they had submitted their differences to the university of *Gripsholm*. The ducal house of *Mecklenburgh*, in the year 1709, was low, as duke *Frederic-William* had no children, which, perhaps, was an inducement to *Frederic I.* king of *Prussia*, to desire his sister *Sophia-Louisa* in marriage, on condition that the duchies of *Schwerin* and *Strelitz*, in the event of their having no male issue, should be settled upon his family. The duke consented to this condition, that he might see his beloved sister a queen. The marriage, however, proved unhappy; the cause was attributed to her capricious temper, and a separation ensued. The duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, all this while, was suffering the most cruel devastations from the troops of the princes who were at war in *Germany*; and their miseries so much affected *Frederic William*, who most tenderly loved his subjects, that he fell into a consumptive disorder. He consulted an ignorant physician, who improperly prescribed to him the waters of *Stagenback*, which finished his life at *Mentz*, in the 39th year of his age, most sincerely lamented by his subjects, in the year 1713. He was succeeded by his brother *Charles-Leopold*.

His differences
and his nobility.

THE reader may remember, that the quarrel which had been begun between *Charles-Lewis* and his nobility, though compromised, had never been thoroughly ended; and length of time gave them a pretext to add prescription to the other reasons of their opposition. The duke was most unhappily situated in this dispute. The emperor, as head of the *Germanic* body, pretended to be the sole arbiter of all the differences between him and his nobility. The states of the *Lower-Saxony* joined the nobility against their duke, and the city of *Rostock*, upon whom he had the like demands, declared against him likewise. It happened, at this time, that, very critically for the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, the system of affairs in the North took a very unexpected turn. The czar, *Peter the Great*, of *Russia*, from the experience he had in his late wars, was encouraged to think, that it would be no difficult matter for him to obtain a footing in the empire; and for reasons that may be found in other parts of this history, he had entered into a most unnatural alliance with his perpetual enemy the king of *Sweden*; and as *George I.* king of *Great Britain* was the greatest obstacle to the ambition of both, they formed a scheme for placing the Pretender on the *British* throne. His *Swedish* majesty being killed, and his ministry ruined, the execution of this plan rested upon the czar alone. Duke *Charles-Leopold* of *Mecklenburgh*, perceiving that all the *German* powers either remained neutral, or took part with his nobility, threw his eyes towards *Russia*; and, by the czar's consent, he married *Catharine*, daughter to the czar *John*, elder brother to *Peter the Great*, whose assistance he implored against his nobility and his enemies in the empire.

NOTHING

a NOTHING could be more fortunate than the situation of *Mecklenburgh* was for the views of the czar, who, of all things, wanted the possession of *Wismar* to give him footing in the empire. From the moment that the match was concluded between his niece and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, he abandoned all thoughts of assisting the Pretender, and was entirely employed upon effectuating his *German* system. This was no secret to the court of *Great Britain*, and it determined king *George I.* to take part with the *Mecklenburgh* nobility. The czar, on the other hand, in the year 1716, made dispositions for becoming master of *Wismar*, which being in the hands of *Sweden*, was closely besieged by the Northern allies, as they were called. With this view, he ordered three *Russian* regiments to march into *Mecklenburgh*, on pretext of assisting the duke against his rebellious nobility, but in reality to get possession of *Wismar*; which, while they were upon their march, surrendered to the allies in *April* 1716, notwithstanding all the efforts the duke made, not only by the *Russian* troops, but by large pecuniary offers, to get possession of it for the czar. Soon after, the whole *Russian* army marched into *Mecklenburgh*, the czar pretending, that his intention was to make a descent upon *Schonen*; which, by the event, it is plain, he never intended, and that his real design was, that his army should take up its winter-quarters in *Mecklenburgh* and its neighbourhood. Little doubt can be made, that, in all this proceeding, the interest of the duke of *Mecklenburgh* was but his secondary view; for his real intention was to possess himself of that duchy, and thereby to acquire a firm footing in *Germany*. For this purpose, he even went so far as to propose to give the duke all his part of *Livonia*, if he would relinquish *Mecklenburgh*. In 1717, king *George*, after presenting the strongest remonstrances, both at the Imperial and *Danish* courts, pressing them to use their interest with the czar to evacuate *Mecklenburgh*, returned from *Germany* to *London*, while the czar's real intentions became every day more and more apparent. He had erected *Rosbeck* into a place of arms, and the flower of his troops, particularly his own regiment, without which he never undertook any expedition in person, was quartered upon the *Mecklenburgh* nobility.

His connections with the czar, who neglected his marriages.

His arms were seconded by memorials, in which he pretended, that the affair of *Mecklenburgh* was an object entirely foreign to a *British* ministry, and that his *Britannic* majesty, through the whole dispute, had artfully blended his character as king with that of elector; and that he could not regularly, in either capacity, become a party against the duke in favour of his stubborn rebellious nobility. Those were plausible allegations, but destitute of truth; and the czar's hopes received a severe blow, by the northern allies blowing up and razing the fortifications of *Wismar*, in the beginning of the year 1718. By this time, all the princes of *Germany* interested themselves in the quarrel, and became parties against the czar, and, consequently, against the duke of *Mecklenburgh*; and this drove the czar into closer connections than ever with *Sweden*, through the agency of the famous baron *Goertz*. It was agreed between them, that king *Stanislaus* should be replaced on the throne of *Poland*; and with regard to his *Britannic* majesty and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, the following stipulations, as published by the court of *London*, were concluded.

Affairs of the North.

“THE czar promises and engages to act with all his troops, to compel the king of *England*, as elector, not only to restore *Bremen* and *Verden* to the king of *Sweden*, but also to give him due satisfaction for the damages he has sustained; and if it happens that the crown of *England* should oppose this, the two contracting parties promise to unite all their forces against it, and not to lay down their arms till that restitution and satisfaction be really obtained from *Hanover*.

“HOWEVER, in case the king of *Sweden* should chuse, before the exchange of the ratifications, to excuse the czar from this obligation; his czarish majesty promises, and takes upon himself, to dispose the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to yield up voluntarily, and for ever, to the king and crown of *Sweden*, the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* and its dependencies for a proper equivalent, which the czar promises to procure for that duke; and as such equivalent cannot be found but on the side of *Poland*, the king of *Sweden* shall engage to assist in getting it.

“AND in this case, the agreements about the succession of families, which are subsisting between the house of *Prussia* and *Mecklenburgh*, shall take place with respect to the equivalent to be given to the duke of that name.”

UPON the whole, it appears, that the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, besides *Livonia*, was to have been indemnified with part of *Esthonia*, *Carelia*, and *Ingria*; and in the plan of execution laid down by baron *Goertz*, it was stipulated, that the czar should furnish 25,000 men to be sent to *Mecklenburgh*, and to be actually there before the arrival of the transports from *Sweden*. The death of his *Swedish* majesty put an end to all those ambitious schemes, and was followed by the execution of baron *Goertz*, their chief planner. The duke of

The Russians occupy Mecklenburgh.

Mecklenburgh was the chief sufferer by this catastrophe. He had quartered the 3000 *Russians* sent him by the czar upon his nobility, and his conduct in calling into *Germany* foreign troops, had rendered him excessively unpopular in the empire. The king of *Great Britain* was his professed enemy, as being a member of the *Lower-Saxony*, and the regent of *France* was connected with *George*. The new government of *Sweden* adopted a plan entirely different from that of the late king, and the czar, notwithstanding his recent family-connection with the duke, became very cold in his cause. To complete his misfortunes, the emperor took upon him finally to decide the long-depending cause between the duke and his nobility in favour of the latter, and committed the execution of his sentence to the king of *Great Britain*, as elector of *Hanover*. At the same time, *Christian-Lewis*, the younger brother of duke *Charles-Leopold*, was made administrator of the duchy, a scanty part of its revenues being allotted for the maintenance of duke *Charles-Leopold*. This prince had a spirit too great to submit to his fortune, which was thus, perhaps, unjustly depressed. Unhappily for him, his resentment was now chiefly directed against his wife's uncle, *Peter the Great*, of *Muscovy*, who he thought had betrayed him, by not sufficiently supporting him against his nobility. His complaints were far from being ill-founded; for it is certain, that *Peter* had led him into those measures that rendered all the empire his enemies, and then withdrew from his assistance. The duke could not bring his spirit to submit so far as even to crave his protection or aid, to recover his dominions; but he loudly accused *Peter*, for having most scandalously withheld from him the portion which had been stipulated for his wife when he married her; and which *Peter* ungenerously alledged he had already paid, by the assistance he had afforded him against his subjects. These altercations with a prince of *Peter's* power, served but the more to depress *Leopold*, who being now, in a manner, an exile from his own dominions, lived with a splendor little suitable to his income, sometimes at *Dantzic*, and sometimes at *Wismar*. In the mean while, his brother, the administrator, was supported by the *Hanoverian* troops, who acted as an army of execution; and the duke, soured by his repeated misfortunes, comprehended even his wife in the aversion he had conceived for the *Russians*, by openly maltreating and abusing her. Upon the death of *Peter II.* of *Russia*, great doubts arose concerning the succession to that empire.

Misfortunes
of the duke.

Succession of
the Russian
empire

THE eldest daughter of the empress *Catharine*, by czar *Peter the Great*, was duchess of *Holstein*; and had the succession been limited for the satisfaction of the *Russians* to the posterity of *Peter*, she had, undoubtedly, the prior right of succession; but she was then dead, and her son no more than ten years of age: a circumstance which rendered his government incompatible with the good of *Russia*, and therefore he was for that time set aside, and the *Russian* nobility threw their eyes back towards the posterity of czar *John*, *Peter's* elder brother. It is evident, that, upon this occasion, the *Russians* had not the smallest regard to hereditary right, provided they were governed by any one of the Imperial blood. Some of them were for forming their empire into a republic, but all of them agreed in setting aside the succession of the duchess of *Mecklenburgh*, tho' she was the eldest daughter of czar *John*, and raising to their throne her younger sister *Anne Iwanowna*, duchess of *Courland*. Their true reason for this was, the aversion they had to all foreign connections, and their dread of being involved in the duke of *Mecklenburgh's* affairs in *Germany*. To colour the injustice done to the duchess of *Mecklenburgh*, it was given out, that the late emperor, *Peter II.* who was invested with the power of nominating his own successor, had passed by the duchess of *Mecklenburgh* in favour of her younger sister.

settled in the
princely of
Mecklen-
burgh.

THE duchess of *Mecklenburgh*, though she was sensible of, and protested against, the wrong that was done her, was destitute of all the means to assert her right; and she was forced quietly to submit to see her younger sister mount the throne of *Russia*. The *Russian* nobility and senate, upon this occasion, discovered the strongest dispositions to limit the Imperial authority; and before the empress took possession of her new dignity, they obliged her to sign a kind of a capitulation, which, in fact, threw the government into their own hands. The empress herself, being a woman of sense and spirit, knew the invalidity of her own title, as well as of the senate's proceedings; but she wisely dissembled both. With regard to the latter, it soon appeared that the new modelled government was no better than an aristocracy, which was likely to prove more oppressive to the people than the power of the crown itself had ever been. Such of the nobility as had been excluded by the new capitulation from the government, readily joined with the empress in annulling the capitulation; and all the measures she took for that purpose were so prudent and so vigorous, that in a few days after her succession, she became as absolute as any of her predecessors had been.

SHE next applied herself towards supplying the defects of her own title; but this she found to be a difficult and hazardous attempt. The *Russians* hated the *Germans* beyond any

^a any other people, and of all the *Germans*, none was so disagreeable to them as duke *Leo-*
pold of *Mecklenburgh*. Though he lived upon very bad terms with his wife, yet he began
now to consider himself as a very powerful prince in her right. The czarina was no
stranger to his bad treatment of her sister, and the aversion the *Russians* had to his person;
notwithstanding which, she resolved to declare the duke's daughter, the only child he had
by his duchess, her successor in the empire. Many reasons of state, however, concurred
for excluding the duke from all benefit that could arise from this high destination of his
daughter. It was easy to foresee, that if the duke should once obtain a footing in *Russia*, he
could soon raise a party that might give great trouble to the government. To prevent so
undesirable an event, the empress privately communicated to her sister the duchess, her
intentions; which were, that her niece, the princess of *Mecklenburgh*, should be educated
^b at her court, that the *Russians* might be accustomed to look upon her as her successor in the
empire; and that, if the duchess possibly could escape from her husband, she should ac-
company her daughter to *Petersburgh*. The duchess, who was thoroughly dissatisfied with
the treatment she met with from her husband, agreed to this proposal; and she and her
daughter effected their escape from the duke into *Russia*, where they were received with all
the honours due to their rank, and the affection borne to them by the empress.

The latter, though a wife and a great princess, had her weaknesses; and her chief one
was an unmeasurable affection she bore towards one *Biren*, a man of mean original,
whom she had preferred to be duke of *Courland*. This ridiculous partiality was by her
carried to such a height, that it influenced all her actions; and it was thought, that could
^c she have done it with any degree of decency or prospect of success, she would have made
him her successor in the empire. She, however, stretched, or rather overstrained, her power
to serve him; and thereby undid all that she had been so long labouring to effect. The
duchess of *Mecklenburgh* had the uncommon satisfaction of seeing her daughter treated as
the presumptive heir of a mighty empire for three years before her death. Her husband,
though sensible how unwelcome his presence must be in *Russia*, could not
resist the impulses of curiosity, and it is said, that he put himself in the train of an embassy,
which he sent to *Petersburgh*, that he might have the satisfaction of beholding the high
marks of distinction paid by the empress to his daughter. In 1739, the czarina gave her
^d niece in marriage to *Antony Ulric*, prince of *Brunswic-Wolfenbuttle*. This match was far
from being agreeable to some of the greatest subjects of the *Russian* empire, who opposed it,
as tending to introduce a *German* government into their country; but the power of the
empress was by this time so well established, that their opposition was fatal only to them-
selves. In the event, the match itself was found to be a political contrivance between
the empress and *Biren*; for the princess of *Brunswic*, who was in her own person, in
the course of descent, preferable to her issue in the succession, being brought to bed of a
son, whose name was *Iwan*, or *John*, the empress *Anne*, who survived the marriage but
about twelve-months, appointed *Biren* to be regent of the empire during the minority of
the young prince, whose father and mother had no other share in the government than the
charge of his education, and that of the other children who might be born of the mar-
^eriage; and who, in case of *John's* death, were to succeed in course to the empire.

This destination, though unjust and absurd in itself, was strengthened with all the pre-
cautions that human policy could suggest to render it permanent. Baron *Osterman*, high
chancellor of *Russia*, was appointed to be first minister; count *Munich*, one of the greatest
generals of his time, was to command the army; and a council, the members of which
were entirely in *Biren's* interest, was appointed during the minority. Those arrangements
were far from being pleasing to the princess of *Mecklenburgh*; but her situation was very
delicate. The validity of her son's nomination to the empire, rested entirely upon the will
of the late empress, which she could not pretend to set aside, without endangering her
own succession. Though she was entirely sensible of the injury that had been done to
her, yet she was forced to dissemble. The right of the duke of *Holstein*, grandson to
czar *Peter the Great*, was secretly abetted by many of the most powerful of the *Russian*
^f grandees. The princess *Elizabeth*, daughter of the same czar and the empress *Catherine*,
was still alive; nor was there in all the civil constitution of *Russia*, a fundamental rule for
succession, excepting the nomination of their several sovereigns, which had been again and
again broken into. All that the princess of *Mecklenburgh*, under such circumstances, could
do, was to form a party to countermine *Biren*, who had no family interest in the empire,
and who was hated by the great nobility. To counterbalance this unpopularity, he made
use of his powers as regent to fill the most important posts in the empire with his own
creatures, and this served only to hasten his ruin. They became easily sensible, that hav-
ing no support but the will of the late empress, which was growing every day more and
more contemptible, they could have no sure dependence upon him; and therefore they
privately

privately connected themselves with the princes of *Mecklenburgh*, who behaved with great a
prudence on this trying occasion.

Death of the
empress Anne.

John pro-
claimed em-
peror.

UPON the death of the empress *Anne*, the young *Iwan*, though but two months old, was proclaimed emperor; and *Biren's* conduct soon gave the princes advantages which she could not otherwise have hoped for. His upstart quality rendered him odious to many of the chief nobility, who, because they distained his favours, were by him sentenced to banishment in *Siberia*. Even such of the nobility as accepted them, were shocked at the thoughts of being obliged for their promotion to one who was so much inferior to themselves. The princes of *Mecklenburgh* omitted no opportunity of fomenting this general discontent; and *Biren* thought himself so secure, that he gave himself little trouble in prying into her conduct, by which she had an opportunity of strengthening her party, till b
her measures being settled, the great nobility of *Russia*, in the night preceding the 17th of *November*, 1740, assembled in the palace of the princes of *Mecklenburgh*, who then bore the title of grand-duchess, and not only declared her regent of the empire, but gave orders for arresting *Biren* as an usurper and a tyrant, which was done accordingly. Soon after, he was legally tried, and sentenced to lose his head; but his sentence was by the grand duchess commuted into that of banishment to *Siberia*, together with all his family and adherents.

Duke of
Courland
condemned.

THE exaltation of the grand-duchess to the regency of the *Russian* empire, gave her father some weight in the affairs of the North, though it does not appear that she interested herself much in the re-establishment of his fortunes. When sentence passed against c
Biren, he was declared to have forfeited the duchy of *Courland*, a proceeding which, however, was afterwards judged to be irregular; and a new election being held, it went in favour of prince *Antony* of *Brunswic*, husband to the grand-duchess, whose power was far from being so well secured as she imagined. The *Swedes* were particularly interested in resenting the injury that had been done to the duke of *Holstein*, and had likewise some territorial disputes with the *Russians*, upon which a war broke out in 1741, in *Finland*. This war was but poorly managed on the part of *Sweden*. *Lascy*, the *Russian* general, took *Wilmanstra*, and gained many signal advantages over the *Swedes*. The great-duchess, at the same time, shewed a moderation with which *Russia* was seldom acquainted. She gave orders, not only that the *Swedish* prisoners should be treated with all kind of huma- d
nity, but that all the subjects of that kingdom, residing in *Russia*, should have security for their persons and effects, and be permitted to reside in, or depart out of, the empire as they should think proper; but the great-duchess herself was now on the eve of a revolution that was to strip her and her family of all their power.

Revolution

THOUGH her son was emperor by a priority of descent from the elder brother of czar *Peter the Great*, yet it was well known, that he filled the throne of *Russia* in direct violation of the testamentary dispositions of that prince, whose memory was adored by the *Russians*. The princes of *Mecklenburgh* and her aunt the empress *Anne* were aware of this difficulty, and therefore they had a strict eye over the princess *Elizabeth*, the only surviving child of *Peter the Great*. This princess resembled her father in his person, was grace- e
ful, majestic, affable, and prudent; and she had, through all the revolutions of government, behaved with so much wisdom and decency, that nothing could be laid to her charge. Notwithstanding this, she was fully sensible of the wrong that had been done her, by being set aside from the succession; and she lived in the palace as a state-prisoner surrounded by spies. This circumstance of confinement awakened the compassion of the *Russians*; nor could all the precautions of the court prevent her from having secret interviews with many noblemen and officers, who promised to stand by her, and assist her in mounting the throne. The difficulties, however, that she had to encounter were so various, and seemingly so insurmountable, that after the scheme of a conspiracy was far advanced, her resolution was staggered at the thoughts of the danger to which she exposed her friends. As f
explanations, by discourse or writings, were dangerous, one of the conspirators, who understood drawing, sketched her figure, with the head taken off by an executioner, himself lying stretched on the rack, and her other friends suffering the most horrible deaths. She comprehended the meaning of the drawing, and that it was far more safe for her and her party to advance than to recede. Matters, however, were not carried on with such impenetrable secrecy, but that the great-duchess had an intimation of the conspiracy going forward, and repaired in person to the apartments of the princess, who received her with so much serenity and composure, that her suspicions vanished, after questioning her upon the subject of her visit, which the princess *Elizabeth* strongly disavowed.

in favour of
the princess
Elizabeth.

UPON the departure of the grand-duchess, in the night between the 5th and 6th of De- g
cember, the conspirators, perceiving their designs could be kept no longer secret, resolved to proceed to immediate execution, and repaired to the apartments of the princess *Elizabeth*, who

a who had already concerted the plan of the revolution. She was favoured by the universal defection of the *Russian* army from the *German* government, as it was called; and their officers repairing to her lodging, she gave orders for securing all the *German* guards, and for preventing any alarm or noise from reaching the ear of the great-duchess. She then put herself at the head of a favourite regiment of guards, and marched to the principal apartments of the palace, where she placed centinels over the great duchess and all her chief domestics, and set guards upon the houses of all her ministers and officers of state. All this was done with so much secrecy and regularity, that the great duchess had no suspicion of what had happened, till, awaking in the morning, she found herself a prisoner; and in a few minutes she understood that the princess *Elizabeth* had been proclaimed empress of the *Russians*. Soon after, the new empress, who had by this time assumed all the spirit of her father, and who seemed to have lost all her timidity with her private station, entered the apartment of the great-duchess, and in person acquainted her with the catastrophe that had happened; exhorting her at the same time to submit to her fate, which was, that she and her son should remove out of the palace to another house, from whence they were to be conducted to *Germany*.

It is to this day uncertain whether the new empress was sincere in this declaration; it is most probable that she was, but that she was afterwards persuaded of the danger that must attend the leaving such powerful competitors for her crown at liberty. The great-duchess and her son, however, set out under a guard; and it was remarked that she behaved with great equanimity. During her government, the princess *Elizabeth* had been treated with less severity than under the preceding, and she had suffered her to keep all the valuable jewels that had been presented or left her by the late empress. The great-duchess had philosophy enough not to repine at her reverse of fortune. She had for some time been reconciled to her father, who had served her faithfully at the northern courts, and whose experience had now rendered him a valuable friend; so that she comforted herself with the prospect of passing the remainder of her days with him and her son. But she was disappointed in those pleasing hopes: the new empress of the *Russias* had issued a commission for trying the heads of the late administration; and it was pretended that such discoveries had been made as rendered it unsafe to trust the great-duchess or her husband with their liberty. Accordingly, in *January* 1742, in their journey to *Dantzic*, they were arrested and carried to *Riga*, where they were put under confinement. All *Europe*, especially the courts of *Germany*, were surprised at this proceeding, as no crime or act of delinquency could be charged against the great-duchess, who had done no more than submitted to the will of others, and that too in her own prejudice. The courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin* presented memorials on this head; but all the answer they received from the empress *Elizabeth* was, that the princess of *Mecklenburgh* should be treated in her confinement with the regard due to her rank, till the state of affairs could admit of her enlargement.

The princess of Mecklenburgh arrested with her husband and son.

In the mean while, the same defect in the succession took place now as had done in the time of the empress *Anne*, and the same remedy was applied: for as that empress reigned in prejudice of her elder sister and her daughter, so the empress *Elizabeth* reigned in prejudice of her elder sister's son, the duke of *Holstein*, who was at the same time next in blood to the crown of *Sweden*. To prevent any bad consequences from this preposterous order of succession, the new empress sent for the young duke of *Holstein*, adopted him as her successor in the empire, and married him in 1745 to the princess *Catherine* of *Anhalt-Zerbst*. His melancholy fate is well known; and his wife, who by birth is in no manner of degree related to the imperial blood of *Russia*, is now the sole sovereign of that empire. As to the princess of *Mecklenburgh*, she died, after being about three years in her confinement; and it is uncertain whether her son is now dead or alive; but if the latter, he is not at his liberty.

f CHARLES LEOPOLD, the deprived duke of *Mecklenburgh*, having no surviving issue of his own body, was succeeded, on his death in 1747, in his duchy by his brother *Christian Lewis*, the administrator of his estates. This prince in 1755, new-modelled the constitution of his state by a fundamental convention which he entered into with his nobility, and which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. He died in 1756, and was succeeded by his son duke *Frederic*, whose mother was *Gustava*, one of the princesses of *Strelitz*. As the situation of *Mecklenburgh* is peculiarly unhappy in all disputes that happen between the *Germans* and the *Swedes*, it became, during the late war between *Prussia* and *Sweden*, a theatre of the most dismal calamities. The duke had seen, in his own family, a melancholy example of disobedience to the head of the empire, and therefore could not be brought to take part against the house of *Austria*. The *Swedes* had no regard to his dominions, more than if they had been an enemy's country, and his *Prussian* majesty treated them with a severity that can scarcely be justified by the laws of war. He

Succession of Mecklenburgh.

not only laid an *affliction* under the most cruel contributions, but obliged the duke's subjects to enlist in his army, and to furnish his troops while they themselves were starving for want of bread. A representation of those miseries is said to have come to his *Prussian* majesty's hands, so feelingly and pathetically drawn, that it is said to have contributed to raise the author to be partner of the first throne in *Europe*.

ADOLPHUS FREDERIC III. duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, the year after he succeeded to his dominions, married *Dorothy-Sophia*, daughter to *John-Adolphus*, duke of *Holstein-Plön*; but he died without having any issue. He was succeeded by *Adolphus-Frederic* IV. the son of his younger brother *Charles-Lewis-Frederic*; which *Adolphus-Frederic* is the present reigning duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz. Besides him, his father had by his wife, *Albertina-Elizabeth*, daughter to *Ernst-Frederic*, duke of *Saxe-Hildburghausen*, *Charles-Lewis-Frederic*, born the 10th of December 1741, who has a considerable post in the *Hanoverian* service; *Ernst-Gottlob-Albert*, born August the 27th, 1742; and *George-Augustus*, born August the 3d, 1748; and two daughters: *Christina-Sophia-Albertina*, born December the 6th, 1735; and *Sophia-Charlotte*, the present queen of Great-Britain, born May 16th, 1744, and married to his present *Britannic* majesty September the 8th, 1761. Here the history of Mecklenburgh properly ends; and we shall now, as usual, proceed to give some account of the duchy itself, and its constitution; which are well worthy the attention of the reader.

Natural history of Mecklenburgh.

AUTHORS and geographers are divided with regard to the extent of this duchy. *Beers*, in his *Reb. Mecl.* (says *Bufeking* in his Geography) makes its length fifteen German miles, and its breadth twelve; whereas *Franke*, in his *Mecklenburg*, gives it (and that too exclusive of the lordship of *Stargard*) a length of eighteen such miles, but reduces its breadth to nine; and, according to *Cramer*, it is from twenty-four to thirty long, with a breadth of nine, ten, and eighteen. The last computation seems to approach nearest to the truth; but till the exact measurement of the country be completed, and the result of it published in a map, no precise determination can be made. Within it also lie the principality of *Schwerin*, and the Swedish town of *Wismar*, with its dependencies. As to the country itself, even the inhabitants are divided with regard to its fertility and produce; but the unfavourable representations that have been published of it are justly to be suspected, because they were drawn up to move the commiseration of the imperial court, in the dispute between the duke and his subjects, by placing their circumstances in the most disadvantageous light. It is true, great part of the country is taken up with unprofitable lakes, and some of it is heathy and sandy; but upon the whole it is fertile, and produces every thing necessary for human subsistence, its soil being equal to that of *Holstein* and *Pomerania*, two of the finest corn-countries in *Europe*. Its greatest misfortune lies in its situation, which has so often within these two centuries rendered it the seat of war, that the inhabitants have not had leisure to give their grounds the necessary culture. Even the sandy parts of it, when tilled, produce excellent rye, when untilled they make good sheep walks, and when improved they afford barley and wheat in great abundance. The country is as pleasant as it is fertile, being interspersed with hill and dale, woods, lakes and rivers, which yield excellent game, fish, and great numbers of cattle for exportation; and even their marshy grounds, when drained, are excessively profitable. Baron *Luke*, who had a considerable place in the administration of Mecklenburgh in 1730, in a publication of his, affirms, that in the year 1632 the nobility and land-holders of Mecklenburgh estimated the collective value of their estates at 10,323,317 guilders; but, at the time he wrote, he affirms, that their rents amounted to twenty-one millions of guilders; so that the whole duchy raises to its owners annually about a million sterling.

ABOUT a century ago a bold project was formed for making a navigable canal to run south from *Wismar* to the lake of *Schwerin*, and along the *Stor* and *Elde*, so as to open a navigation between the *North Sea*, and the *Baltic*, and to avoid the passage of the *Sound*; but this project, which must have been so detrimental to the crown of *Denmark*, and other powers, was soon discontinued. Among other disadvantages attending the situation of Mecklenburgh, is the neglect of commerce; for though it might have three separate harbours on the *Baltic*, it has but one, which is *Rostock*. Towards the south-west the duchy of Mecklenburgh is washed by the *Elbe*, which is joined by the *Elde*, rising out of the *Plauer Lake*. The river *Reckenitz*, so called from a village of that name, rises in the principality of *Wenden*, and divides Mecklenburgh from *Pomerania*, discharging itself at last into the *Baltic* on one side, as the *Pene* does on the other. Besides these rivers, many others arise in Mecklenburgh; the *Havel* particularly, which issues from the principality of *Wenden*, and runs into the *Marche* of *Brandenburg*.

Its Cities.

EXCLUSIVE of *Rostock*, are found in Mecklenburgh forty-five cities and towns, great and small, three convents, and 594 manors, the peasants of which are in the state of the old English

a *Englſh* villainage, their perſons being transferable with the land. It is remarkable, however, that the intereſt of the ſovereigns of *Mecklenburgh* has been greatly reduced ſince the year 1628, at which time they poſſeſſed 1000 farms, their nobility no more than 100, and the convents 708. In the duchy are three capitals: *Parſow*, which is the metropolis of the *Mecklenburgh* circle; *Güſtrow*, that of the principality of *Wenden*; and *New-Brandenburgh*, of the *Stargard* circle. Each of theſe capitals convokes the towns of its circle, and its magiſtrates preſide in all public aſſemblies. We have already mentioned the fundamental convention entered into by duke *Chriſtian-Lewis* at *Roſtock*, on the 18th of *April* 1755. By that it was agreed, that all and every eſtate or parcel of land belonging either to the nobility, the three convents of the country, the diſtrict of *Roſtock*, the dependencies of the municipal towns, and economies, ſhould be meaſured and reduced into huſe, one half of which, on performing the ſeveral ſervices reſerved in feodal and allodial patents, ſhould be exempt from the contribution; but the other half remain ſubject to it, and agreeably thereto pay the annual aſſeſſment.

See Buſching.

The ſtates of *Mecklenburgh* conſiſt of nobility and towns; and we have already mentioned the indiſſoluble contract of union entered into between the nobility and commons of the two duchies of *Schwerin* and *Güſtrow*, in 1523: "this union (ſays *Buſching*) conſiſts as well in a conjunction of the provinces, as in that of the ſtates, of which each is compoſed. With reſpect to the former, it was agreed, that all the free ſettled inhabitants of both duchies, including the whole of the *Stargard* circle, ſhould enjoy an undiſturbed equality in rights, privileges, and immunities, in ſuch manner that theſe three circles ſhould be governed by the ſame laws, ordinances, and compacts; and that on ſuch an equality and communion, both in the civil and eccleſiaſtical government, diets, contributions, and provincial convents, as was agreeable to the tenor of the ſaid union, and of courſe in all other rights, privileges, and immunities; and that in all caſes and exigencies they ſhould be duly aiding in council and action. The latter, or the conjunction of the nobility and towns, implies an irrevocable participation and community of all the rights and prerogatives appertaining to the nobility and ſtates; and conſequently that *Roſtock* and the other towns ſhould not be curtailed, detrimented, or excluded from their ſhare in the diets, courts of juſtice, leſſer committee, convents, and all other customary rights and duties. Farther, one ſtate ſhall not, without the knowledge or conſent of the other, make any contract relative to common rights; and all contracts ſo made are declared null and void. In another inſtrument, oppoſite to the former, the union of 1523 is not to be brought in plea, nor be of any validity, either directly or indirectly; nor ſhall the ſovereignty of the country be impaired or weakened thereby."

The buſineſs of the diets, all which are ſummoned by the duke, is to fix annual contributions; to iſſue proper directions with regard to the taxes paid to the empire or the circle; to ſettle the portions paid to the princeſſes; and to remedy grievances. The ſtates of the three circles are ſummoned to thoſe diets, which are alternately held at *Sternberg* and *Enſchlin*, in autumn; but, upon extraordinary occaſions, the duke may aſſemble them at any time of the year, ſpecifying four weeks beforehand, in the ſummons, the particular buſineſs upon which they are convened. When they meet, their propoſals are regularly ſent to the nobility and the ſtates, and they return their answers in a few days. Four provincial counſellors, properly qualified, are appointed for each of the two duchies of *Schwerin* and *Güſtrow*; and in caſe one of thoſe counſellors drops off, the duke names his ſucceſſor out of a liſt of three people, preſented to him by the nobility and ſtates of the duchy in which the vacancy happens. The preſident in each circle is an hereditary maſter, who ranks with the colonels, as the provincial counſellors do with the duke's privy-counſellors.

"The leſſer committee of the nobility and ſtates conſiſts of two provincial counſellors; that is to ſay, one from each duchy; with three deputies of the nobility, being one from each circle; one deputy of the town of *Roſtock*; and three from the vorderſtädte of *Parſow*, *Güſtrow*, and *New-Brandenburgh*; making in all nine perſons; but this number the nobility and ſtates may encreaſe at their own expence. This committee is, by a royal edict, inveſted with the weight and rights of a college repreſentative of the whole body of the nobility and commons. The choice of the members is left intirely to the free will of the nobility and commons. With regard to ordinances relative to the whole country (the nobility and commons included) the opinion of the latter is firſt demanded, and nothing enacted in prejudice of their rights. The meetings of the nobility in the ſeveral bailiwicks are under no reſtrictions; but other aſſemblies, or *Landes-convente*, as they were called, which may be thought neceſſary, muſt be convened by writ from the ſovereign."

See Buſching.

With regard to the religion of the *Mecklenburghers*, the bulk of them are *Lutherans*, but intermingled with *Calviniſts* and *Roman Catholics*. Their religious affairs are in the hands of ſuperintendants, in the nature of biſhops, and under them are provots; moſt of

Berlin.g
Government,

of their towns have grammar schools, but *Rostock* is an university. The exports of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh* consist in corn, flax, hemp, hops, wax, honey, cattle, butter, cheese, wool, and several kinds of wood. But their manufactures of wool, leather, tobacco, and other trades, are too few and insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. The duke of *Mecklenburgh-Schwerin*, as possessed of the two duchies of *Schwerin* and *Güstrow*, has two votes among the princes in the diet of the empire, and in the circle of the *Lower Saxony*. His assessment for his dukedoms, in the matricula of the empire, is forty horse and sixty-seven foot, or 748 florins to a *Roman* month: but when the towns of *Wismar*, and the bailiwicks of *Poll* and *Neukloster*, were dismembered from the duchy, an abatement was made in this assessment, which was to be made up by the *Swedes*.

THE privy-council of the regency belonging to the dukes is the supreme college, but a demesne chamber manages the revenue. "From the three law courts at *Schwerin*, *Rostock*, and *Strelitz*, as likewise from the *Rostock*-consistory, appeals lie to the high and provincial court of justice, some particular cases excepted, in which appeals are precluded, either absolutely or in part. Ever since the year 1701 this high and provincial court of justice assembles at *Güstrow*, holding its sessions four times a year. This court is common not only to the two ducal lines, but the nobility and states likewise have a share in its administration. The presidents and vice-presidents, with four assessors, are nominated by the duke. The nobility lends to it four extraordinary assessors, and one ordinary; but the three other ordinary assessors come from the principality of *Schwerin*, the university of *Rostock*, and the town of *Rostock*. Processes, as far as comports with the privilege granted to the duke's *de non appellando*, may be removed from those courts to the high tribunals of the empire. The nobility and states continue unmolested in the jurisdiction granted them, together with their fiefs and estate, as likewise the magistrates in that appertaining to them in the towns; namely, of being invested with the first hearing of causes."

Ibid.

and revenues.

As to the revenues of the *Schwerin* line, duke *Frederic William* publicly declared, that those arising from the demesne bailiwicks and regalia brought him in 300,000 rix-dollars a year; so that, upon the whole, the income of the duchy cannot be estimated, at less than 100,000 *l.* sterling a year. The public expeditures are either ordinary and annual, and ordinary or extraordinary. "To the former the sovereign, for his demesnes, has engaged to furnish the sum of 6000 rix-dollars, and a like sum also for all his patrimonial towns collectively; but the nobility pay their proportion according to the number of their taxable hufs. The annual quota of the town of *Rostock* is 2000 rix-dollars. The extraordinary charges levied for the public safety and benefit, are defrayed by imposts agreed on between the sovereign, the nobility, and the states; and to these the prince's demesnes, as well as the estates of the nobility and towns, contribute all in common one third; whereas the expences which are levied for the convenience of one state only, are defrayed out of its particular purse."

Ibid.

"WITH respect to the revenues of the dukes of the *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz* line, the *Stargard* circle, out of the land, and other taxes, produces annually between 70 and 80,000 rix-dollars. In the *Hamburg*-act of 1701, the revenues of the demesne bailiwicks of this circle were estimated only at 31,000 rix-dollars; but under duke *Adolphus-Frederic IV.* they are said to have been improved to above 20,000 more. From the principality of *Ratzeburgh*, and the *Boitzenburgh*-toll (out of which it levies 9000 dollars in specie) the duke receives about 46,000 rix-dollars; and consequently in the whole about 126,000 rix-dollars."

FOR the maintenance of the duke's troops no payment is required, either of the nobility or states, the convents, or places in the district of *Rostock*, the duke taking on him to defray all the expence of the military establishment out of the annual contributions agreed on. The nobility and their vassals are also exempted from quartering and maintaining the militia, as the municipal towns are from quartering the horse. Except also in urgent cases, and such as threaten the safety of the empire, circle, or country, the nobility and states are exempt from furnishing magazines, or summoning their vassals and dependants to work at any fortification, or to carry necessaries thither, or to pay money in lieu of such services. The towns, however, quarter the foot, and pay service-money."

Great expence
in executing
the ban of the
empire.

THE two duchies are divided into three circles; the *Mecklenburgh*, the *Wender*, and the *Stargard*. The *Mecklenburgh* circle properly consists of the antient duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, but now comprehends the county of *Schwerin*, the western part of the principality of *Wenden*, and part of the lordship of *Rostock*. The head town of the circle is *Parchim*, which contains nothing remarkable. The *Elde* divides it into two towns, the Old and the New. It sends a deputy to the lesser committee of the states, and formerly it had a castle and a mint. *Schwerin* was the residence of the dukes of that line, and is situated on a fine lake, in which there is an island containing the duke's palace, which communicates with the town by a bridge. The situation, the gardens, and the paintings of this palace are very fine.

- a fine. We have already mentioned upon what occasion the bishopric of *Salzwitz* formed part of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*. The cathedral of that see was founded in 1170 by *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, who gave the property of the county to *Gauzenburgh*, which is chiefly remarkable for its antiquity and toll on the river *Elbe*, producing about 4,000 dollars yearly, 9000 of which, as we have already observed, is part of the revenue of the duke of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz*. The income of this toll, and of other bailiwicks, the whole amounting to 60,000 rix-dollars a-year, were in 1734 appropriated by the emperor to the house of *Brunswick-Lunenburgh*, in consideration of the great expences attending the executing the ban of the empire in 1732, of which the *Brunswick* share alone amounted to 789,856 rix-dollars, 12 ruitzers; the duke of *Brunswick's* to 268,755 rix-dollars; and the sum-total to 1,018,272, exclusive of 50,000 rix-dollars advanced by the elector of *Brunswick* for the *Salzburg* troops, besides the charge incurred in quelling a tumult.
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It must be acknowledged, that this immense expence was too hastily liquidated by the emperor, who had at that time his reasons for obliging, to the utmost, the princes of the *Brunswick*-line. Besides the above-mentioned towns, this circle contains twenty bailiwicks, one of which is that of *Mecklenburgh*, which some writers call *Megapolis*, or the Great Town. In 1053 a bishoprick was founded there; and at that time it contained three convents. In 1164 it was taken and burnt to the ground by *Fribislaus II.* the last king of the *Obodrites*; but in the year 1170 it was rebuilt, tho' it never recovered its antient lustre; and since the building of *Wismar*, it has dwindled into a village. The bailiwick of *Dobberan* lies in the lordship of *Rostock*, about half a German mile from the *Baltic*. A famous *Cistercian* monastery formerly stood here, which in 1179 was demolished by the *Wendi*, but rebuilt in 1186. Its church is very large, and in it lie interred two kings of the *Obodrites*, with twelve lords of *Werle*, several princes of *Mecklenburgh*, and other persons of note. At present, the convent is converted into a hunting-seat; and out of the produce of its lands, and some salt-works at *Lunenburgh*, which were bequeathed to the university of *Rostock*, the professors were paid their salaries. Along the *Baltic*-coast, in the neighbourhood of this bailiwick, runs the celebrated *Heiligen-Damm*, being a natural wall of stones, of most beautiful imagery and colours.

c

The bailiwick of *Eldena*, in the principality of *Wenden*, was formed out of a *Benedictine* nunnery, founded in 1230; but that institution has been discontinued ever since the Reformation took place in this duchy. The revenues of this bailiwick are mortgaged to the house of *Brandenburgh*. It contains an allum mine, and a salt-work; and a remarkable strong castle stood within it in former times. Within this bailiwick lie a great number of noblemen's estates, which we shall forbear to particularize.

The *Wenden* circle contains the greatest part of that principality, as well as of the duchy of *Gustrow*, and the whole of the lordship of *Rostock*. *Gustrow*, the capital of the circle, is situated in the principality of *Wenden*, on the little river *Nebel*; being one of the largest and most pleasant towns in the whole country, as also the seat of the chief courts of judicature, and a superintendency. In this town is a good palace of the prince's, and in the church belonging to it lies the vault of the ducal family. It contains likewise a cathedral, and one parish church. In 1220 it obtained the *Salzwitz* right. This circle, besides a great many other towns and bailiwicks, contains the town of *Rostock*, anciently called *Ratztock*, which is the largest in both duchies; but, instead of forming one of the states, it is reckoned only among the nobility; nor was it included in the partition made in 1621 between the dukes *Adolphus-Frederic I.* and *John Albert II.* its district remaining in common to both princes and duchies. *Rostock* lies on the *Warno*, at the mouth of which it has a harbour named *Warnemunde*, and thus it enjoys also a convenient situation for trade. It consists properly of three parts. The *Altstadt*, or Old Town, stands on an eminence towards the east, and contains the churches of *St. Nicholas*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Catharine*. Of these, the two first are parochial. In 1677, the greatest part of this place was destroyed by fire, but has been since rebuilt with greater regularity and conveniency. The *Mittlerstadt*, or Middle Town, is separated from the *Altstadt* by a branch from the *Warno*. In it lies *St. Mary's* church, being a stately structure, in which are preserved the entrails of the celebrated *Grotius*, who died in 1645. In this part also is the church of *St. John*, containing a library, with the council house. In the *Neustadt*, or New Town, lies *St. James's* church, which was formerly collegiate, and contained a library, together with that of the *Holy-Ghost*, having a rich alms-house, the church of *St. Michael*, and that of the *Holy Cross*, at the last of which is a convent for

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The reason of the same.

The Wenden circle.

^a EUSCHING, ubi supra.

^b Ibid.

young ladies, natives of *Rostock*. The town-prior of this church is chosen by the conventualists and burgher-masters, and confirmed by the dukes. The university lies likewise in the New Town. This was jointly founded by the dukes and the town, in 1419, and privileged by pope *Martin V.* whose bull was afterwards confirmed by the emperor *Ferdinand I.* In 1437, the town falling under the ban both of the emperor and pope, the professors removed to *Griefswalde*, from which place they returned not again till the year 1443. In 1487, a misunderstanding having arisen between the dukes and the town, the university was removed to *Lubeck*, but restored again in 1492. This place has not only suffered thrice, and that too very considerably, by the pestilence, but at the beginning of the Reformation was almost entirely forsaken by its professors and students; till, in 1530, *Arnold Buren* vigorously set about the restoration of it, and in 1560, the emperor *Ferdinand* endowed it with a new charter. Pursuant to a convention made in 1563, between the dukes and the town, the former nominate and pay fifteen professors, and the town nine. The senate of the academy consist of nine ducal professors, and the nine appointed by the magistracy. In the same convention it was agreed, that the dukes should annually contribute the sum of 3000 florins, and the town 500, towards the salaries of the professors. Here is also a public free grammar school. The twelve ministers of the town, in conjunction with the superintendant, form the consistory, from which appeals lie to the two supreme courts of justice. The dukes are possessed of the mansion-house, which formerly belonged to the abbot of *Dobberan*; and, on account of their frequent residence in it, stile *Rostock* their residence-town. The magistracy consists of three burgher-masters, one syndic, twelve Aldermen, one secretary, and a prothonotary. It is endowed with the right of coining copper, silver, and gold, and in consequence thereof has a mint. It sends a deputy to the lesser committee, and an extraordinary assessor to the two supreme courts of justice. Both the civil and criminal jurisdiction are vested in the magistracy, though with right of appeal to the two supreme courts of justice, or the magistracy, except in those cases where no appeal is allowed. The town enjoys other considerable privileges, yet is hereditarily subject to the dukes, to whom, as an acknowledgment of its subjection, it annually pays the sum of fifty-five rix-dollars, as an *Urbor* (or *tributum originale*); as likewise the sum of 600 florins, in consideration of the grant of an excise. Of its contribution to the public expenditures, mention has been made in the introduction. *Rostock* carries on a large trade. About the year 1030, it was erected into a town, and in 1160, enlarged and fortified out of the remains of the town of *Kiszin*, which once stood in its neighbourhood. In the year 1218, *Lubeck*-rights were conferred on it, and in the same century also it was admitted into the Hanseatic confederacy. About the same time too, it had still its own lords. On the death of *Nicolas*, the last of those lords, it fell under the dominion of the margraves of *Brandenburgh*; but eight years after it threw itself, on a disgust, under the protection of *Eric*, king of *Denmark*; from whom, about ten years after this event, that is to say, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, it likewise detached itself. This gave rise to a hot war, both with the *Danes* and *Henry* duke of *Mecklenburgh*; during which the burghers, in a tumult, killed their magistracy, and chose others in their stead. But being besieged by duke *Henry* in 1314, they came to an accommodation with him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. In 1323, duke *Henry* procured himself to be invested with the lordship of *Rostock*, by *Christopher* king of *Denmark* and his son *Erick*. In 1428, they again deposed their magistracy; but for this being excommunicated in 1437 by the church of *Basil*, and put under the ban by the emperor, they restored them two years after to their former dignity. In 1487, they again revolted against the dukes, which gave rise to a five years war. In the sixteenth century new animosities broke out between the town and the dukes; but in 1573 and 1584, these were composed by a perpetual convention. In 1620, a compact was concluded for the town-excise, strand monies, and estates; and in 1715, another relating to the right of garrisoning, hunting, and excise¹.

Description of
the district of
Rostock.

THE district of *Rostock* consists of the lands belonging to the town, the alms-house, and the convents. *Warnemund* haven contains a church which belongs to *Rostock*; and when the trade of that district was in a more flourishing condition than it is at present, the *Swedes* levied a toll of two rix-dollars and an half on all shipping passing that way, which produced 80,000 rix-dollars a-year: but, according to *Busching*, at present it scarce exceeds 6000. This toll was imposed by *Sweden* in the thirty years war; and the toll-right in the ports of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburgh* having been granted to it at the peace of *Westphalia*, they retained this; and for the further securing and levying of it, erected a fort here. This fort the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* have complained of, alledging that the toll-right is to be understood only of the harbours of the towns which were ceded to

¹ BUSCHING, ubi supra.

a Sweden. That crown, however, has kept possession of it; but about the year 1740, mortgaged it to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*.

THE three following *Lutheran* convents for ladies, appertaining to the nobility and states of both duchies, are by the *Reversalia* of 1572, and the perpetual convention of 1755, to be maintained in their respective privileges. The nobles and states chuse, nominate, and change, at pleasure, the purveyors and other officers of these convents, though with the prince's confirmation; but if this be not done within a year and a day, such delay is deemed a confirmation. The accounts belonging to them are annually controlled by the sovereign and the several deputies of the nobility and states. The town's share in them, pursuant to the act of the nobility and states at the diet of *Gustrow* in 1737, and the perpetual agreement of 1755, consists herein; viz. That in the three places belonging to the convent of *Dobbertin*, they raise the full sum, and in six other places one-half; that is to say, two of each convent, each to be computed at sixty rix dollars yearly, but nothing more, and thus of course neither dwelling nor provisions. The convents may not, without the joint consent of the prince, nobility, and states, purchase or acquire any parcel of land, though they are allowed to exchange, or with their savings to buy, whatever land they please out of the duchies. The *jus primarium precum* remains inviolable to the convents, by the solemn promises both of the dukes and their consorts. Both they and their states too are represented on all occasions by the nobility and states. Next follow the convents themselves; viz.

c THE convent of *Dobbertin*, situated on a small lake in the principality of *Wenden*, not far from the *Goldberg*. This convent was founded by duke *Henry I.* as a monastery of *Benedictine* monks; but in 1222, was converted into a nunnery of that order. On the Reformation it was sequestered; but in 1572 the dukes *John-Albert* and *Ulrich* transferred it to the states. Belonging to it are twenty-eight villages.

THE convent of *Ribnitz*, the town of which name is described above. This convent was founded in 1323, by duke *Henry IV.* In his palace in the said town is a nunnery for ladies, of the order of *St. Clare*. In 1572, the sovereigns transferred it to the states. Under it are thirteen villages; and it is likewise possessed of the patronage of *St. Mary's* church in *Ribnitz*, as also of those of *Schwan*, *Darso*, *Wustro*, and *Marlo*. Lately also, with the sovereign's consent, it made a purchase of the *Wulfshagen* estate.

d THE convent of *Malcho*, the town of which is described above. This convent was originally intended for a *Dominican* monastery; but its monks afterwards exchanged it with the *Augustine* nuns of *Rabel*. In 1572, the sovereigns made a grant of it to the states. Belonging to it are fourteen villages, together with the patronage of the town of *Malcho*, and likewise those of *Lexo* and *Gruffo*.

THE circle of *Stargard*, which forms a part of the duchy of *Gustrow*, consists of the ancient lordship of *Stargard*. This country was the subject of long contests between the princes of *Mecklenburgh* and the margraves of *Brandenburgh*. In 1283, the margrave *Albert IV.* gave it with his daughter *Beatrix* to duke *Henry IV.* who in 1303, still paid an acknowledgment of 5000 marks for it. In 1317, the elector *Waldemar I.* made a second donation of it to duke *Henry IV.* and in 1349, a like cession was made by the elector *Lewis II.* to the dukes *Albert II.* and *John VIII.* and lastly, in the year 1377, the emperor *Charles IV.* annexed it for ever to the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*. In 1621, it became a part of the duchy of *Gustrow*. In 1701, at the convention of *Hamburg*, it was transferred by *Frederic-William*, duke of *Mecklenburgh-Schwerin*, to *Adolphus-Frederic II.* duke of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz*, "cum omni jure principum imperii, in such manner that the said duke should, without reserve, exercise in it the *jura territorii & superioritatis*, in all causes and affairs, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and by whatever name distinguished; as also, that as *dominus feudi directus*, all *Mecklenburgh* vassals should hold of him; but the states in it were to remain in an indissoluble union with the whole body of the states and nobility of *Mecklenburgh*, to be continued in the enjoyment of their votes at the diets, and remain capable of being chosen for provincial counsellors, assessors in the high-courts of justice, and administrators of certain convents." The nobility and towns of this circle are summoned to the diets and other assemblies by the duke of *Mecklenburgh-Schwerin*, who acquaints, however, the duke of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz* of it, specifying also the articles to be laid before them; and he has likewise the power of sending a representative to inspect the several necessities of the circle. The taxes and collections levied in this circle, as agreed on in the general diets or meetings of the nobility and states, are remitted to the common treasury of the province; but the *Stargard quota contributionis* is refunded. The courts of justice and the consistory are usually held in the duke of *Schwerin's* name; but in causes relating to the inhabitants of the *Stargard* circle, the citations, injunctions, and sentences, run in both titles, and the duke of *Strelitz* may

may appoint his assessor at the courts, and his superintendant of *Stargard* to sit in the a consistory.

Of the circle
of *Stargard*,

THE chief towns in the circle of *Stargard* are, *New Brandenburg*, which is the capital of the circle, and contains two churches, with a grammar-school. Its streets are straight and broad, and its form circular. *Old Stargard* contains a palace built by the princes of that title. *Strelitz* is a town situated in a marshy neighbourhood. This place was erected in 1349, by *Otho* and *Ulrich*, counts of *Furstenburgh*. In 1575 and 1676, it was entirely destroyed by fire. Duke *Adolphus Frederic* chose the palace here for his residence; but on its being burnt down in 1712, that duke built another palace, a little way out of the town, at a place called *Glienke*; and in 1733, also founded a town adjoining to it, under the name of *New Strelitz*, taking it for granted, that in time it would enlarge so b as that *Old* and *New Strelitz* would become one place *. *Furstenburgh* is a town which gives name to a county erected in 1349, by the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, in favour of count *Otho-Dewitz*; but that family siding with *Pomerania* in 1369, duke *Albert* re-assumed it to himself. *Wesenberg* is a small town; but *Poel*, which is part of its estate, is remarkably fertile. We have already mentioned the bailiwicks of *Nemiro* and *Miro*, which the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* acquired by the cession of *Wismar*.

and *Wismar*.

WISMAR, in ancient records, styled *Wissmer* and *Wismar*, is a town seated on a bay of the *Baltic*, with a good harbour. This is one of the best and largest places in all those countries, as besides its six churches it has also a particular consistory of its own, with a grammar-school under the direction of eight masters; and is the seat likewise of a *Swedish* c court of justice erected in 1653, both for the district and *Swedish Anterior Pomerania*. This court consists of a president, a vice president, and four assessors. *Wismar* still enjoys a middling trade. It was formerly also a hanse-town, and possessed of the privilege of coining. Its annual contribution amounts to 3000 rix-dollars; the licent to about 3500; and the rent of the ground here, which formerly composed a part of the works, with that lying in other places, produces 6 or 7000 rix-dollars. The first origin of this town is not known with any degree of certainty. In 1238 it was enlarged, and in 1266, obtained the *Lubeck* right. In 1261, it was annexed to the duchy of *Schwerin*. In 1627, the Imperialists got possession of it, but in 1632, were driven out by the *Swedes*, to whom it was absolutely ceded at the peace of *Westphalia* in 1648. In 1675, the *Danes* took d it, but in 1680, restored it; whereupon, between the years 1681 and 1711, its fortifications were increased. At the end of the year 1711, it was bombarded by the *Danes*. In 1715, it was blockaded, and in 1716 taken by the northern confederates; who, from the winter of the year 1717 to 1718, blew up and razed the fortifications, particularly *Wal-fisch*-fort, which stood on an island. In 1758, the *Prussians* raised large contributions here.

* BUSCHING, ubi supra.

Sequel of the HISTORY of EUROPE,

Continued to more Modern Times.

S P A I N.

^a **T**HE vast variety of matter which fell into the preceding history; and the intermixture of interests which happened among the several states and kingdoms it contained, with various other incidents, having prevented the authors from carrying them down to the present times, we are now to supply that defect, that our readers may have a complete *Modern Universal History*.

Our history of *Spain* concludes with the treaty of *Utrecht*, and the declaration which the commons of *Barcelona* made against the crowns of *France* and *Spain*; who, upon that account, treated them as rebels. Her *Britannic* majesty interceded for them, but they refused to lay down their arms. They pleaded, that they had acknowledged king *Charles* to be their sovereign upon the strength of the promises of protection given them by the queen's express orders; and that they had always been faithful to the common cause: they therefore insisted upon an ample confirmation of their privileges. Lord *Lexington*, the *English* ambassador at the court of *Spain*, was ordered to insist upon an amnesty being granted to all *Spaniards* in general: but this was thought by the *Catalans* to be an insufficient security, because no mention was made in his demands of their persons, estates, dignities, and privileges. The *English* ministry shewed no resentment at king *Philip's* refusing to grant even a general amnesty, farther than to order another memorial to be presented on the same head. As king *Philip* had, at that time, reasons for not disobliging the court of *England*, he answered, that "He was willing to grant his pardon to those *Catalans* who acknowledged his clemency, and, repenting them of their error, should submit to his dominion and vassalage within a time to be prescribed." Count *Zinzendorf*, the Imperial minister, insisted at the same time upon the confirmation of the *Catalonian* privileges: and not only queen *Anne* herself, but the honest part of her Tory ministry, were inclined to have broken off all negotiations with *Philip* till that point was granted.

The land of the Catalans;

^c ^d **T**HE *French* court, however, knew that a majority of the *English* ministry were absolutely bent on having a peace upon any terms; and therefore, when Lord *Lexington* pressed the matter again, *Philip* answered with great disdain, that a peace was as necessary for *England* as for *Spain*; and peremptorily refused to make any farther concessions to the *Catalans*, whom he accused of being the most rebellious of all his subjects, but to pass a general amnesty. As Lord *Lexington*, by order of his court, had, in a private audience, already recognized *Philip's* title as king of *Spain*, he had no right to insist peremptorily upon a matter between a sovereign and his subjects; and Lord *Bolingbroke*, who was then secretary of state, with his followers, actually gave up this point against the *Catalans*. "It is not (says he in one of his letters to the *British* plenipotentiaries) for the interest of *England* to preserve the *Catalan* liberties: and likewise begs leave to make an observation to them, that the *Catalan* privileges are the power of the purse and sword; but that the *Castilian* privileges, which the king of *Spain* will give (in exchange for the *Catalan*) are the liberty of trading and resorting to the *West Indies*, and a capacity of holding those beneficial employments the king has to bestow in *America*; which (says his lordship) are of infinitely greater value to those who intend to live in a due subjection to authority."

^e ^f FROM this time, the *English* minister in *Spain* was so far from befriending the *Catalans*, that he spoke of them on all occasions as rebels; and the *French*, at the peace of *Utrecht*, had the dexterity to amuse the negociators so effectually, that the treaty was ripe and ready to be signed without any mention of the *Catalan* privileges. The queen, however, had some scruples of conscience on this head, and lord *Lexington*, who by this time had signed the treaty with *Spain*, was again ordered to interpose in favour of the *Catalans*; a proceeding which the court of *Madrid* treated with the utmost contempt: and the marquis de *Bedmar*, the *Spanish* minister, plainly intimated, that the treaty which lord *Lexington* had signed, had cut him off from all right to interpose farther in the matter; so that all the *Catalans* obtained by the treaty was, "That they shall have the same privileges as the king's best-beloved subjects, the *Castilians*, enjoy." After this, his Catholic majesty even prevailed with lord *Lexington* to write a letter to the *Catalans*, to persuade them to submit to king *Philip's* pleasure; and Sir *Patrick Lawless*, the *Spanish* minister, in September 1713, had the assurance to present a memorial to the *British* ministry against the *Catalans*, for not having submitted to the king's obedience, and for interrupting all commerce.

who are ungenerously deserted by the English ministry.

merce and correspondence in the *Mediterranean*: and therefore, says the memorialist, a
 “ his Catholic majesty hopes the queen will order a squadron of her ships to reduce his
 subjects to their obedience; and thereby compleat the tranquillity of *Spain*, and of the
Mediterranean commerce.” In consequence of this memorial, a fleet was fitted out early
 in the year 1714, and the command of it given to Sir *James Wifhart*, who was ordered
 “ to enforce a strict obedience of the treaty of evacuation in all its parts, upon any com-
 plaints of the queen’s subjects, of interrupting of commerce, or depredations by the ves-
 sels of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Naples*, and other places; to demand restitution, and
 in case of a refusal, to make reprisals; to repair with the fleet before *Barcelona*, then be-
 sieged by the enemy, and demand immediate payment of the value of the queen’s stores
 in the town, or a sufficient security for payment in some reasonable time.” He was like- b
 wise to make the strongest representations to the regency of *Barcelona*, and the inhabitants
 of *Majorca*, to persuade them to accept of the terms that should be offered them; and
 in case they continued obstinate, he was to employ his squadron in countenancing and
 assisting all attempts that might be made for reducing them to a due obedience.

Those instructions were considered by all the protestant states in *Europe*, and by the
 Whig party in *England*, as being infamous; because, by the treaty of evacuation, the
 queen had engaged to employ her good offices in the most effectual manner to obtain
 the *Catalans* their liberties; and even the *French* king laid himself under the same engage-
 ments, at the very time that *Bolingbroke*, in his correspondence with Mr. *Prior* at the c
 court of *France*, was stigmatizing the *Catalans* with the appellation of being a turbulent
 people. The house of peers, however, on the third of *April* 1714, generously inter-
 ceded in their behalf by presenting a strong address to her majesty, that she would be
 pleased to interpose, that the *Catalans* might have the full enjoyment of their just and an-
 tient privileges continued to them. The queen returned a decent, though a cold and
 doubtful answer to this address: but the public indignation rose so high, that lord *Bingley*,
 who was then going ambassador to *Spain*, (but never went) was instructed to insist upon
 the *Catalan* privileges, and admiral *Wifhart* was ordered not to appear before *Barcelona*
 without farther orders. At the same time, *Bolingbroke*, in a gentle friendly manner, re-
 proached the *Spanish* ambassador, *Grimaldo*, for his court not having offered the *Catalans*
 reasonable terms; “ which (said his lordship) they must either have accepted, or forfeited d
 the queen’s compassion, and that of the whole world.”

Barcelona be-
 sieged by the
 Spaniards,

In the mean while, the duke de *Popoli*, the *Spanish* general, was advancing against *Bar-*
celona, at the head of an army, and summoned the inhabitants to surrender; to which they
 answered, that they were resolved to die rather than be slaves; but that if their antient
 liberties were confirmed to them, they would open their gates, and receive them with all
 gladness. When *Wifhart* arrived at *Cadiz*, though his service was employed in favour of
Philip, he was received in a cold, if not a contumelious, manner, by the *Spanish* court.
 They sent the *French* minister, *Orry*, however, to treat with the *Catalans*, as if they scorned e
 to be obliged to the *British* court, but to *France* only, for reducing them. *Orry*’s nego-
 ciation was unsuccessful; for the *Catalans* would hear of no proposals that did not include
 their being reinstated in all their privileges. The court of *Madrid*, upon this, began to
 shew some consideration for the *British* admiral; and *Grimaldo* sent him a civil letter. *Bar-*
celona, by this time, was invested, and reduced to considerable distress for want of pro-
 visions. On the first of *July* 1714, the trenches were opened before the place by the
 duke of *Berwick*, whom the *French* king, in defiance of all his engagements, had or-
 dered to assist the king of *Spain* in the reduction of *Barcelona*. The courts of *France*
 and *England* were now so intimately connected, that on the eighth of the same month,
 Sir *James Wifhart* wrote a threatening letter to the regency of *Barcelona*, informing them,
 “ That complaints had been made of their disturbing the commerce of the queen’s sub- f
 jects; and that they had insolently presumed to take, carry up, and plunder their ships,
 and used the men in a barbarous manner.” He therefore told them, that he had sent
 captain *Gordon*, with two men of war, to demand, in the name of his mistress, im-
 mediate satisfaction for their insolent and presumptuous proceedings, and the punishment of
 the officers of their ships with the utmost severity, leaving them to judge of the conse-
 quences if they should not comply.

THE regency returned a most respectful answer to this letter, in which they represented,
 that only one of the ships complained of had been brought into *Barcelona*, where ready
 money had been immediately paid for her cargo; that the *English*, during the whole war,
 had carried on in that port a most gainful trade; and that they would punish with the g
 utmost severity any attempt to interrupt the *English* navigation, even if they were carry-
 ing stores to their enemies. The *French* were now committing the most shocking bar-
 barities all over the province of *Catalonia*, where, without distinction of age or sex, they
 put all to the sword, and during the siege 14,000 bombs, which had been thrown into
Barcelona,

- a *Barcelona*, had ruined most part of the houses. In this extremity the *Catalans*, having undoubted information that the *French* were preparing to storm the place, wrote a most ardent letter to the *British* admiral, conjuring him by all the ties of national gratitude, to mediate with the *French* troops for a suspension of arms, as the congress of *Baden*, which was then sitting, might still determine their affairs. This letter is dated the 23d of *July*, but it was so far from affecting the admiral, that on the 3th of *August* following, he informed lord *Bingley* of his having lent three of his ships to assist in bringing home the *Spanish* fleet. The *Catalans* having now no farther refuge, made their appeal to Heaven, and hung up, at their high altar, the queen's solemn declaration to protect them; nor were they even indulged in a suspension of arms till they could hear from *London*. On the 11th of *September*, the general assault was made upon *Barcelona*; and all that the inhabitants could obtain was, that they should not be put to the sword, and that the place should be exempted from plunder, provided they gave up *Cardonne*, and assisted in the reduction of *Majorca*. Thus, to the eternal reproach of the *English* ministry, this brave people were deprived of their liberties, after suffering the most horrible calamities: nor was the capitulation itself observed; for besides the multitudes that perished by famine and the sword, numbers of their leaders were executed in cold blood, and many persons of high rank perished in dungeons, through different parts of the kingdom.

- This year died *Maria Louisa Gabriela* of *Savoy*, queen of *Spain*; and *Philip* soon after married *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Edward*, prince of *Parma*. This match, which has since greatly tended to the aggrandisement of *Spain* in *Italy*, was chiefly brought about by the agency of *Alberoni*, an *Italian* priest, one of the duke of *Vendesme's* creatures; and he was soon after rewarded by a cardinal's cap, and by being promoted to the post of first minister of *Spain*. The emperor beheld all that had passed with silent discontent. He could never be prevailed upon to make a formal renunciation of the crown of *Spain*, and the negotiations of peace were still in suspense at *Rastadt* and *Baden*. In short, it was easy to foresee, that whatever turn they took, the public tranquillity would be of no long continuance. In 1716, the *Venetians* being attacked by the *Turks*, applied to the emperor for his assistance, which he granted them; and the pope, to induce his Catholic majesty to imitate his example, granted *Philip* the power of raising large sums upon the ecclesiastics in his dominions. The situations of *France* and *Spain* at this time were very particular. Upon the death of *Lewis XIV.* *Lewis XV.* who was then but a child, succeeded; but great doubts arose concerning the title to the crown upon his decease, or whether it devolved upon the king of *Spain*, or the duke of *Orleans*, the regent. The right of blood was unquestionably in favour of the former; but he solemnly renounced all pretensions to the *French* succession; so that the regent stood next in blood. *Philip*, however, insisted upon the invalidity of his renunciation, because the emperor had not fulfilled his part of the condition, by renouncing all claim to the *Spanish* monarchy. *Philip's* friends, at the same time, added, that his renunciation, and all other renunciations of the same kind, were invalid upon another account, because no prince can make a renunciation in prejudice of his posterity. As the question could not be determined, should the event ever take place, but by force, each party sought to strengthen itself by powerful alliances, and the regent attached himself particularly to king *George I.* of *Great Britain*. *Philip*, on the other hand, knew that he had a strong party in *Spain*, and depended chiefly for his success on the genius of his minister, which must be acknowledged to have been very great, and the valour of his troops, most of whom were veterans, and well commanded. But *Philip* had, at this time, another object in view, which was the attacking the emperor's dominions in *Italy*. He alledged, that *Charles* had forfeited all his right to *Naples* and *Sardinia*, by his not giving up *Minorca*.

The king of Spain marries the princess of Parma.

- f *ALBERONI*, on pretence of succouring the *Venetians* by sea, had, with incredible diligence, restored the *Spanish* marine to a higher pitch than it ever had been since the reign of *Philip II.* *Philip's* forces had now made a descent upon the island of *Majorca*, which was yielded to them, on condition that the natives should be well used, and that the Imperial troops, under the marquis *de Rubi*, should be transported to *Naples*. By this evacuation, all the islands and provinces properly belonging to *Spain* reverted to *Philip*, except *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, which, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, were given up to *Great Britain*. But this was far from satisfying the court of *Spain*, whose preparations by sea were now astonishing, under the plausible pretext of their being designed against the infidels, who had conquered all the *Morea*, and were making great progress in *Europe* against the emperor. The pope was so zealous in this cause, that when he granted the indulgence upon the ecclesiastical revenues to the king of *Spain*, he obtained an express promise from that prince, that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor during his war with the infidels. Without regard to this promise, a strong squadron of men of war, commanded by the marquis *de Lede*, on the 20th of *July*, sailed from *Barcelona*, and landing at *Cagliari*

Alberoni restores the Spanish marine.

Cagliari in *Sardinia*, they besieged and took that city, upon which the rest of the island was submitted to his Catholic majesty. a

The quadruple
alliance form-
ed.

THE marquis *Grimaldo*, the *Spanish* secretary of state, at the time this expedition was undertaken, sent to all the *Spanish* ministers at foreign courts, a kind of a manifesto, justifying the conduct of his master, in thus taking advantage of the emperor's war with the *Turks* to be revenged upon him for having supported the *Catalans*, and other injuries he had done to the crown of *Spain*. All *Europe* was amazed and scandalized at the inviolable allegations contained in this manifesto; and his Catholic majesty at last, by his ambassador at the *Hague*, *Beretti Landi*, promised not to proceed against the emperor; and referred the differences between them to the arbitration of *Great Britain* and the States General. It happened that king *George* was not only one of the guarantees for the neutrality of *Italy*, but was engaged with the emperor in a defensive alliance; and it was soon seen, that the ambition of *Spain* was on the point of rekindling a general war in *Europe*; and to prevent it, a project was formed of a quadruple alliance, in which *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and the States-General, were to be the parties. The main points of this alliance were, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Spain*, and part with *Sardinia* to the duke of *Savoy*; who was, in return, to cede *Sicily* to the emperor; and the succession to the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to all which the queen of *Spain* was heiress, in default of male issue, were to be settled on her eldest son. The heads of this treaty being communicated to the court of *Madrid*, it was there rejected with some disdain; as were all the applications and memorials presented to the *British* court, tending to dissuade that of *Spain* from continuing its warlike preparations. b c

Preparations
in Britain to
support it.

UPON this, his *Britannic* majesty had recourse to more effectual arguments, and gave orders for the equipment of a strong squadron of ships of war. The marquis *de Monteleone*, the *Spanish* ambassador at the *British* court, by his master's command, presented a memorial on the 18th of *March*, 1713, shewing, "That so powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence between the two crowns." His majesty's answer was, that, "It was not his intention to conceal the subject of that armament; and he designed soon to send admiral *Byng* with a powerful squadron into the *Mediterranean*, in order to maintain the neutrality of *Italy*, against those who should seek to disturb it." This answer was only what the *Spaniards* expected; and they had already entered into measures for placing the Pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*. It did not, however, prevent Sir *George Byng*, who was to command the *English* fleet in the *Mediterranean* from repairing to *Portsmouth*, where he received his instructions; part of which were, that as soon as he arrived in the Straights, he should give notice of his arrival to the *British* minister at the court of *Spain*, who was to communicate the same to his Catholic majesty, and to signify to him, that the admiral was instructed to promote all measures for composing the differences between him and the emperor. He was then to make the best of his way to *Port Mahon*, from whence he was to advertise the emperor's viceroy at *Naples*, and the governor of *Milan*, of his arrival, and to concert his plan of operations in conjunction with them; and above all things, he was to insist upon a suspension of arms, and in short, to try every thing before he proceeded to hostilities, which he was to do if the *Spaniards* still insisted upon disturbing the tranquility of *Italy*. d e

Strength of the
Spanish fleet.

THE *Spanish* fleet at this time lay at *Barcelona*, and consisted of thirty ships of the line and frigates, seven galleys, four bomb-vessels, four hundred forty transport-ships, with forty mortars, 1500 mules, 150,000 fascines, 300,000 stakes for intrenchments, a vast quantity of warlike stores, and provisions for many months. On board this armament were embarked thirty-six battalions, six regiments of horse, four of dragoons, a thousand matrosses, or artillery-men, an hundred and fifty mechanics of all kinds, especially carpenters, sixty miners, and a brigade of fifty engineers. Considering the long war which *Spain* had lately undergone, and the exhausted state of her finances, the fitting out such a force on this occasion is matter of astonishment to this day; but *Alberoni* effected it by giving the *Spaniards* hopes of recovering all the antient dominions of their crown in *Italy*; so that all ranks and degrees of men in the kingdom taxed themselves in troops and money to complete it. The cardinal, during its fitting out, had encouraged the public to believe, that its destination was against *Naples*; but in reality, it was intended against *Sicily*, to which he was determined by many considerations. That island was then in possession of the duke of *Savoy*, whose dominions had not been comprehended in the treaties between *Great Britain* and the emperor; and the cardinal had some intimations, that the duke intended to resign *Sicily* to the emperor. Add to this, that the island was in so weak a state of defence, that the conquest of it was very practicable. In the mean while, besides the treaty of quadruple alliance, another was set on foot under the mediation of *Great Britain* and *France*, between the duke of *Savoy*, who had now assumed the title of king of *Sicily*, f g

It fails.

a Sicily, for ceding that island to the emperor in two months; while the emperor was to give him *Sardinia* in return, with the title of king. This expedient was hit upon to satisfy the emperor, who could not be persuaded to ratify the cession of *Sicily*, which had been made to the house of *Spain*.

To make up for the disproportion of value between the two islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the emperor was to confirm all the cessions to him by the treaty of *Torin*, in 1703; and he was likewise to acknowledge the right of succession in the house of *Spain*, to the crown of *Spain*, in case of failure of *Philip's* male issue. Many other regulations were also made by the mediating powers, to carry their arrangements into execution. Admiral *Byng* sailed on the 4th of *June*, 1718, from *England*, with twenty ships of the line, two fireships, two bomb-vessels, a hospital ship, and a store-ship. When he came to the proper latitude, he dispatched an express to inform colonial *Storck*, the *British* minister at *Madrid*, of his instructions; and the colonial communicating his letter to cardinal *Ildebrando*, it was treated with the utmost contempt by that haughty prelate, who, in the end, sent a kind of defiance to the *English* admiral, bidding him do his worst, and that he was at liberty to execute his master's orders. *Byng*, after relieving the garrison of *Port Mahon*, sailed for *Naples*, where the inhabitants, who had been terrified with the apprehensions of a *Spanish* invasion, received him as their guardian angel. By this time, the marquis *de Linares*, having landed his army in *Sicily*, had reduced *Palermo*, and was laying siege to the citadel of *Messina*, which was in the utmost danger of being taken. The king of *Sicily*, however, had agreed, that the garrison should receive Imperial troops for its defence; and *Byng* immediately set sail from *Naples*, with 20,000 Imperialists for the relief of the citadel. It was the 9th of *August* when he came in sight of the *Faro* of *Messina*. The first thing he did was to send his own captain to propose a cessation of arms to the *Spanish* general, till farther measures could be taken for a general pacification. The answer was, that he had no power to treat, and that he was resolved to execute his master's orders by reducing *Sicily* to his obedience. Admiral *Byng*, understanding that the *Spanish* fleet had left *Messina* the day before his arrival off the *Faro*, thought that they were retired to *Malta*, and came before *Messina* that he might encourage the garrison of the citadel to hold out. As he was standing in about the point of *Faro*, towards *Messina*, he understood that the *Spanish* fleet was lying by; upon which he sent away the *German* troops who were under his convoy to *Reggio*, and pursued two of the *Spanish* scouts, who, he was pretty sure, would lead him to their main fleet, which he soon saw drawn up in a line of battle. It consisted of twenty-seven sail of men of war, two fireships, four bomb-vessels, seven galleys, besides provision and store-ships; the whole being commanded by *Antonio Castaneta*, with four rear admirals under him, *Cbacon*, *Mari*, *Guevara*, and *Cannock*. On seeing the *English* squadron, they stood away, but without disordering their line of battle; but on the 11th of *August*, the *British* fleet getting up with them, the *Spanish* rear-admiral, marquis *de Mari*, broke out of the line with six men of war, all the galleys, fireships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, and stood in for the shore of *Sicily*. Upon this, Sir *George Byng* sent captain *Walton* in the *Canterbury*, with other five ships, in pursuit of them, and coming up with them, an engagement began; while the admiral was pursuing the main body of the *Spanish* fleet. Accounts differ with regard to the commencement of the action, each side throwing upon the other the blame of being the aggressor. The *Spaniards* are said to have fired first their stern-chase guns. Be that as it will, it is certain that the *Orford* attacked and took the *Santa Rosa*, a *Spanish* ship of 64 guns; and the *St. Charles*, another *Spanish* ship of 60 guns, struck to captain *Matthews* in the *Kent*. The *Grafton* fell upon *The Prince of Asturias* of 70 guns, which carried the *Spanish* rear-admiral *Cbacon*, but left it to be taken by the *Brada* and the *Captain*; while *Haddock*, who commanded the *Grafton*, stretched after another *Spanish* 60 gun ship. About one o'clock, the *Kent* and the *Superb* engaged the *Spanish* admiral of 74 guns, and other two ships, and, after a smart engagement, obliged the admiral to strike; while the *Spanish* rear-admiral, *Guevara*, with other two ships, made the best of their way from the *British* admiral, who was in the *Barfleur*. The latter then stood into the fleet, and found, that the *British* ships had taken the *Juno* of 36 guns, the *Volante* of 44 guns, and the *Isabella* of 60.

This engagement, which almost entirely ruined the *Spanish* marine, happened about six leagues distance from *Cape Passaro*, and cost the *English* but little. The *Grafton* was their chief ship that suffered; and as we have mentioned that the marquis *de Mari* separating from the *Spanish* fleet, stood towards the shore of *Sicily*, on the 18th, admiral *Byng* received the following letter from captain *Walton* in the *Canterbury*, who, with five other ships, was sent in pursuit of him. "Sir, We have taken and destroyed all the *Spanish* ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin. I am, &c. G. Walton. *Canterbury*, off *Syracuse*, *August* 16, 1718." The ships mentioned in the margin were, one of 60 guns, commanded by the *Spanish* rear admiral *Mari*, one of 54, one of 40, and one of 30.

24 guns, a bomb-veffel, and an armed ship; besides which, he burnt one ship of 34 guns, a two of 40, and one of 20 guns, a fire ship, and a bomb-veffel.

So complete a victory gave the highest satisfaction to George I. who, upon the first certain account of it, sent the following letter to his admiral. “ Monsieur le chevalier Byng, Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the satisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it: and desire you to express my satisfaction to all the brave people who have signalized themselves on this occasion. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions; but I was pleased to assure you myself, that I am, Monsieur le chevalier Byng, your good friend. Hampton-Court, Aug. 23, 1718. George R.” This action threw great discredit upon the Spanish marine, which by no means answered the opinion that all Europe had conceived of it. They were so much disconcerted by the appearance of the British fleet, that they spent some hours in a tumultuous consultation, which terminated in a resolution to lie by, in order of battle. They had not, however, the spirit to support their line, which the English broke the moment they came up to it; nor was the resistance they made suited in the least to the character of a brave gallant people. Their admiral *Castaneta*, and their rear-admiral *Chacon*, behaved bravely; but by rejecting the advice of rear-admiral *Comstock*, an Irishman, which was, to remain at anchor in the road of *Paralish*, and to range their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea, they became an easy prey to the British fleet.

Consequences
of Byng's
victory.

THE consequence of this victory is so well described by Mr. Corbet, who was afterwards secretary to the admiralty, and the author of the account of the expedition, that we shall make no apology to the reader for transcribing his words. “ The counsels of Spain were, at this time, under the management of two Italians; the queen, and the abbot *Alberoni*, whom she had raised to the dignity of cardinal and prime-minister. They had vast designs in their view, and by secret intrigues with the king of Sicily, and other Italian princes and states, had laid no less a scheme than to exterminate the house of *Austria* and the Imperial power out of Italy; and it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the sincerity of the king of Sicily, that the storm fell first upon his dominions, which was intended elsewhere. The armament they fitted out was suited to the greatness of the undertaking; never any nation sent to sea an army so numerous, so well-appointed, and so provided with all necessaries for a distant expedition; the least implement was not forgotten; all which was owing to the indefatigable care of don *Joseph Patiña*, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the absolute direction and management of the whole enterprize, except the military command. The world was amazed to see Spain exerting a vigour she had not shewn for a century past. Some of the principal prisoners, and *Castaneta* himself, assured the admiral, that they intended the summer following to have at sea fifty sail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of *Biscay*, and other ports of Spain, made very probable. Those in *Biscay*, which were one man of war of seventy guns, and two of sixty, newly built; with an incredible quantity of timber, pitch, and tar, and other naval stores for building more, were all destroyed by an English squadron, assisted by a detachment which the duke of *Berwick* spared from his army, at the solicitation of colonel *Stanhope*, the English minister, who contrived the design, and serving as a volunteer in the enterprize, principally contributed to the execution of it.

Memorials relating thereto.

“ It should seem but ill policy in a court, intent on such mighty designs, to provoke and irritate, without cause, a nation, the most capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they seemed to make it a studied point to vex and distress the English, by all manner of ways, in their commerce; insomuch that their trade with Spain was almost ruined and lost. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the English factories residing in their ports, from which the treaties expressly exempted them; and, upon refusal of payment, their houses were surrounded by soldiers, their warehouses and chests broke open, and their goods sold at public outcry. The royal officers used them with such injustice and insolence, as if they knew they made their court by doing so. Every post brought complaints to the English minister at *Madrid*, of new grievances and oppressions. The memorials delivered to that court for redress were numberless, without the least regard had to them. When any transportation of troops were intended, they immediately embargoed all the English merchant-ships in their ports, compelling their masters, with great circumstances of severity, to enter into their service, imprisoning them in common jails if they refused, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though perishable, and consigned to other markets. They proceeded so far in their unjust treatment, that their cruisers brought into the ports of Spain whatever English merchant-ships they met with in the open sea, though bound to Italy, or other ports; and compelled them to unload their cargoes and

a and enter into their service. Such as were not used by them for transports, had their seamen taken away to serve in their men of war. Rear-admiral *Carmack* pressed no less than sixty for his own ship; and one of the masters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of *Pajaro* was fortunate to those poor people, for when the issue of it was known, forty five *English* transports made their escape from *Messina* to *Reggio*, several of them laden with military stores and provisions; and their masters applying to the admiral, he granted them a convoy to the ports in *Italy*, where they desired to go; but some chose to stay, and enter into the emperor's service, to transport his troops from *Genoa* and *Naples* to *Sicily*."

After the action, admiral *Byng* put into *Syracuse*, which was then blockaded by a *Spanish* army on the 19th of *August*. The chief intention of the *Spaniards* was to have got possession of *Messina*, which was a safe port for their fleet, and so conveniently situated, that they might from thence have transported the war into the heart of *Naples* itself. There was then a *Piedmontese* garrison in that city; but the duke of *Savoy* had obtained from the emperor the assistance of a detachment of *German* troops, consisting of 2000 foot, to be admitted into the citadel. The *Savoyard* resident, who had concluded this agreement, perceiving the great success of the *English* fleet, endeavoured to elude it, though it had been concluded with the privity of the *British* admiral, who thereupon wrote a letter to the marquis *Maffei*, representing, "The unfairness of such a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himself had agreed to, in their conference together the day before upon that subject. That such a disagreement, at a time when the citadel was so vigorously attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the *English* fleet would not suffer him to be an idle spectator of; and therefore, if he was resolved to stay till he had instructions from the court of *Turin*, he should likewise send to his court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the island to some other place, to refresh his men, and refit his ships, till he should receive new directions from *England*." Upon this remonstrance, the viceroy executed the agreement, and the *German* troops were admitted into the citadel. The admiral then sent his damaged ships and prizes to *Port-Mahon*, and sailed to *Reggio*, where general *Wentworth* concerted with him the project of raising the siege of *Messina*, which proved ineffectual, for the garrison surrendered by capitulation on the 29th of *September*. Admiral *Byng*, hearing that the *Spanish* rear-admiral *Carmack*, with three men of war, and as many frigates, were at *Malta*, where a rich *English* *Turkey* ship, and five *Sicilian* galleys were in danger of falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, sailed thither, but found that *Carmack* had left that place some days before. He then demanded liberty for the *Sicilian* galleys to join him, which the grand master of *Malta* readily granted. The *Sicilian* admiral, however, partly ashamed, and partly afraid to leave the harbour, made so many excuses, that the *British* admiral threatened to abandon him to his fate, and was preparing to sail; when the *Sicilians* moved from the port, but in so wretched a condition, that the admiral was obliged to lend them hands, and other assistances, to navigate their vessels. At the same time, he delivered the *British* *Turkey* ship, and sent her to *England*, as he did rear-admiral *Dalrymple*, with two eighty-gun ships, and a fireship, after he himself had arrived at *Syracuse* with the rest of his fleet. Here he received a most gracious letter of thanks from the emperor, and his Imperial majesty's picture set with diamonds.

At this time the duke of *Savoy* was possessed of only three places in *Sicily*, *Syracuse*, *Trepaci*, and *Melazzo*; but none of those cities had a port proper to receive the *English* fleet. The *Spanish* army was strong and well-appointed, and though the quadruple alliance had allotted *Sicily* to the emperor, yet the duke of *Savoy* made great difficulty of yielding up the places he possessed in it without the equivalent, which was not in the emperor's power to give him; because all *Sardinia* was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*. An alliance therefore was formed at *Vienna*, for giving the duke of *Savoy*, king of *Sicily*, possession of *Sardinia*, on condition of his evacuating *Sicily*. His Imperial majesty was to furnish 6500 foot, and 600 horse, for this service, and a copy of the treaty itself was sent to *Naples*, where the viceroy, the *British* admiral, and the king of *Sicily*'s minister were to deliberate upon the means of carrying it into execution. Great difficulties occurred through the duke of *Savoy*'s jealousy of the *Germans*; but the authority of the *British* admiral at last surmounted all obstacles, and the evacuation of *Sicily* to the Imperialists was concluded on. Winter was now set in, and the *Spaniards* had formed the siege of *Melazzo*. On the 14th of *October*, the garrison sallied out with great effect upon the *Spaniards*, and probably would have raised the siege, had they not fallen to plunder the enemy's camp, which gave the marquis *de Lede*, the *Spanish* general, leisure to bring up fresh troops from *Messina*, by which the besieged were driven back with the loss of about 1200 men. Soon after, the garrison was so strongly reinforced, that *Melazzo* was too narrow to contain the troops; and therefore, they were obliged to extend their entrenchments,

ments, till they almost joined those of the besiegers, and in this uncomfortable situation both parties passed the winter, without either making any attempt upon the other, but with a vast loss of men on both sides, through the dampness of their situation and the inclemency of the season.

who saves
them from pe-
rishing.

HAD it not been for the great care of the *British* admiral, all the *Germans* upon the island must have been starved. He appointed captain *Walton* with a squadron to prevent rear-admiral *Cammock* from coming out of the *Harb*, and thereby to secure the supply of provisions to the *German* camp. But *Walton* was blown from his station by stress of weather, upon which *Cammock* got out of *Messina*, and, by an artful stratagem, he almost prevailed with the governor of *Tropea* to entrust him with the provisions destined for the *Germans* at *Melazzo*, in which if he had succeeded, the affairs of the emperor in *Sicily* must have been ruined. They were, in the mean while, reduced to the most deplorable state, till admiral *Byng* ordered four *English* men of war to force their way into *Melazzo*, at all adventures, with provisions, which three of them effected when the *Germans* were on the point of surrendering, or of perishing by famine. Soon after, *Walton* recovering his station, *Cammock* again went into *Messina*, which giving an opportunity for reinforcing *Melazzo*, the *Spaniards* turned the siege into a blockade. While admiral *Byng* was making dispositions for returning with his damaged ships to *Port-Mahon*, the viceroy received intelligence of a truce being concluded with the *Turks*, and that the emperor was able to spare from prince *Eugene's* army in *Hungary* 1000 horse, and 10,000 foot. Upon this, the viceroy prevailed with the admiral to put off his departure, that he might assist in a council of war to deliberate on the proper place of landing. General *Betzeld* was for their landing at *Syracuse*; but this was opposed by general *Caraffa*, and both seemed to be obstinate in their opinion. At last, the *English* admiral understood that some of the troops expected were to embark at *Fiume* and *Trieste*, from whence they were to be transported by sea to *Reggio*. He therefore proposed, that as land-forces, especially in an army, and uncertain season, should be as little as possible exposed to a long navigation, that therefore they should land at *Marscedonia*, upon the *Adriatic-Sea*; from whence they might march by land to *Naples*, the place of their rendezvous; and the tract was not great from *Naples* to *Sicily*. He then cautioned the *Germans* against that contempt which they seemed to express for the *Spanish* troops, who, he said, was in every respect equal to their own; and gave it as his opinion, that supposing the expected forces to arrive safe, they were not equal to the conquest of an island, where the inhabitants had an attachment to the *Spaniards*, and an invincible aversion to the *Germans*, and where the enemies army was every day encreasing.

Remonstrances
of the court of
Spain,

THE manly, yet rational freedom made use of on this occasion by the admiral, would have disgusted the *Germans*, if coming from any other person; but the viceroy felt and acknowledged the force of his reasoning, and after some deliberation, in which he lamented the dispositions of the Imperial court, it was resolved, that count *Hamilton* should be dispatched to *Vienna*, to obtain fresh and final instructions for the operations of the war. In the mean while, notwithstanding the provocations the *Spaniards* received daily from the *English*, the former pretended that their resentment did not reach to any commercial matters; and the marquis de *Monteleone*, his Catholic majesty's ambassador at *London*, wrote a letter for that purpose to Mr. Secretary *Craggs*. In this letter was enclosed the articles delivered by earl *Stanhope* to the court of *Madrid*, a day or two after the action of *Syracuse*. By the first of which it was proposed, "That the Catholic king shall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was signed." The court of *Madrid*, at the same time, filled all *Europe* with remonstrances against the behaviour of the *English* admiral; and pretended that the guaranty for the neutrality of *Italy* having been long at an end, could afford no justifiable pretext for his attacking the *Spanish* fleet. It then reproached the *British* ministry with having artfully abused the confidence and security of the *Spaniards*, and for reviving and supporting a neutrality by open force, not as mediators but as enemies. Admiral *Byng*, it seems, in the account he sent of his engagement, alledged, that the *Spaniards* drew up first in a line of battle, and fired upon the *English*. This was expressly denied by the *Spaniards*. "If, said the cardinal, in his letter, he had no design to attack them, why did he pursue them from the *Harb* to *Syracuse*? Why did he send four of the prime sailors of his fleet to come up with them?"

answered by
that of Great
Britain.

MR. *Craggs*, on the other hand, not only justified the proceedings of the *British* fleet, but complained of several commercial grievances under which the *English* laboured, in direct contravention of treaties, by laying on additional imposts, and arbitrarily prohibiting goods, and likewise in denying schedules for the annual vessels of the *South-Sea* company. He likewise charged them with various other breaches of good faith, particularly, their having seized *English* ships, and forcing them to take out their cargoes, that they

- a might transport troops, and even cutting off the ears of such masters as refused to submit to such oppressions. While matters stood in this undecisive situation, the *British* parliament sat, and Sir George Byng's proceedings were approved of, though opposed by Mr. *Walpole*, (afterwards earl of *Orford*) and his friends. Colonel *Bladen*, at the same time, produced a list of merchant-ships that had been taken and detained by the *Spaniards*. At last, on the 18th of *December*, 1718, his majesty sent a message to the House of Commons, acquainting them, "That all his endeavours, as well as those of the king of *France*, to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of *Spain*, to the unspeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a discontinuance of his unjust hostilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against *Spain*." The like message was sent to the peers; and addresses of approbation were voted in both houses.
- b There was, at that time, in the nation a great jealousy of *German* measures, which was increased by the breach with *Spain*. It was alledged, that our complaisance for the emperor had involved us in a war with *Spain*, a nation with whom we had the greatest reason to cultivate friendship, and in direct violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The administration, to prevent the effects of those allegations, in the declaration of war, set forth the injuries which the *British* trade had received from the *Spaniards*, and the dangers arising to *Europe* and *Great Britain*, should the crowns of *France* and *Spain* be united in the person of his Catholic majesty, and should he continue to assist the Pretender.
- c Tho' the credit of cardinal *Alberoni* was shaken at the courts of *Spain*, and those of the allies, and tho' he never could restore the efficacy of his plans, yet he proceeded with an undaunted spirit in recruiting the *Spanish* marine, and raising fresh armies. Sensible that he was at war with the three greatest powers of *Europe*, he laid schemes for deposing the duke of *Orleans* from the regency of *France*, for an invasion of *Great Britain* by the Pretender, and for dividing the power of the empire by means of the czar and the king of *Sweden*, whom he likewise engaged in the project of invading *Great Britain*. To succeed against the regent, the prince *de Cellamere*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Paris*, had orders to enlist in the cardinal's service all the malcontents in *France*, who were numerous and powerful, and who were to secure the persons of the king and the regent: after which, the parliaments were to assemble, and the states of the kingdom to meet for new settling the government. The first intimation the regent received of this conspiracy was from king *George I.* and a packet dispatched for *Spain* by the abbot *Portocarrero*, from the prince of *Cellamere*, being by great accident intercepted on the road, the particulars were discovered, and the chief conspirators put under arrest, as was the prince *de Cellamere* himself, whose papers were sealed up. On the 29th of *December*, war was declared at *Paris* against *Spain*, and the cardinal's practices in the lately discovered conspiracy, were exposed in the declaration in strong and striking colours. This declaration was followed by the regent's raising an army of 36,000 men. As it was destined to act against a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, marshal *Villars* refused the command of it.
- d In the mean while, the cardinal was treating with the Pretender, who, with the duke of *Ormond* went to *Spain* in the beginning of *March*, 1718-19, where he was received at that court with all the titles and distinctions due to a king of *Great Britain*. Soon after his arrival, the duke of *Ormond* received his commission as his Catholic majesty's captain-general of 6000 land-forces, who were to be embarked at *Cadiz*, in the expedition against *Great Britain*, on board of ten men of war and transports. The duke, at the same time, was furnished with a manifesto, which he was to publish upon his landing, in the king of *Spain's* name, in favour of the Pretender. This declaration, among other things, offered a secure retreat in *Spain*, in case of ill success, to every person who should embrace the *Jacobite* interest; and every sea and land-officer was to have the same rank as he enjoyed in *Great Britain*; and even the common men were to be treated as *Spanish* soldiers. Before the *Spanish* fleet was ready to sail, his *Britannic* majesty received from the duke of *Orleans*, an account of the preparations making against his dominions, and proclamations were issued for securing the duke of *Ormond*, and the chief officers under him. The states-general, at the same time, not only prohibited all the embarkations of arms and ammunition that were making for the *Spaniards* at *Amsterdam*, but upon a requisition made by the court of *England*, sent over 2000 auxiliary troops; and the marquis *de Prié*, governor of the *Austrian Netherlands*, by his master's order, sent over six battalions of Imperialists. The duke of *Orleans* offered twenty battalions for the same service, but the offer was declined. The *Spanish* fleet, in the mean while, actually sailed, with all its troops on board, and arrived with a fair wind off *Cape Finisterre*, where it was dispersed and disabled by a most violent storm, which lasted three days and three nights; and this put an end to the main expedition against *Great Britain*.
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Great projects
of cardinal
Alberoni.

The Spanish
fleet designed
against Great
Britain ship-
wrecked.

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some of the rebel lords, who were to head their clans and followers, there is a rebellion; and for that purpose they brought with them arms for 2000 men. The Spanish lieutenant-colonel, who commanded this detachment, being assured that he would be joined by 2000 rebels in arms as soon as he landed, finding himself disappointed, was for returning in the frigates that brought him. A few of the clans, however, joined him, and they pretended to defend two passes, that of *Glenfhill* and that of *Strackell*, against general *Wightman*, who was advancing at the head of a body of regular troops to dislodge them, which he did with the loss of twenty-one men killed, and an hundred and twenty-one wounded, including officers of the king's troops. Next day, the *Spanish* party surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and delivered up their arms; and thus ended this attempt, the success of which depended chiefly on that of the invasion of *England*. As to the rebel noblemen, and chiefs, none of them were taken or suffered.

DURING the absence of count *Hamilton*, admiral *Byng* sailed from *Sicily* for *Port-Mahon*, but left a squadron at *Pentamclia*, under captain *Matthews*, to block up rear-admiral *Cammock* in *Messina*. *Matthews* had the good fortune to destroy a sixty-four gun ship of *Cammock*'s squadron, and another of sixty guns was lost in *Tarento* bay, *Cammock* himself escaping with great difficulty. *Patinbo* was, at this time, first minister for the *Spanish* affairs in *Sicily*; but being called to *Madrid*, he was employed in finding the means of recruiting the *Spanish* army in *Sicily*. It was necessary for this purpose, to employ the *Venetian* and *Genoese* vessels, who readily embraced the service, and even many of the *French*, underhand, did the same; till admiral *Byng* obtained leave from the regent to confiscate all *French* ships which he should find to be employed by the *Spaniards*. The admiral, having refitted his squadron, set sail from *Port-Mahon*, and arrived at *Naples*, where, to his amazement, he found the troops had not arrived from *Hungary*, and that no preparations were in forwardness against the enemy for want of money. Soon after, count *Merci* arrived from *Vienna*, and took upon him the command of the army. He was a forward, active, intrepid general, to a degree of rashness and disregard for the lives of his men. The marquis *de Lede*, the *Spanish* general, was, on the hard, cool, provident, and cautious. He was frugal of his soldiers, and yet supported the honour of his master's arms by a soldier-like conduct. At last, the *German* army arrived at *Naples*, from whence it was resolved in a council of war, that they should be carried directly to *Melazzo*; but, upon inspection, they were found to be so miserably deficient in artillery and military stores, that the *British* admiral was obliged to supply them with both. Their numbers were 10,000 foot, and 3500 horse, the best troops in the Imperial service, and being embarked in 200 transports, under convoy of the *British* squadron, they landed without any loss, either of time or men, in the bay of *Patti*, twenty miles to the westward of *Melazzo*. The marquis *de Lede*, hearing of their landing, left some of his artillery behind him, and made a hasty retreat towards *Francavilla*, while *Merci* arrived with his army at *Melazzo*.

The Imperial-
ists defeated
in Sicily.

A COUNCIL of war was then held, to deliberate whether *Merci* should form the siege of *Messina*, or attack the *Spanish* army, which was entrenching itself at *Francavilla*. The latter measure was resolved on, the rather as the hasty retreat of the *Spaniards* from *Melazzo* had impressed *Merci* with a contemptible opinion of their courage and discipline. This resolution was most miserably executed through the numerous wants the *Germans* were in of every thing, but especially draught-horses; and their march to *Francavilla*, which continued for three days, was fatiguing and painful to the last degree; besides their losing in it many of their men by the *Spaniards* and natives occupying the passes of the country. At last, on the 19th of *June*, they came in sight of the *Spanish* camp, which they found had been chosen with vast judgment, and was fortified to the best advantage; but such were the dispositions of the *Spaniards*, and the *Sicilians*, that neither *Merci*, nor any of its officers, had the least intimation of its situation. Those considerations did not deter *Merci* from resolving upon an attack, which proved sharp and bloody, and, for the first day no eminent advantage appeared on either side. On the one part, count *Merci*, who was wounded in the attack, had failed in his attempt, and on the other, the *Germans* had made themselves masters of some inconsiderable posts, while the loss of men had fallen heavier upon the *Germans* than the *Spaniards*. Next day, *Merci* found himself under a necessity of not renewing the attack, and of changing the dispositions of his army, and sent an express to the *British* admiral, who all this while remained off *Melazzo*, uncertain of what happened; complaining of his uncomfortable situation, and begging that he would repair to his camp, and give him his advice as to his future operations.

ADMIRAL *Byng*, at this time, was preparing to sail for *Naples*, in order to forward an expedition against *Sardinia*; but, understanding how matters had gone with *Merci*, and knowing the impetuous intractable disposition of that general, he wrote to the viceroy of *Naples*, advising him to employ the troops designed against *Sardinia*, in recruiting the Imperial army in *Sicily*; and, in the mean time, he set out for *Merci*'s camp, where he found both

a both the general and his army in a deplorable condition. The general was weak of his wound, complained of his being served ill by his officers, who were against his attacking the enemy again, and of many other particulars. Next day, in a council of general officers, who all of them blamed the unadvised headstrong spirit of *Merci*, the admiral, to whose judgment they all paid the utmost deference, declared himself against the second attack; and, at the same time, against the proposal of the general to march to *Catanea* or *Syracuse*; but proposed, when the reinforcements arrived from *Naples*, which he had wrote for, they should form the siege of *Messina*, which would facilitate the reduction of the rest of the island: in the mean while, that he would take care to supply the army, by means of his fleet, with present subsistence. Admiral *Byng*'s advice was taken, and he immediately returned to *Naples*, where he found a new viceroy had been appointed in his absence. The admiral repeated to him his advice, that the expedition against *Sardinia*, which the Imperial court had greatly at heart, should be laid aside for that time, and that the troops destined for it should be sent to *Sicily*. The admiral's reasons for this were so strong, that the viceroy consented to send for orders to the court of *Vienna*; and even the king of *Sardinia*, upon proper representations being made to him, agreed to his proposal. After this, the admiral, till the answer from the court of *Vienna* should be known, returned to *Sicily*, and sent ashore a large supply of powder which the *German* army stood in need of. Count *Merci* was then recovering from a severe apoplectic fit, which had struck him blind. But the generals, with whom he left the command of the army, had taken their measures so well, that they took the city of *Messina*, the governor of which withdrew his troops into the castle, and the *Spanish* ships in the mole fell into the *British* admiral's hands; and to prevent all controversy about the property of them, he sunk and destroyed them in the harbour, thereby completing, for that time, the ruin of the *Spanish* marine.

THE answer from the court of *Vienna* was entirely agreeable to the advice which had been given by the *British* admiral, and he was given to understand, that the governor of *Milan* had received orders for sending to *Sicily* the troops that had been designed for *Sardinia*. This service was likewise performed by admiral *Byng*, and the citadel of *Messina* soon after surrendered upon articles, the *Spanish* garrison being transported to *Augusta*. During the siege, which lasted twenty-one days, the *Germans* lost above 5000 men. In the mean while, the marquis *de Lede*, had taken up, and fortified a strong camp at *Castro Giovane*, in the heart of the island, with an intention to retire to it: but he cantoned his troops about *Aderno*, *Palermo*, and *Catanea*. His situation was so advantageous, that the *Germans*, not being in a condition to attack him, were in danger of starving at *Messina*, and had formed a resolution of going over to *Calabria* for subsistence. The *British* admiral diverted them from this, by offering to transport the army to *Trepani*, where they might subsist; and to obviate the difficulty of supporting one part of the army if blockaded by the *Spaniards*, till the other could relieve them, he undertook to buy up as much corn at *Tunis*, and to carry it to *Trepani*, before the first division could arrive there, as might maintain them; nay, he went so far, as to offer to make the purchase at his own expence, and to depend upon the honour of the Imperialists for his re-imbursement. This offer was joyfully embraced by count *Merci*, and punctually fulfilled by the admiral, who lodged the corn at *Trepani*, before the arrival of the first division; and the second division landed at *Trepani* on the second of *March*, by which they were enabled to extend their quarters in a plentiful country. The marquis *de Lede*, who had excellent intelligence, upon this, removed his camp to *Alcano*, and sent his marshal de camp to general *Merci* and the admiral, with proposals for evacuating *Sicily*, on condition of having leave to transport his army into *Spain*, and obtaining a suspension of arms.

where they are again joined by admiral Byng.

WHILE matters, by the good management of the *English* admiral, were conducted so much to the advantage of the Imperialists, in *Sicily*, the duke of *Berwick*, at the head of the *French* army, after taking *Fort Passage*, and there burning six ships of war that were upon the stocks, laid siege to, and took, *Fontarabia* on the fifth of *June*. The king of *Spain* had been persuaded by *Alberoni*, that if he should appear at the head of his army to raise the siege, the *French* troops would desert to him; upon which his Catholic majesty advanced to raise the siege, with 9000 foot and 4000 horse: but before he came up, the place was in the hands of the *French*, nor did any of them desert to the *Spanish* army. The duke of *Berwick* then took *St. Sebastian*; and a detachment of his army, aided by some *English* soldiers, burnt two sixty-gun ships that were on the stocks at *Port Antonio*, which they likewise took. So many misfortunes happening to the *Spanish* arms, overwhelmed the cardinal *Alberoni*'s credit at that court, and at last he declared, that the States-General should be mediators between his master and the confederates. The king of *Great Britain*, the emperor, and the *French* king, who had been disgusted at the slowness of the States-General in acceding to the quadruple alliance, declined their mediation, but from different views. The court of *England* had formed a project to become masters of *Corunna*, the best

Spain invaded by the French.

and by the
English.

best port of *Biscay*, and had even carried their views as far as *Pera* itself. To effect the first conquest, the lord *Cobham* was appointed captain-general, and was to have under him 4000 men, who were to be transported in fifty ships, with four bomb-vessels, and to be under the convoy of admiral *Mighels*. This embarkation sailed from *St. Helen's*, the twenty-first of *September*, and for *Vigo*, where the city surrendered on the first summons, and the citadel, the garrison of which was composed of soldiers who were to have been employed in the expedition against *Great Britain*, surrendered in a few days. After this, the *English* army found little or no resistance in the neighbourhood of *Vigo*. Major-general *Wade* then embarked with 1000 men for *Pent a-Vedra*, where the magistrates presented him with the keys of the place, which contained a large train of brass and iron artillery. After this, the fleet and transports returned to *England*, no attempt having been made upon *Corunna*. During this expedition captain *Johnson*, in the *Weymouth*, destroyed two *Spanish* ships of war in the port of *Ribadeo*, sixteen leagues to the east of *Cape Ortegal*. As to the expedition against *Pera*, which vice-admiral *Hofier* was to have commanded, it was at first delayed by contrary winds, and afterwards totally laid aside.

Proposals for
peace

By this time, the king of *Sweden* having been killed, and the czar having failed in his design of getting footing in the empire, by the possession of the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, had laid aside hostilities: so that *Spain* stood all alone in a war, which she found herself unable to support. Both *Great Britain* and *France* were desirous of peace, and the emperor was willing to make great sacrifices for the establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction; but all those three princes positively refused to enter upon any treaty while cardinal *Alberoni* continued at the head of the *Spanish* councils. That prelate had been most ungrateful to his great benefactress the queen of *Spain*; so that he now found himself destitute of all support, but the obstinacy of his Catholic majesty, which soon failed him when that prince saw the destruction to which his kingdom was exposed by the cardinal's projects. The ministers at the *Hague*, where the great scene of negotiation now lay, had communicated their schemes for pacification to the marquis *Beretti Landi*, the *Spanish* ambassador; and he, on the other hand, gave in his scheme (which he received from *Madrid*) and contained in substance, that not only *France* should restore all the conquests she made in the late war, but that *England* should give back to the crown of *Spain* *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*; that the eventual successions to the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, should, independently of all holdings of the emperor, be settled upon the queen of *Spain's* son. The ships taken in the late war were to be restored to *Spain*. *Sicily* was to be subject to the same right of reversion in the hands of the emperor, as when in those of the duke of *Savoy*. The pope was to restore to the house of *Farnese*, being that of the queen of *Spain*, all the territory and places which had been taken from it by his predecessors; and all possessions and commerce in the *West-Indies* were to be regulated according to the treaty of *Utrecht*.

rejected;

THOSE propositions seemed more befitting a victorious state to impose than a vanquished one to demand: but to render the powers of the quadruple alliance more tractable, his Catholic majesty formally dismissed cardinal *Alberoni* from his service by a letter under his own hand, commanding him to meddle in no affairs of state, to leave *Madrid* in eight days, and *Spain* in three weeks. But even this condescension of his Catholic majesty did not prevail with the allies to embrace his plan of pacification; and, after long and mortifying disputes, he was obliged to accede to the terms of the quadruple alliance, in *February* 1720. Towards the close of the preceding year, died the queen of *Spain's* second son; but on the 15th of *March* following she was delivered of another son, *Philip*, who is the present duke of *Parma*. It now began to be suspected in *Europe*, that this ambitious princess having, by the removal of cardinal *Alberoni*, got an absolute ascendancy over her husband, would prevent any sincere good understanding taking place among the powers of *Europe*, without the introduction of her sons to *Italy* in the quality of sovereign princes; a suspicion that was afterwards verified by experience.

but two treaties
are signed.

ON the 13th of *June* 1721, the peace between *Spain* and *England* was signed at *Madrid*. By it, all regulations agreed on by former treaties were renewed, and were, *bona fide*, to be observed. All effects seized and confiscated on either side were to be restored; all the ships taken in *Sir George Byng's* sea-engagement, with their sails, guns, riggings, &c. were to be restored to *Spain*, or, if sold, their full value in money. All other differences between the two crowns were to be settled in the congress which was then holding at *Cambray* for a general pacification in *Europe*. A secret article was likewise added, by which his *Britannic* majesty engaged not to intermeddle in the affairs of *Italy*. On the same day, another treaty was signed at *Madrid*, which was that of a defensive alliance between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, for protecting the dominions of each other, as they were settled by the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and *London*. The party attacked was to be assisted by each of the other

a two parties, or an equivalent in money and ships. The fifth article of this treaty ran as follows: "Their *Britannic*, Most Christian, and Catholic majesties, being entirely satisfied with the sentiments the duke of *Parma* has always shewn towards them, and being desirous to give him marks of the singular esteem and affection they have for him, promise and engage, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity; so that, if he shall be disturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a just satisfaction; and, if that be refused, they will agree upon measures to procure it him by all other methods which shall be in their power."

b ABOUT the time of this treaty's being concluded, the affairs of *Europe* began to wear a new face. The haughtiness of the court of *Vienna* towards *Spain* grew disgusting to *Great Britain* and *France*, and one of the intentions of the defensive alliance of *Madrid* was to guaranty the arrangements that might be made at the congress of *Cambray*, where the ministers of *Great Britain* and *France* were to act as mediators between the emperor and *Spain*. When that congress met, the pretensions of those two powers were found to be incompatible; and it was easily perceived, that her Catholic majesty had managed with so much address as to gain the mediating powers upon her side. The duke of *Parma* laid before the congress his claim of being independent of the empire or the emperor, which was rejected by the Imperial ministers with haughtiness and contempt, but justified by those of the mediating powers. In short, debates ran so high that the congress broke up for that time without any effect. But by this time *France* and *Spain* had renewed their family connections: a marriage was agreed upon between *Lewis XV.* and *Maria*, infanta of *Spain*, who was then but three years of age; and another between the prince of *Asturias* and mademoiselle de *Montpensier*, the regent's daughter; and the exchanges were accordingly made. The same year, another marriage was set on foot between *Don Carlos*, her Catholic majesty's eldest son, now king of *Spain*, and mademoiselle de *Beaujolois*, the regent's fifth daughter. But even those connections could not prevail with the emperor to grant to *Don Carlos* the investiture of the *Italian* duchies; nor did the court of *England* chuse to interfere in the matter, as his *Britannic* majesty was very desirous of procuring from the emperor the investiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*, his possession of which was now precarious by the situation of affairs in the North. The pope had protested against all that might have been decided in the treaty of *Hanover* to his prejudice in the affairs of *Italy*; and his *Sardinian* majesty, with the dukes of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, had each of them presented memorials in support of their respective pretensions against the emperor; and, what was amazing, the court of *Spain* renewed its claim for the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. In short, such a variety of opposite titles started up throughout all *Europe*, as entirely defeated the late prospect of peace.

Proceedings at the congress of Cambray.

c IN the year 1724, a most dreadful cataract of water fell upon the duke of *Mirandola's* house at *Madrid*, which drowned several persons of the highest quality. The same year, in *December*, died the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*, which occasioned very important alterations in the *Spanish* government. The constitution of the young king of *France* was but weakly, and in case of his death his Catholic majesty was the next in blood to that crown. Being, however, disabled from the succession by his act of renunciation, he found it advisable to abdicate the throne of *Spain*, that, in case of the *French* king's death, he might mount that throne as a private person, and thereby elude the disability he was under of succeeding to that monarchy. He accordingly retired, with his queen, to the monastery of *St. Ildefonso*, from whence, on the 15th of *January* 1753-4, he sent the marquis de *Grimaldi*, his principal secretary of state, with a packet to his son, the prince of *Asturias*, containing the following instrument of the renunciation of the crown of *Spain* in his favour. "Having these four years considered with due reflection, and maturely, the miseries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleased to visit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewise considered, that my eldest son, *Don Lewis*, sworn prince of *Spain*, is of sufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing justly and happily this monarchy; I have determined absolutely to quit the possession and administration of it, renouncing the same, with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordships, in favour of the said prince, *Don Lewis*, my eldest son; and to retire with the queen, in whom I have found a ready disposition and voluntary inclination to accompany me to this place and seat of *St. Ildefonso*, here to serve God, disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek my salvation. This I communicate to the council for their information, to be notified to the proper persons, that my resolution may be made known to all." Besides this act of renunciation, his Catholic majesty ordered a circular letter to be sent to all his great officers of state, in the following terms: "The king having resolved to retire, and to withdraw himself absolutely from the government of this monarchy, by renouncing the crown, with all

The king of Spain abdicates his crown; but cō

its dominions, kingdoms, and lordships, in favour of his eldest son, Don Lewis, sworn prince of *Spain*, his majesty commands me to acquaint you, that his will is, you continue to serve the said prince in the employment you now possess. GRIMALDO."

THE above act of renunciation was accompanied by a letter to the prince of *Asturias*, containing the most despicable sentiments of fanaticism and bigotry for the church of *Rome*. The council of *Castile* being assembled on this occasion, declared, That there was no necessity for assembling the cortes to recognize the new king, who had been already acknowledged to be prince of *Spain*; and *Lewis*, who was just entering the eighteenth year of his age, accordingly mounted the throne, the late king and queen reserving for their own subsistence about 150,000 l. a year. The new king had but few opportunities of displaying his talents for government, for he died of the small-pox, on the 30th of *August* after his accession to the crown. It was at that time a question much agitated in *Europe*, whether, as the renunciation of *Philip* was pure and unreserved, the crown did not devolve in course upon the late king's brother; but he being too young for the management of the government, the council of *Castile* petitioned *Philip* to re-assume his authority; and after calling a council of divines, he agreed to their request, in a letter which he sent them. In this letter, among other things, he intimates, that he had reserved to himself a right to resign the government again to his eldest son, Don *Ferdinand*, when he should come to years of maturity.

In the mean while, the plenipotentiaries assembled at the congress of *Cambrai*, but did no business of any consequence. As to *Philip*, after resuming the government, he soon discovered, by a greater application to the affairs of his kingdom than he had ever shown before, that he had profited during his retirement by the instructions he had received from his queen. Looking narrowly into his finances, he perceived that they had been better managed during the late wars than those of any of the other powers; and he made arrangements for the punctual payment of all his establishments, civil and military. His troops were to be paid monthly, his army at that time consisting of twelve battalions of guards, eighty-eight battalions of foot, four troops of life-guards, twenty regiments of horse, and ten of dragoons, all of them in excellent order. But he and his queen were now involved in mortifying difficulties which they had not foreseen. The *French* nation in general grew every day more and more uneasy at the precarious state of their king's health, and the prospect of his dying without a successor; upon which it was resolved in the council, that their queen, who was then about seven years of age, whose presence their king could never be brought to endure, should be sent back to her parents; which was accordingly done. At the same time a letter was sent, in the name of *Louis XV.* to their Catholic majesties, to apologize for so unpolite a behaviour, and laying it on the indispensable duty he was under to listen to the voice of his people, imploring him to marry a princess by whom he might speedily have issue. Their Catholic majesties were exasperated to the last degree at this affront, and immediately sent back mademoiselle de *Beaujolois*, who had been contracted to Don *Carlos*, but the marriage never was consummated; together with the dowager-queen of *Spain*, her sister; and the two *Spanish* ministers then residing at *Paris* accompanied the repudiated infanta to *Madrid*.

Congress of
Cambrai
broken off.

THE queen of *Spain*, not satisfied with those marks of her indignation, broke off the congress of *Cambrai*, and offered to adjust all her differences with the emperor under the sole mediation of *Great Britain*. This gave disgust to the emperor, between whom and *George I.* there was now a great coldness. His Imperial majesty even intimated to that monarch, that if he should accept the sole mediation, the consequences might be disagreeable to his electorate. But his *Britannic* majesty knew that the queen of *Spain* had made that offer only in a fit of passion, and, when that was gratified, that he could not for a moment depend upon her. Add to this, that the same reason subsisted for his continuing in friendship with the duke of *Bourbon*, then regent, or first minister, of *France*, and next heir to that crown after the decease of the king, and the young duke of *Orleans*, who was then unmarried, as he had in the time of the late regent. Those and many other reasons prevailed with *George I.* to decline the sole mediation without *France*; upon which the emperor and *Spain* resolved to adjust all their differences without either of the mediators. The event of this resolution was soon seen, in two treaties which were concluded at *Vienna* by the duke de *Ripperda*, the *Spanish* minister, who had managed the negotiation. By the first treaty, which was signed the 30th of *April*, the quadruple alliance was confirmed, and *Philip V.* was acknowledged to be lawful king of *Spain* and the *Indies*, as secured to him by the treaty of *Utrecht*. *Philip*, on the other hand, gave up all pretensions to the dominions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, that had been adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of *London* 1722. The emperor granted the eventual investiture of the dukedoms of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and *Spain* agreed to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, which was always a favourite point with the emperor. Little umbrage was taken at this treaty, either

Treaty of
Vienna.

a by *Great Britain* or *France*; but that of commerce was exceptionable, to the last degree, to all the other powers of *Europe*, *Great Britain* especially. By it *Spain* agreed to grant advantages to the emperor's trading subjects in *Spain*, which no other nation enjoyed. In consideration of which *Spain* was to guaranty the *Ostend* company trading to the *East-Indies*, and to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of pieces of eight to the emperor.

His *Britannic* majesty had reasons for believing that the two courts had secretly entered into engagements still more detrimental to his regal dominions. That of *Spain* continued to insist upon an absolute promise that had been made by *George I.* of giving back *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to his Catholic majesty; which promise the emperor engaged to insist on making good, if necessary, by force. It was even pretended, that by those secret articles b the whole system of succession in *Great Britain* was to be unhinged; the two *Austrian* arch-duchesses (the eldest of whom is now the empress-queen of *Hungary*) were to be married to the two infants of *Spain*; and king *George* even went so far as to tell his parliament, that they intended to raise the Pretender to his throne. This last charge, however, was most solemnly denied by the Imperial minister at *London*. To counter-act those treaties, his *Britannic* majesty formed and completed that of *Hanover*, between himself, *France*, and *Prussia*; by which all his dominions were guarantied in the Protestant succession. The ambition of the queen of *Spain* was now looked upon as the firebrand of *Europe*; and she carried her intrigues at the court of *France* with such address and secrecy, that the duke of *Bourbon* was, without a moment's warning, dismissed from the administration of that king- c dom, and confined to his country-house, the king declaring, that he was resolved to take the government into his own hands.

Designs to introduce the Pretender.

THE conduct of the court of *Spain* towards *Great Britain* gave too much reason to believe, that the emperor, its now-favourite ally, was linked with it in all its dangerous designs. The remittances from *Madrid* to *Vienna* amounted in six months to a million sterling, which enabled the emperor to make a vast augmentation of his troops; and her Catholic majesty had found means to engage even the empress of *Russia* to assist the allies, in the treaty of *Vienna*, with 30,000 men. At the same time, the court of *Madrid* was opened as an asylum for all the exiled Jacobites of *Great Britain*: and the duke of *Wharton*, who had thrown off his allegiance to his *Britannic* majesty, whom he had grossly insulted, and had d entered into the Pretender's service, received protection there. As the court of *England* seemed to be well apprized of all the *Spanish* engagements, that queen's suspicions fell upon *Riperda*, who was a *Dutchman*, and had been a Protestant. Her surmises were confirmed by the report of certain indiscreet expressions which he had let fall. Be that as it will, he was immediately dismissed from his employments, but with a pension of 3000 pistoles a year. As *Riperda* was a vain, weak man, and perhaps conscious to himself of having committed great indiscretions, he fled to the house of the *Dutch* ambassador, who received him but coldly, and carried him to that of colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, the *British* ambassador, who gave him protection, but he soon found his house surrounded by 200 *Spanish* grenadiers. Colonel *Stanhope* complained to his Catholic majesty of this in- e dignity; and upon his engaging that the duke of *Riperda*'s person should be forth-coming, the grenadiers were drawn off; but part of them took post at the avenue leading to the colonel's house, from whence the duke was forcibly taken, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Segovia*. By this time, the *Spanish* ambassador was ordered to leave *London*; and he left behind him a paper which fell little short of a declaration of war, and was taken notice of by his *Britannic* majesty in his speech to his parliament: and at the same time he acquainted them with the dangerous consequences of the treaty of *Vienna*, and that his Catholic majesty not only demanded the restitution of *Gibraltar*, but was making great preparations seemingly for besieging that fortress, though, more probably, for invading *Great Britain* in favour of the Pretender. His *Britannic* majesty, not to be wanting to himself, f gave orders for the equipment of three squadrons, all of them intended to counter-act her Catholic majesty's ambitious practices. One sailed to the *Baltic*, under Sir *Charles Wager*, to keep the empress of *Russia* in awe; another to the *Spanish West-Indies*, under admiral *Hosier*, to intercept or block up the *Spanish* galleons; and the third to the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *John Jennings*. We have, in a former part of this work, given a detail of *Hosier*'s unfortunate expedition. The squadron under Sir *John Jennings* had on board it a body of land forces, which were to be put on shore at *Gibraltar*, in case of its being besieged; and he was to alarm all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and even to spread terror to *Madrid* itself.

Subsidy from Spain to the emperor.

THE little firmness that then was in the *British* councils frustrated the intention of all g those expensive preparations; and the expedition of *Jennings*, particularly, appeared rather like a visit of parade than an hostile invasion. He sailed from *St. Helens* on the 20th of *July*, entered the bay of *St. Antonio*, from whence he sailed to *Lisbon*, and from thence to the bay of *Bulls*, where he was most courteously entertained by the *Spanish* governor of *Cadiz*;

Fleets fitted out against Spain.

Gibraltar
besieged.

Plan of ac-
commodation.

Cadiz; and then he cruized off *Cape St. Mary*, but without any attempt to commit hostilities. This tame behaviour was so far from daunting the *Spaniards*, that they had committed the outrage we have mentioned upon the *British* ambassador's house while the *English* squadron was lying upon their coasts. The affair of *Gibraltar*, after this, became to be of great consequence, especially as the *Spaniards* produced a paper under his *Britannic* majesty's hand, containing what they called a promise of its restitution. The *English* ministry did not venture to deny the authenticity of this paper; but when it appeared, it was found to be only conditional, and providing the *British* parliament would give its consent, which its members absolutely refused. It was likewise alledged, that the *Spaniards* had violated every condition upon which that promise was made. In the mean while, the *Spaniards*, to shew that they were in earnest, had been extremely active in repairing and restoring their marine, and had formed a camp of about 20,000 men at *St. Roch*. At first they gave out that they intended to rebuild the old town of *Gibraltar*, and to raise forts and batteries at the bottom of the bay, to prevent ships from coming up to the town, and thereby render it useless to the *English*. Those projects being found ineffectual, the marquis *de Torres*, the *Spanish* general, actually formed the siege of *Gibraltar* itself, on the 11th of *February* following. His army was well provided with all kind of artillery and warlike stores, and the place was defended by colonel *Clayton*, lieutenant-governor under the earl of *Portmore*. The *British* minister at *Madrid*, being certainly informed that the siege was begun, left *Spain*; but gave proper intimations to the *British* merchants in *Spain*, to secure their effects. All *Europe* was surprized at *Spain* embarking in so improbable an undertaking. The garrison was in an excellent condition of defence, and the sea being open, strong reinforcements were sent to it, which, with the earl of *Portmore*, arrived safe there in the beginning of *April*. All that the *Spaniards* could do was to throw into the town a great number of bombs, which did little or no damage to the garrison; while, in the course of four months, for so long the siege lasted, the *Spaniards* lost half their army, which made them objects rather of ridicule than enmity to the *English*.

In fact, the powers at variance began to be sensible, that they were embroiled with one another merely on suspicions; but they saw, if their misunderstanding continued, all *Europe* must be involved in a general war, of which no person could predict the extent or event. *France* stood the best of any other power with the allies of the court of *Vienna*, and the duke of *Richelieu*, his Most Christian majesty's ambassador at the Imperial court, undertook a mediation, which, with the assistance of the *British* and *Dutch* ministers, he carried into a project of accommodation, and which was to serve as the basis of an universal pacification, to be settled at a future congress. At first, the emperor formed a counter-project; but, after various altercations, the *ultimatum* of the allies of *Hanover* was accepted of, and a treaty of pacification, which contained twelve preliminary articles, was signed at *Paris* the last day of *May* 1727, by all parties. By the first article, the *Ostend* company was suspended for seven years. By the second, the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and quadruple alliance, were to remain in force, but subject to such alterations as might be agreed upon at a general congress. The third article settled the privileges of commerce, as they stood by treaties antecedent to the year 1725. The fourth article related to the pacification of the North. As the fifth article related to *Spain* solely, we shall give it at large: "All hostilities whatsoever, if any should happen, shall instantly cease after the signing of the present articles; and, with respect to *Spain*, eight days after his Catholic majesty shall have received the articles signed, the ships which sailed from *Ostend* to the *Indies* before this convention, the names whereof shall be given in a list on the part of his Imperial majesty, may return freely and safely from the *Indies* to *Ostend*; and, if any of these ships be detained or taken, they shall be restored, *bona fide*, with their cargoes. The galleons also shall be permitted to return to *Spain* unmolested, in firm confidence that his Catholic majesty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the same manner as usual in all times of liberty. In consequence of this, the *English* squadron, commanded by admiral *Hosier*, shall depart as soon as possible from *Porto-Bello*, and all other ports of *America*, belonging to the king of *Spain*; he shall even return with his squadron into *Europe*, that the subjects of his Catholic majesty in the *Indies* may be free from all farther apprehensions and uneasiness. The commerce of the *English* in *America* shall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* squadrons, which may appear upon the coasts of *Spain*, or on those of the states of his Imperial majesty, at the time when this present cessation of hostilities commence, shall depart thence as soon as possible, that the inhabitants of those coasts may henceforth be rid of all disturbance and fear. Neither shall those ships be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly against the said port." The rest of the articles having no immediate relation to *Spain*, and most of them never having been executed, we shall omit.

Siege of Gibraltar

- a His Catholic majesty was happy in getting rid of his ruinous siege of *Gibraltar* by this pacification, and he gave immediate orders for a cessation of hostilities. The fertile and vindictive brain of his queen, however, started new difficulties before the articles were ratified in form. Objections were made to the actual raising the siege of *Gibraltar*, and to the restitution of the *Prince Frederic*, the *English South-sea* ship, which had been taken by the *Spaniards* at *Vera-Cruz*, before the commencement of hostilities. The unreasonable obstinacy of the *Spaniards* on this head occasioned hostilities to continue between the *Spaniards* and *Sir Charles Wager*, who was then cruising on the coast of *Spain*. To his great surprize, while he was on this station, thirteen *French* men of war anchored before *Cadiz*, without his knowing that they had sailed from *Brest* or *Toulon*. As he had no intimation of their instructions or destination, he immediately forbade all communication with their fleet; nor was it till after the death of *George I.* that the *French* ministry ratified the preliminary articles at *Madrid* on the 6th of *March* 1728. It was thought, that her Catholic majesty never could have been brought to agree to this ratification, had she not been persuaded by *Vander Meer*, the *Dutch* minister, that it was the only method by which she could succeed in her family projects for the provision of her sons. But even this ratification was but a hasty and temporary expedient, as the most important articles in dispute between the two crowns remained to be settled at the approaching congress, which at first was agreed to be held at *Aix la Chapelle*; but the vanity of the *French* court, which had taken the lead in the whole of the negociation, had prevailed that it should be held at *Soissons*.
- b
- c It was opened the 19th of *June* 1728, and the *Spanish* plenipotentiaries in it were the duke de *Bourbonville*, the marquis de *Santa Cruz*, and *Don Ignatio de Bernachea*. However fluctuating the conduct of the court of *Spain* may have appeared at this time, yet it is certain that the queen, who had the whole management of affairs, and by her fertility had endeared herself to her husband, was true and steady to one principle, that of her family-establishment in *Italy*. This favourite view was encouraged by the dispositions of the *British* ministry, who seemed to be extremely averse to a war, and by no means enemies to her Catholic majesty's views. The *Spaniards*, at the same time, were perfectly sensible, that the emperor never could heartily concur in her Catholic majesty's family-establishment in *Italy*; that he was unable to support the *Ostend* company against the *English* and *Dutch*; and that the immense subsidy of a million sterling, which he continued to receive, was expended without their obtaining for it any suitable equivalent. Those considerations privately determined her Catholic majesty to do nothing effectually at the congress of *Soissons*, and, in the mean while, vast preparations for war were making all over *Spain*; the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* was again revived, and new claims were started of searching and confiscating *British* ships in *America*, where the most shocking depredations were committed by the *Spaniards* under that pretext. All those high claims, however, were only intended by her Catholic majesty as so many inducements to *Great Britain* to come into her schemes.
- d

Congress of Soissons.

- e THE old *Spaniards* as passionately desired the re-annexation of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to their monarchy, as their queen did her family-establishment in *Italy*; but they were soon convinced, that the former was a consideration only subservient to the latter. In the mean while, the prince of *Asturias*, the eldest son of the king of *Spain*, by his first marriage, married the infanta of *Portugal*, as the prince of *Brasil*, the present king of *Portugal*, did the infanta of *Spain*. The situation of the people of *England* was not much different from that of *Spain*. They were zealous for the establishment of their undoubted rights of navigation in *America*, against the depredations of *Spain*; but they had soon reason to believe, that those were only secondary to the ministry's love of peace, and their attachment to *German* considerations. With some difficulty, the two courts at last began to understand one another. Colonel *Stanhope*, who was personally agreeable to her Catholic majesty, was nominated ambassador-extraordinary to the court of *Madrid*, and Mr. *Keen*, the *British* plenipotentiary there, was joined with him in negotiating a new treaty, which was afterwards known by that of *Seville*; the *Spanish* plenipotentiaries being the marquis de *la Paz* and *Don Joseph Patinho*. By this treaty, all former conventions between the two powers were confirmed. The two contracting powers were to guarantee each other's dominions; and in case of either being attacked, the other was to furnish the attacked party with 8000 foot and 4000 horse, or an equivalent in ships or money. All engagements incurred by the treaty of *Vienna* were rendered void. Commerce in *Europe* and *America* was to be restored to its former footing, and proper orders to be dispatched for that purpose. All damages done by his Catholic majesty's subjects to those of *Great Britain* were to be made good, and those damages were to be liquidated by commissaries, who were to settle the meaning of antecedent treaties, which were to determine the legality or illegality of the captures, as well as every thing relating to the restitution of the ships taken by the *English* in 1718. The two kings were to carry the decisions of those commissaries.
- f
- g

Treaty of Seville,

missaries into execution within six months after making their report. By the ninth article of this treaty, which was of the utmost consequence to her Catholic majesty's views, the *Spanish* troops were instantly to garrison *Leghorn*, *Porto-Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, for preserving the immediate succession of *Don Carlos*, her majesty's eldest son, to those estates. The next article regards the peaceable introduction and continuance of those troops in the places of their destination. And the twelfth article guarantees *Don Carlos* in the quiet possession of the states of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, after he has succeeded thereunto. The *French* king was a party in this treaty; and the States-General, by the fourteenth article of it, were to be invited to accede to it, which they afterwards did, upon the king of *Spain* promising to join with them and the court of *Great Britain* for obtaining the entire abolition of the *Opium* company.

disagreeable to
the emperor.

THE emperor loudly complained of the treaty of *Seville*, as derogatory to his honour and interest, and contradictory to the quadruple alliance; according to which, neutral troops only were to be introduced into *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and could he have procured money, which he endeavoured to do in *England*, he would have declared war. At first, her Catholic majesty was for carrying the stipulations of the treaty of *Seville* into immediate execution; but so many difficulties arose about the *American* commerce, that it was put off, and the *Spaniards*, to intimidate the *British* nation, again threatened to besiege *Gibraltar*, and refused to deliver out the effects of the flotilla, which, by the indulgence of the *British* fleet, had been carried into *Cadiz*. The *Spanish* ministry even went so far as to publish a kind of a defeazance of their obligations by the treaty of *Seville*, on pretext that the other contracting parties had not fulfilled their part. While those matters were in agitation, the duke of *Parma* died, in 1730; upon which the Imperialists not only took possession of his capital and dominions, but prevailed with his dowager to pretend that she was with-child. This exasperated the court of *Spain*, and the more because they understood that the *English* were then in a treaty with the emperor, and had offered to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, which treaty was actually signed on the 16th of *March* 1730, and was called the second treaty of *Vienna*. By its third article, his Imperial majesty consents to the introduction of the *Spanish* troops into the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and binds himself to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the consent of the empire for that purpose. For six months, the younger duchess-dowager of *Parma* kept all *Europe* in suspense with regard to her pregnancy; which, at last, she declared to be counterfeit: and *Spain* and the great-duce of *Tuscany* having acceded to the last treaty of *Vienna*, Sir *Charles Wager* sailed from *Portsmouth* with a large fleet, and landed, on the first of *August*, at *Cadiz*, to receive on board *Don Carlos*, that he might take possession of his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The Imperial general, at the same time, retired from those duchies; but Sir *Charles*, after he had been amused for some time at *Seville*, sailed to *Leghorn*, without having the honour to receive on board his fleet the infant, who went by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, and embarked at *Antibes* for *Italy*.

Expedition to
Oran.

ON the 4th of *June*, a very powerful fleet sailed from the road of *Alicant* in *Spain* for *Oran*, under the count *de Montemar*, and landed a considerable body of troops on the coast of *Barbary*. *Oran* is a town of some consequence, and lies opposite to *Carthage* in *Spain*. It had been taken by the *Moors* from the *Spaniards* in the year 1708, after the latter had been in possession of it for 200 years. The *Spanish* army, which consisted of 25,000 men, the day after its landing, was attacked by a body of *Moors* under the governor of *Oran*, who being repulsed, abandoned the city, which was immediately taken possession of by the *Spaniards*, as was the strong fort of *Mazalquivir*, which surrendered upon the first summons. The climate proving fatal to the *Spaniards*, they were molested by the *Moors*, who were again defeated: but distempers prevailing in the *Spanish* army, *Montemar* was obliged to reinforce his troops, and leaving garrisons in the two places he had taken, he carried back the remainder of his army to *Spain*. This expedition was a convincing proof how secure the *Spaniards* thought themselves as to their situation in *Europe*. In the meanwhile, the *Spaniards* had neglected to execute the treaty of *Seville* in many of its most important articles to *Great Britain*; upon which Mr. *Keen*, the *British* minister at the court of *Spain*, presented several very strong remonstrances, and at last obtained from *Don Joseph Patinbo* a schedule on that head, commanding the *Spanish* governors in the *Indies* not to molest the *English* in their navigation, under the severest penalties, provided they kept in their proper distances, and were not concerned in illicit trade. Those two conditions rendered the whole of this schedule of no effect; and the *Spaniards*, making themselves the sole judges both of the distances and the trade, oppressed the *British* navigation as much as ever. Other declarations were obtained from the court of *Spain* to the same purpose, but all in vain; and at last the *British* parliament was obliged to take the matter under its own cognizance.

- a THE *Deal-Castle* man of war took about this time, a *Spanish* register-ship, by way of reprisal, which had almost brought matters between *Spain* and *England* to an open rupture. To compromise matters, *Geraldino*, the *Spanish* minister, or rather agent, in *England*, by his master's orders, proposed to purchase the *South-sea* company's right of sending an annual ship to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and to give the company two *per Cent.* upon all the returns of the commerce of the *Spanish* flota and galleons, during the remainder of the time of the *Asiento* contract for supplying the *Spaniards* with negroes. He even offered to treat about taking the *Asiento* trade, by which many of the company thought they were losers. While those matters were depending in *England*, his Catholic majesty's subjects opened a trade between *Old Spain* and the *Philippine-Islands*, which encroached greatly upon the *Dutch* and the *English*. This trade was well planned. Every *Spanish* ship was to carry out 75,000 l. worth of silver, which was to be laid out in *East India* commodities, and the other parts of the cargo were to consist of the produce or manufactures of *Spain*, or such other merchandizes as are most saleable at the places of their destination; and to return with all kinds of *East-India* commodities, manufactures, and drugs. This new company had many other privileges, particularly that of shipping goods on board the flota, galleons, and register-ships, bound for the *West-Indies*; and if they perceived their trade to be disadvantageous, they were at liberty to discontinue it. The *Dutch* made use of the same argument in opposing the institution of this company as it did that of the Imperial company of *Ostend*, that it was an infraction of the treaty of *Munster*.
- b Soon after, upon the death of the king of *Poland*, the *European* powers were embroiled in new wars. The emperor opposed the re-election of *Stanislaus*, the *French* king's father-in-law, to that crown; and the *French*, the more to involve the emperor, joined *Spain* and *Sardinia* in her Catholic majesty's ambitious schemes for making her son, *Don Carlos*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily*. *Don Carlos*, then duke of *Parma*, declared himself to be of age. The king of *Sardinia* took upon himself the command of the confederate armies, and had under him marshal *de Villars*, the *French* general. As we have, in the history of *Parma*, given a full account of this war, we shall only recapitulate its chief events, as they related to *Spain*. On the 29th of *October*, his *Sardinian* majesty joined the confederates, and publicly declared his chief motive to be the reduction of the ambition of the house of *Austria*. *Pavia* immediately submitted to him, without a stroke. The city of *Milan* followed its example, and the citadel was blocked up. *Pizzighitone*, one of the strongest fortresses in *Italy*, was next reduced; as was, in the beginning of *December*, *Cremona*, and the castles of *Frezza* and *Secco*, with several other places, and the citadel of *Milan* itself, and *Novara*, which was expected to make a great defence. In the mean while, the marquis of *Castropignano* besieged the imperial fortress of *Aula*, which was obliged to capitulate in a few days, and the garrison was sent prisoners to *Spain*. The court of *England* sent orders to Mr. *Keen*, its resident at *Madrid*, to offer his *Britannic* majesty's mediation between the emperor and the king of *Spain*; but he was answered, that his Catholic majesty had now gone too far to retract, and that the marquis *de Montijo* had orders to communicate to the court of *London* the reasons of his Catholic majesty's procedure, which he accordingly did, in a long memorial, which left no farther room for negotiating or mediating. The levies making in *Spain* were prodigious, and a fresh army was raised, of 16,000 foot, 4000 horse, 10 squadrons of dragoons, and proportionable trains of artillery. Next year, all hopes of an accommodation being now over, the *French* entered the *Modenese*, while *Don Carlos* took possession of *Naples*, of which he was declared king by his father, and besieged *Gaeta* and *Capua*. The *Spanish* general, at this time, was the count *de Montemar*, who beat the Imperialists in the battle of *Bitonto*. They were likewise defeated in the battle of *Parma*, on the 29th of *June*, where count *Merci* was killed; and in all other parts of *Italy* the war went on with vast obstinacy and bloodshed on both sides. The fortress of *Gaeta* was surrendered to *Don Carlos*, and this was followed by the submission of all the kingdom of *Naples* to the same prince. He then passed over to *Sicily*, where some *Spanish* troops were already landed, for the reduction of that island; but, during the winter, had they not been prevented by the excellent conduct of his *Sardinian* majesty, the confederate-army must have been destroyed by the Imperial generals, *Koningsegg* and *Wallis*, who kept the field with 40,000 men.
- c THE *Spaniards* met with little resistance in *Sicily*; and the truth is, that their chief success was owing to the insolence and tyranny of the Imperial court, which had rendered its government odious both to the *Italians* and *Sicilians*. The continued good fortune attending the *Spanish* army, had now inspired the court of *Spain* with more ambitious sentiments than ever; and it is generally thought, that, notwithstanding the near connections between them and the court of *Portugal*, they were inclinable, at this time, to have revived their claim upon that crown. The servants of the *Portuguese* minister at *Madrid* having rescued a criminal out of the hands of justice, were, by his Catholic majesty's orders, drag-

Progress of the Italian war.

Great successes of the Spaniards.

dragged to prison; an account of which arriving at *Lisbon*, his *Portuguese* majesty ordered reprisals to be made upon the *Spanish* ambassador's servants there: and this occasioned the abrupt departure of both ministers to their respective courts. Each took the part of its minister; but it was easy to perceive, that the *Spaniards* had something greater in view than this unimportant incident; for his Catholic majesty immediately ordered a strong army to march towards the frontiers of *Portugal*. The *Spaniards*, as well as *French*, had at this time powerful fleets at sea, with an intention, as was thought, to intercept the *Brasil* fleet, which was expected home, and in which the *British* nation had a vast property. His *Portuguese* majesty was unable to oppose the *Spaniards*, and sent an envoy-extraordinary to implore the protection of his *Britannic* majesty, which was readily granted; and orders were accordingly given out for equipping a strong squadron, which was to be put under the command of Sir *John Norris*, and sent to *Portugal*.

A British fleet sent to the relief of Portugal.

WHILE this armament was preparing, orders were sent to Mr. *Kear* at *Madrid*, to present a memorial to that court, to inform them of his *Britannic* majesty's intentions, and that though he was far from encouraging the *Portuguese* to offer any insults to his Catholic majesty's subjects, yet that his *Britannic* majesty could not see with indifference the preparations making in *Spain* against *Portugal*, and was resolved to send a squadron for its protection. The firmness of this memorial greatly disconcerted the *Spanish* court. Don *Joseph Patinbo* represented the dreadful consequence to commerce, and particularly to those concerned in the *flota* then sitting out at *Cadiz*, should any appearances occasion a suspicion of a bad understanding between *Spain* and *Great Britain*; adding, that his Catholic majesty was ready to suspend all operations against *Portugal*, and to refer his differences with that crown to his *Britannic* majesty's arbitration. In the mean while, however, the *Spanish* army on the frontiers of *Portugal* made some movements which were far from indicating a pacific disposition; and, on the 27th of *May* 1735, the *British* fleet sailed for *Lisbon*, and arrived, in twelve days, at that capital. His Catholic majesty appeared to be highly offended at this bold step of the *English*, ordered fresh reinforcements to be sent to his army on the frontiers of *Portugal*, and forbade all his subjects, on pain of death, to hold any correspondence with that crown. Notwithstanding this bravado, he proceeded to no farther hostilities, and all *Europe* was sensible, that *Portugal* at that time owed its preservation to *Great Britain*.

Preliminaries of a pacification,

ALL parties were now tired of the war, excepting her Catholic majesty, whose ambition was insatiable; and she kept on a secret correspondence with *Chauvelin*, keeper of the seals in *France*, and next in credit to cardinal *Fleury*, whose pacific dispositions were eluded by their intrigues. The spirited conduct of *Great Britain* in the affair of *Portugal* gave her vast weight at this time; and *George II.* was sincerely disposed towards a general pacification, and had even drawn up a plan for that purpose, in concert with the *States-General*; which being rejected by the court of *Madrid*, the *British* ambassador at the *Hague* made earnest applications to that republic, that they would augment their troops, which they refused to do, for fear of giving umbrage to the *French*. The cardinal, however, being absolutely determined upon a pacification, treated privately at the court of *Vienna*; and, after feeling its pulse, formed a plan of his own, which was adopted by the *British* ministry and the *States-General*: upon which, the *French* and Imperial ministers at the *Hague*, without regard to the obstinacy of the court of *Madrid*, declared the willingness of their respective masters to agree to a cessation of arms, both in *Germany* and *Italy*. This negotiation was entirely carried on by cardinal *Fleury*, with the *British* and Imperial courts, but without the knowledge of *Chauvelin*, and consequently of her Catholic majesty, who was dreadfully alarmed when it was made public. She had made his *Sardinian* majesty her enemy, by refusing him the *Milanese*, which had been absolutely promised to him when he entered into the war. Notwithstanding this, she endeavoured to keep him on her side; but he rejected all her advances, and declared himself in favour of the armistice. During the continuance of that, the cardinal's preliminaries for a general pacification were agreed to by *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and the *States-General*. They were, so far as they related to *Spain*, in substance as follows:

By the first, it was agreed, that *France* and *Spain* should never be united; that *Spain* should give up her right to the reversion of *Sicily*; that the eventual succession to *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, should be granted to don *Carlos*; that *Leghorn* should for ever remain a free port; and that the possession of *Sardinia* should be confirmed to the house of *Savoy*. The second was between *Spain* and the Empire. The third was a treaty of commerce; and the fourth a defensive one between these two powers.

objected to by the Spaniards,

It was not long after the above plan of pacification took place, before her Catholic majesty found means to make objections to several parts of it, which were left by the *French* and Imperial ministers to the *States-General*; who, among other arrangements, endeavoured to persuade his Catholic majesty to agree to a particular convention upon commercial

- a commercial affairs with *Great Britain* and their High Mightinesses. At the same time, she made great delays in evacuating *Tuscany* upon various pretences; but, upon the emperor's ordering some troops to file off towards that duchy, she consented that the acts of cession should take place. In the year 1747, died *Gaston*, duke of *Tuscany*; upon which, by the late pacification, the duke of *Lorrain*, who had married the eldest *Austrian* archduchess, came into the immediate possession of *Tuscany*, to the great disquiet of her Catholic majesty; who, at this time, received farther mortifications, by the total disgrace of her favourite *Chauvelin* at the *French* court, and by being obliged, through the cardinal's passion for peace, to evacuate *Italy*. *Fleury* was now at the height of his credit, and carried his pacific system so far, as to propose to act as mediator between *Great Britain* and *Spain* in their commercial differences; but this ridiculous offer was disregarded. Her Catholic majesty, however, made some advances of the same kind, and offered not only to procure from her husband an ample renunciation of all claims upon *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, but to give the *English* their own terms in the *American* navigation, provided they would assist her in procuring the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, for her second son don *Philip*. Finding these overtures likewise disregarded, she persuaded her husband to keep on foot all his armaments, both by sea and land; and took such measures, that the *Spanish* depredations upon the *English* in *America* now grew more intolerable than ever. She was encouraged to this by the pacific dispositions of the *English* ministry, whom she was in hopes she could thereby bend to her will, which, probably would have been the case, had not the spirit of the nation interposed.

- c Those hostilities of the *Spaniards* against the *English* were not confined to the seas; for in 1737, preparations were made for invading *Georgia*, which put the *English* government to the expence of an additional regiment for the defence of that province. Her Catholic majesty had even the address to elude the execution of several equitable decisions, that, in flagrant cases of captures, had been issued by his Catholic majesty and his ministers. At last, the impatience of the *British* nation broke through all bounds; nor could all the art and influence of the ministry prevent the repeated petitions against those depredations from being laid before the parliament. *Geraldino* was, at this time, the *Spanish* agent in *England*, and, instead of endeavouring to compromise matters between the two courts, d he associated himself with the heads of the opposition, and gave them all the information in his power to discredit the ministry with the people; publicly asserting, that his master was resolved never to give up his claim of searching all *British* ships in the *American* seas. *Geraldino's* incautious conduct was complained of by Mr. *Keene* at the court of *Madrid*, where it was justified; as her Catholic majesty had then nothing more at heart, than to foment the differences between the parties in *Great Britain* into a rebellion. The facts of the barbarity of the *Spaniards*, which every day came out and were proved before the House of Commons, were shocking to humanity itself; for it appeared, that the *Spaniards* obliged their *English* prisoners, who had been taken on board ships lawfully trading, to work in irons in their dock-yards, where they were subsisted on nothing but vermined e provisions. At last, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, indicating the approach of war, entitled, a bill "for the more effectually securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's subjects in *America*." The intention of this bill was to invest the captors with the property of all prizes taken from the *Spaniards*, after proclamation of war, and to grant five pounds, head-money, to the sailors, for every *Spaniard* taken at sea; and the property of all places taken from *Spain* were likewise to be vested in the captors. Though Sir *Robert Walpole*, the then first minister, vigorously opposed the bill, yet it was soon after resumed and carried, and it was easy to foresee, that a war was at hand, though the *British* ministry omitted nothing to prevent it; but upon this occasion, they were deserted by many of their friends.

- f It unfortunately happened, that Mr. *Keene* himself was ignorant of the true state of the question between the subjects of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and all the weight of reason and great abilities was against the minister and his friends. A set of resolutions, in direct opposition to the claims of the *Spaniards*, was carried through both houses of parliament; and the manner in which the *Spaniards* treated the *English* subjects, cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mr. *Keene* to don *Sebastian de la Quadra*, the *Spanish* minister. "I have orders, Sir, says he, to tell you, that the *British* subjects complain in the strongest manner, of the oblique ways and unjust means which the *Spanish* officers in the *West-Indies* make use of for condemning and confiscating their ships, viz. the master and crew are detained prisoners on board their ships, until judgment is given; but, g to save appearances, the governor appoints a *Spaniard* as party, in room of the proprietors of the ship; who, without ever consulting the master or crew, makes, properly speaking, a sham defence, on which the vessel is condemned; and, after the sentence, there lies an appeal to the council of the *Indies* in *Spain*; upon which appeal we conceive no defence is admitted, nor any witnesses received or read, but what was admitted before the

who prepared
to invade
Georgia.

Account of the
rise of the
war between
Great Britain
and Spain.

courts of judicature in *America*. If this be true, no wonder his majesty's subjects have not obtained any manner of justice, either in the first instance, or on the appeal, where the same party is, at the same time, both plaintiff and defendant. I am, therefore, ordered by his majesty to make the strongest representations, in his name, against such extraordinary proceedings, which are directly contrary both to the ordinary course of justice, and the law of nations."

Mr. *Keene*, in the same dispatch, complained of the mock forms of justice which were observed in the *Spanish* courts, in all causes relating to *English* sailors or merchants. Notwithstanding this, it appears that the *British* minister was still so infatuated as to imagine he might find means to prevent a war; and he prevailed with his master to intimate so much in his speech upon the rising of parliament. The *French*, who had large property depending in the *Spanish* galleons and the *flota*, which would be in danger in case of a rupture between the two nations, offered their mediation, in conjunction with the States-General, who were warmly solicited by Mr. *Trevor*, the *English* minister at the *Hague*, to take part with *Great Britain*; but they were dissuaded from this by *Van Heey*, their resident at *Paris*, who was the obsequious creature of cardinal *Fleury*. Every day discovering less appearance than another of an accommodation, the *British* ministry resolved to try what effect an appearance of vigour would produce; and in *April* 1738, a squadron of ten ships of the line was sent to the *Mediterranean*, under admiral *Haddock*. The *British* settlements in *America* were re-inforced at the same time, and their merchants had proper instructions sent them for their security. Those preparations in *September* following produced a sudden alteration in the behaviour of the court of *Spain*, where preliminaries were signed, which were to be ratified in two months. In six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, a congress of plenipotentiaries was to meet, and they were to finish their business in eight months longer. As to the preliminaries themselves, they formed what was afterwards called, The Convention. The chief heads of this famous act were as follow.

"THE first article contained only what we have already mentioned concerning the future congress, which was to regulate not only the matters of navigation, but the limits of *Florida* and *Carolina*, where no fortifications, or new posts, were to be erected during the dependence of the congress. The third article stipulated, that upon settling accounts, it appeared, that a sum of 95,000 l. was due from *Spain* to the subjects of *Great Britain*, which sum was to be paid to his *Britannic* majesty, to be by him applied in full satisfaction of all that his subjects had suffered from those of *Spain*. This discharge, however, was to have no relation to any accounts or differences between the crown of *Spain* and the *Asiento*-company; nor to any particular or private contracts that may subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively; with exception, however, of all pretensions of this class mentioned in the plan presented at *Seville* by the commissaries of *Great Britain*, and included in the account lately made out at *London*, of damages sustained by the subjects of the said crown; and especially, the three particulars inserted in the said plan, and making but one article in the account, amounting to 119,512 piastras, 3 reals, and 3 quartils of plate; and the subjects on each side shall be entitled, and shall have liberty to have recourse to the laws, or take other proper measures, for causing the above-said engagement to be fulfilled, in the same manner as if the convention did not exist."

The Convention.

"THE value of the ship *Woolball*, which was taken and carried to the port of *Campeachy*, in 1732; the *Loyal Charles*, the *Dispatch*, the *George*, and the *Prince William*, which were carried to the *Havanna*, in 1737; and the *St. James* to *Porto Rico*, in the same year, having been included in the valuation that has been made of the demands of the subjects of *Great Britain*, as also several others that were taken before; if it happens, that in consequence of the orders that have been dispatched by the court of *Spain* for the restitution of them, part, or the whole of them have been restored, the sums so received shall be deducted from the 95,000 l. sterling, which is paid by the court of *Spain* according to what is above stipulated; it being, however, understood, that the payment of the 95,000 l. sterling, should not be, for that reason, in any manner delayed; saving that what may have been previously received shall be restored."

Separate articles of the Convention,

BESIDES those articles, two separate articles were annexed. The first named the plenipotentiaries of the future congress. Those on the side of *Great Britain* were, "*Benjamin Keene*, Esq; his said majesty's minister plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty, and *Abraham Castres*, Esq; his said *Britannic* majesty's consul-general, at the court of his Catholic majesty." Those on the part of his Catholic majesty were, "*Don Joseph de la Quintana*, his counsellor in the supreme council of the *Indies*, and *Don Stephen Joseph de Abaria*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, counsellor in the same council, and superintendant of the Chamber of Accounts." The second article relates to a ship called the *Success*, which was

- a was not comprehended in the Convention, and which his Catholic majesty promised should, or its value, be restored to its lawful owners, provided they gave security that they would stand by the decision of the plenipotentiaries ;” and (says the Convention in its close) it is declared by these presents, that the third article of the Convention does not extend, nor shall be construed to extend, to any ships or effects that may have been taken or seized since *December 10, 1737*, or may be hereafter taken or seized ; in which cases, justice shall be done according to the treaties, as if the aforesaid Convention had not been made ; it being, however, understood, that this relates only to the indemnification and satisfaction to be made for the effects seized, or prizes taken ; but that the decision of the cases which may happen, in order to remove all pretext for dispute, is to be referred to the plenipotentiaries, to be determined by them according to the treaties.”

b WHEN this Convention was published in *England*, it is impossible to conceive how unpopular the minister became ; and it was afterwards understood, that, bad as it was for *Great Britain*, it was with the utmost difficulty that the *Spanish* ministers could be brought to sign it ; nor did they do it without a management which evinced the tameness and compliances made by the *British* ministry. In a general court of the *South-sea* company, *Geraldino* made an absolute demand of 68,000 l. due by them to his master, which they refused to pay till accounts were balanced between him and them. The marquis *de la Quadra* had acquainted Mr. *Keene*, that his master was resolved not to ratify the Convention, unless that 68,000 l. was paid. Nothing could be more unreasonable than this condition, as a liquidated indemnification of the private subjects of *Great Britain* was a consideration entirely distinct from the concerns of a public company. But so fond was *Keene* for flattering the *British* minister’s passion for peace, that he did not explain himself on that head to *de la Quadra*, who was more explicit ; for at the time of ratifying the Convention, he drew up the following protest.

which is dis- agreeable to the English.

c “ *Don Sebastian de la Quadra*, counsellor, and first secretary of state to his Catholic majesty, and his first plenipotentiary for the Convention which is treating with the king of *England*, by order of his sovereign, and in consequence of his repeated memorials and conferences that have passed with *Don Benjamin Keene*, minister plenipotentiary of his *Britannic* majesty ; and having agreed therein with reciprocal accord, that the present declaration shall be made as the essential and precise means to overcome the so much debated disputes ; and in order that the said Convention may be signed, does declare in due form, that his Catholic majesty reserves to himself, in its full force and right, of being able to suspend the assiento of negroes, and for dispatching the necessary orders for the execution thereof, in case the company does not subject herself to pay, within a short time, the 68,000 l. sterling, which she has confessed is owing on the duty of negroes, according to the regulation of 52d. per dollar, or in the profits of the ship *Caroline* ; and likewise declare, that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said Convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner ; wherefore, upon this firm supposition, and that it may not be eluded on any other motive or pretext whatsoever, his Catholic majesty has been induced thereto.

Protest of the Spanish minister.

d *Pardo*, Jan. 10, 1739. Don Sebastian de la Quadra.”

e WHEN the pacific, and indeed shameful, conduct of the minister was fully known at *Westminster*, the national indignation arose to an ungovernable pitch, and the minister was, upon this occasion, deserted by some of his firmest friends. *Geraldino* was instructed, without any other consideration or abatement, to insist upon the payment of the 68,000 l. by the *South-sea* company ; and, at last, a final resolution was taken in the *British* council to declare war against *Spain*. Previous to this, his Catholic majesty’s ministers had seized the effects of the *South-sea* company, and complained most bitterly of admiral *Haddock*’s still remaining in the *Mediterranean* with a *British* squadron, with an intent, as they al-
f ledged, to intercept the *Spanish* galleons in their return homewards. The marquis *de Villarias*, one of the *Spanish* ministers, continued to insist upon the right the *Spaniards* had to search *British* ships in the *American* seas ; and no prospect of an accommodation taking place, *Great Britain* made suitable preparations for supporting the war which her councils had resolved on. In the beginning of *June*, an embargo was laid upon all the merchant-ships in the kingdom ; fourteen men of war and three bomb-vessels were put into commission, extraordinary encouragement, by authority, was offered to *British* sailors, and several regiments were brought from *Ireland* to *England* ; while the duke of *Newcastle*, then principal secretary of state, took care to inform the merchants of the approaching rup-
g ture.

To leave the *Spaniards* inexcusable, before any act of hostility was committed on the part of *Great Britain*, Mr. *Keene* declared to the court of *Madrid*, that before the nego-
tiation could be resumed, it was necessary that his Catholic majesty should renounce all right of searching *British* ships in the *American* seas, and that *Georgia* and *Carolina* should be
ex-

Claims of the English.

expressly secured to *Great Britain*. He likewise informed the *Spanish* ministry, that unless they agreed to these preliminaries, he must leave that kingdom. The *Spaniards*, till then, had been deluded partly by *Geraldino*, and partly by the *French*, into an opinion that the *British* ministry never would venture upon a war: but the ministry themselves were not now masters of that measure. No sooner was it known that a war was unavoidable, than the public stocks rose amazingly, and all ranks and degrees of men in *Great Britain* united in a resolution to support a war against *Spain*. The *French* behaved in a manner that gave no room to doubt of their intentions to take part with the *Spaniards* in such a war; and, in fact, had acted all along in the differences between the two courts, not with any view of reconciling them, but that, in case of a war, they might, under pretext of being a neutral power, carry on the *Spanish American* trade in their bottoms.

Orders for reprisals issued against the Spaniards,

On the 19th of *July*, the council at *Whitehall* issued orders for general reprisals to be made upon the *Spaniards*; and all the courts of admiralty in *Great Britain* had commissions to judge of, and condemn all ships, vessels, and goods, taken from the crown and subjects of *Spain*, by virtue of letters of marque and reprisal; the like orders being, at the same time, issued to the *British* plantations and governments abroad. Those spirited measures were supported by a proper execution. The preparations for war were immense, and admiral *Vernon*, who was known to be an implacable enemy to the *Spaniards*, was appointed to the command of a squadron against the *Spanish West-Indies*. Being made vice-admiral of the blue, he sailed on the 20th of *July*, with nine men of war and a sloop, to take upon himself the command of all the *British* ships in *America*. This vigorous measure, however, did not prevent a vast treasure arriving in *Spain* from *America*. But the court of *Madrid* began now to discern that they had been imposed upon, and struck into a new system of management, by retrenching all their pensions and unnecessary expences. At the same time, they published a manifesto, in which his Catholic majesty laid, that *England*, “disquieted with domestic divisions, has urged her complaints with such obstinacy, though, perhaps, conscious how little they are founded on justice, that if our sincere disposition had not found more weight in the forementioned considerations than in her instances, these disputes might long ago have proceeded to an open rupture, not without powerful motives on our behalf.” The manifesto then accused the *British* court with various infractions of good faith and treaties, and concluded with an order for making reprisals upon the *British* subjects in *Spain*.

who publish a manifesto.

Soon after the publication of this manifesto, his Catholic majesty’s reasons for not paying the 95,000*l.* stipulated by the Convention appeared; and charged the *British* nation with seven contraventions of that treaty. The first regarded admiral *Haddock*’s continuance in the *Mediterranean* with his squadron, and his having commenced hostilities there. The second contravention was charged upon the *English* having had no regard to the limits of *Florida* and *Carolina*; and they were most ridiculously accused of encreasing their colonies, and re-inforcing their fleet at *Jamaica*. The third contravention relates to the 68,000*l.* which had been so unjustly stated as a claim from his Catholic majesty upon the *English South sea* company. The fourth contravention regarded a demand made by the *English* plenipotentiaries, that it should be declared his Catholic majesty had not a power to suspend the *Asiento*-contract, and, on that account, invalidating the Convention. The fifth contravention related to an *English* ship which had been taken after the Convention was signed, and reclaimed by the *English*; though by that treaty all differences were to have been settled by commissaries. The sixth contravention related to the time within which the *English* plenipotentiaries received their instructions, and to no notice being taken into the value of captures restored since the Convention by the *Spaniards* in *America*. The seventh contravention consisted in the *English* having previously claimed the privilege of a free navigation in all the *American* seas, by the 15th article of the treaty of 1670, concluded between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. This, said the *Spanish* ministers, is a direct infraction of the first article of the Convention, wherein it is expressly stipulated, “That the respective pretensions of the two crowns should be regulated and settled in the conferences according to treaties.” The reasons then acknowledge, that the *English* claim of not being searched on the *American* seas, deserves to be explained distinctly and clearly; and then contended, “That the treaty of *Utrecht*, in 1713, stipulated, that the navigation of the *English* in *America* should continue upon the same footing as in the reign of *Charles II.* of *Spain*; when it was notorious, that by the fundamental laws of *Spain* all strangers were excluded from the *Spanish West-Indies*.” A reference was then made to the stipulations between *Spain* and *Holland* in 1714, by which their High Mightinesses promise to assist his Catholic majesty in preserving to his subjects the exclusive right to trade with the *Spanish* settlements in the *West-Indies*; and some very severe things are laid with regard to the *English*, who, as they themselves confess, carry on an illicit trade there,

a there, to the amount of several millions yearly, and to the great detriment of the crown of Spain.

No industry was wanting on the part of the *Spaniards* to inculcate these reasons, and soon after, upon the publication of a formal declaration of war between the two crowns, Mr. Keene and Mr. Castres, the *English* ministers, left the court of *Madrid*. The *British* declaration of war was so masterly a composition, that we cannot here dispense with giving the reader the most material part of it: "Whereas many unjust seizures have been made, and depredations carried on, for several years, in the *West Indies*, by *Spanish* guarda-costas, and other ships acting under the commission of the king of *Spain*, or his governors, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us and the crown of *Spain*, and to the law of nations, to the great prejudice of the lawful trade and commerce of our subjects; and great cruelties and barbarities have been exercised on the persons of divers of our subjects whose vessels have been so seized; and the *British* colours have been insulted in the most ignominious manner; and whereas we have caused frequent complaints to be made to the king of *Spain* of these violent and unjust proceedings, but no satisfaction or redress has been given for the same, notwithstanding the many promises made, and cédulas issued, signed by the said king, or by his order, for that purpose; and whereas the evils above-mentioned have been principally occasioned by an unwarrantable claim and pretension, set up, on the part of *Spain*, that the guarda costas, and other ships, authorized by the king of *Spain*, may stop, detain, and search, the ships and vessels of our subjects navigating in the *American* seas, contrary to the liberty of navigation, to which our subjects have not only an equal right with those of the king of *Spain*, by the law of nations, but which is, moreover, expressly acknowledged and declared to belong to them by the most solemn treaties; and particularly by that concluded in the year 1670; and whereas the said groundless claim and pretension, and the unjust practice of stopping, detaining, and searching ships and vessels, navigating in the seas of *America*, is not only of the most dangerous and destructive consequence to the lawful commerce of our subjects, but also leads to interrupt and obstruct the free intercourse and correspondence between our dominions in *Europe*, and our colonies and plantations in *America*; and by means thereof, to deprive us and our subjects of the benefit of those colonies and plantations; a consideration of the highest importance to us and our kingdoms, and a practice which must affect, in its consequence, all other princes and states of *Europe*, possessed of settlements in the *West-Indies*, or whose subjects carry on any trade thither; and whereas, besides the notorious grounds of complaint abovementioned, many other infractions have been made on the part of *Spain*, of the several treaties and conventions subsisting between us and that crown, and particularly of that concluded in the year 1667, as well by the exorbitant duties and impositions laid upon the trade and commerce of our subjects, as by the breach of antient and established privileges, stipulated for them by the said treaties; for the redress of which grievances the strongest instances have been, from time to time, made by our several ministers residing in *Spain*, without any effect; and whereas a convention, for making reparation to our subjects for the losses sustained by them, on account of the unjust seizures and depredations committed by the *Spaniards* in *America*, and in order to prevent for the future all the grievances and causes of complaint therein taken notice of, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give occasion thereto, was concluded between us and the king of *Spain*, on the 14th day of *January* last, *N. S.* by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid at *London*, within a term therein specified, as a balance admitted to be due, on the part of *Spain*, to the crown and subjects of *Great Britain*, which term expired on the 25th day of *May* last, and the payment of the said sum was not made, according to the stipulation for that purpose; by which means the convention abovementioned was manifestly violated and broken by the king of *Spain*, and our subjects remained without any satisfaction or reparation for the many grievous losses sustained by them; and the methods agreed upon by the said convention, in order to the obtaining future security for the trade and navigation of our subjects, are, contrary to good faith, frustrated and defeated."

THE remaining part of this declaration is in the common form, and it was supported with proportionable vigour. The order for reprisals was sent to the *English* officers in the *West-Indies* above three weeks before they were published at *London*; and the minister, to render the *Spaniards* the more secure, affected a perfect indifference as to all matters concerning war and peace, and even went to his country-seat while it was in agitation. Admiral *Vernon*, in the mean while, together with Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, was cruising on the coasts of *Spain*, to intercept a rich fleet of *Assogue* ships, then expected home; but they escaped the *British* squadrons by an advice-boat sent to them with orders to steer north about, and to put into the first *Spanish* port which they could make in the bay of *Biscay*, and which proved to be *St. Andero*. Upon those ships escaping, the two *British* admirals

Declaration of war by the English.

Their success at sea.

failed to *America*, while admiral *Haddock*, who kept cruising between *Cadiz* and *Gibraltar*, made several very rich prizes, one of them particularly valued at 120,000 l. sterling. All that the *Spaniards* could do, was to continue their naval preparations, and to engage the *French* in their interest. They succeeded in the last measure to effectually, that an invasion was every day expected from *France*; which put *Great Britain* to the trouble and expence of keeping a large fleet to observe the motions of the *French*; while admiral *Haddock* was still cruising on the coast of *Spain*, in order to block up their fleet at *Cadiz*, and to intercept the remainder of their ships that were expected from *America*. This disposition of the *British* marine in great bodies, left the seas too open for the *Spaniards*, who fitted out vast numbers of privateers, to the infinite damage of the *British* trade, as well as the disreputation of the ministry.

Spirited proceedings of the parliament.

We have, in other parts of this work, taken notice of the *American* war, which was carried on under admiral *Vernon* at this time, where no fewer than thirty-four ships of war were employed. But the nation received no solid benefit from so vast an armament before the taking of *Porto Bello*. This was owing, in a great measure, to the misconduct of the sea-officers, who alarmed the *Spanish* coasts in *America*, without doing them any damage. The *British* parliament, to shew how much they were interested in the war with *Spain*, addressed his majesty never to admit of any treaty, or negotiation for a peace, with that crown, “ unless (said the addressers) the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the *American* seas, to and from any part of his majesty’s dominions, without being seized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtained as a preliminary thereto ” The address having passed, the bill for encouraging the trade to *America* went through both houses of parliament; and, in consequence of the same, a proclamation was issued to inform the subjects, “ that his majesty would grant them separate, or united, charters, or commissions, for the more effectually enabling them to attack or destroy the ships, goods, factories, and settlements of the *Spaniards*; and to secure to them and their heirs the full and undoubted right, property, and title, to what they should take, or cause to be taken, from the enemy ” After this, a body of marines was voted to be raised, being an antient establishment, but now revived. But the nation still continuing to suffer by *Spanish* privateers, the ministry became so unpopular, that little was done to any effect. The *French*, and even the *Dutch*, protected and carried on the *Spanish* trade under the mask of neutrality, and the public discontent was raised by an embargo being laid, and continued, on all shipping.

The Spanish fleet sails to America.

ADMIRAL *Haddock* being obliged to go into *Port Mahon* with some part of his squadron, and to send the other part, as being unfit for service, to *Gibraltar*, the *Spaniards* seized that opportunity for effecting a junction between the *Cadiz* and *Ferrol* squadrons. They, at the same time, marched down some troops to the coast of *Galicia*, and threatened to employ the duke of *Ormond*, who was then at *Madrid*, in a descent upon *England*. No sooner was it known for certain, that the above junction was made, than orders were given for equipping a large fleet under Sir *John Norris*, for destroying the *Spanish* ships in *Ferrol*, and his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland* went on board as a volunteer. The fitting out this armament raised the expectations of the nation to a very high degree; as it was powerful enough to have engaged both the *French* and *Spanish* fleets, had they been joined. But a train of misfortunes, partly arising from accidents, and partly from the weather, detained this fleet from proceeding on the expedition, while the *Spanish* combined squadrons failed to the *West-Indies*, to the no small disappointment of the *French*, who were in hopes of bringing home the galleons and flota.

History of admiral Anson’s expedition.

HIS Catholic majesty was, at this time, consumed with spleen, superstition, and indolence, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his queen prevailed upon him not to make a second abdication of his government in favour of the prince of *Asturias*, who was not thought to be well-disposed towards the *French*. The latter offered their mediation between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, provided the grand armament of sea and land-forces, which was then fitting out in *England*, should not proceed to *America*. This condition being rejected, the *French* declared that they would take part with the *Spaniards*, if any attempt was made upon their *West-Indies*; and their fleet under the duke d’*Antin* actually sailed for *America*. Besides the great armament, which sailed under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, on the 26th of *October*, 1740, another expedition was equipped under captain *Anson*, which was designed for the *South-seas*, and to act on the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, occasionally corresponding across the isthmus of *Darien*, with admiral *Vernon*, of whose success we shall here give some account.

It was the 28th of *June* before Mr. *Anson*, who was appointed commodore in the last mentioned expedition, received his instructions from the secretary of state, and upon that receipt he immediately set out for *Spitzhead*, where he found nothing in readiness for his sailing, 300 sailors of his complement being wanting. He had expected to have taken on board

- a board *Bland's* regiment of foot, and three independent companies of 100 men each; but this force was changed into 500 invalids, out pensioners of *Chelsea*, most of them above sixty years of age; and half of the number deserted before they went on board. To supply this deficiency, the commodore was furnished with 210 marines, but all of them new-raised recruits. At last he set sail, with five ships of war and the *Trial* sloop. His largest ship was the *Centurion*, which carried sixty guns, and his smallest was the *Wager*, carrying twenty-eight. The whole number of his guns were 236, and of his men 1510. Those were, exclusive of two victualler-pinks, and 470 invalids and marines, commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Mordaunt Cracherode*. The sea commanders under the commodore were the captains *Norris*, *Legg*, *Mitchel*, *Kidd*, and *Murray*. The squadron sailed from *Spithead*
- b to *St. Helens* on the 10th of *August*, but it was the 18th of *September* before he weighed; and on the 25th of *October* he arrived with his squadron at the island of *Madeira*. This long delay threw a damp upon all concerned in the expedition, as they could easily foresee that they must pass *Cape-Horn* in the most dangerous and tempestuous season of the year. After their staying about eight days at *Madeira*, captain *Norris* returned to *England*, which occasioned some removes in the command of the ships; but at last they sailed, having orders from the commodore, appointing their rendezvous, in case of separation, at the island of *St. Catharine's*, on the coast of *Brasil*, in *South-America*.

- c On the 21st of *December*, after a most sickly passage, in which they lost many of their men, they arrived at *St. Catharine's*, where they remained till the 18th of *January*, and then sailed to port *St. Julian*, on the coast of *Patagonia*. In the mean while, the *Spanish* admiral, *de Torres*, with his fleet, had arrived in the *West-Indies*; and the delays made in commodore *Anson's* expedition had given the *Spaniards* leisure to fit out a squadron, under the command of *Don Joseph Pizarro*, which in the whole carried 304 guns and 2850 men. This squadron was designed to intercept commodore *Anson*, having on board, besides her seamen, an old regiment of *Spanish* foot. The commodore was fortunate enough to escape them, upon which they bore away from *Madeira* to the river *Plate* in *South-America*. Before commodore *Anson* departed from *St. Catharine's*, he issued orders to his captains, "That in case of separation, the place of rendezvous should be the bay of port *St. Julian*, where they were to take in a supply of salt; and if, after a stay of ten days, they
- d were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through the straits *Le Maire*, round *Cape Horn*, into the *South-seas*; where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of *Nuestra Senora de Secoro*, in the latitude of 45 deg. south, and longitude from the *Lizard*, 71 deg. 12 min. west; and from thence they were to continue their course to the island of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of 33 deg. 37 min. south; where, after they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue off the anchoring-place for fifty-six days; in which time, if the commodore did not join them, they were to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted to permit him, and to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the *Spaniards* both by sea and land; when he was to proceed to *Macao*, at the entrance of
- e the river of *Canton*, on the coast of *China*; and afterwards, without delay, to make the best of his way for *England*"

He arrives at
the isle of *St.*
Catharine's.

- A few days after the sailing of the squadron for port *St. Julian*, the *Pearl* separated from its companions, and the captain dying, the command of the ship devolved upon the eldest lieutenant. On the 10th of *February*, he fell in with *Pizarro's* squadron, the leading ship of which was so artfully disguised like the *Centurion*, that he narrowly escaped being taken. When he joined the commodore at *St. Julian*, he informed him of the danger he had escaped: but the *Trial* sloop wanting repairs, occasioned the squadron being detained longer than was convenient at *St. Julian*. Before they sailed, the command of the *Pearl* was given to captain *Murray*, that of the *Wager* to captain *Cheap*, and that of the
- f *Trial* sloop to lieutenant (now Sir *Charles*) *Saunders*. Before their sailing, the commodore, being apprehensive of encountering *Pizarro's* squadron, ordered his captains to put all their provisions which were in the way of their guns, on board the *Anna* pink, and to remove such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold. On the 24th of *February*, a council of war, at which colonel *Cracherode* assisted, was held on board the *Centurion*, to concert the future operations of the squadron. In this council the commodore acquainted the members, that he was instructed to secure some port in the *South seas*, where his ships might be careened and refitted: he therefore proposed to attack *Baldivia* upon the coast of *Chili*, to be made use of for that purpose. The council unanimously agreeing to this proposal, the captains received new instructions, by
- g which "they were directed, in case of separation, to cruize off the island of *Nuestra Senora de Secoro* only ten days, from whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed and cruize off the harbour of *Baldivia*; and if, in fourteen days, they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to proceed to the island of *Juan Fer-*
- nandes*,

His danger
from the *Span-*
ish squadron.

nandes, and regulate their farther proceedings by their former orders. And as the separation of the Squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to the service, each captain was ordered not to keep his ship at a greater distance than two miles from the *Centurion*." a

He passes the
streights of Le
Maire.

It was the 27th of *February* before the Squadron could be in readiness to weigh, and on the 7th of *March* they passed the streights of *Le Maire*, but encountered most dreadful storms in attempting to pass *Cape Horn*, their ships being separated, and their crews reduced, by diseases and fatigues. On the 20th of *November*, the commodore, after losing out of his own ship 200 men, completed his passage round *Cape Horn*, and came in sight of the island of *Secoro*. Here he kept cruising for several days, in hopes of meeting with the rest of his Squadron; but being disappointed, and tempests and storms multiplying upon him, he sailed to the island of *Juan Fernandes*, after an additional loss of eighty men. By this time, his ship's crew was so weak, that the officers were obliged to assist equally with the common men in navigating her. At last, they reached the island of *Juan Fernandes*, which to them appeared to be an earthly paradise, and gave them inconceivable relief. On the 11th of *June*, they entered the harbour, and were joined by the *Trial* sloop, but without any appearance of the other ships. This island was wonderfully fitted by nature and situation for their relief, because they could lie there without alarming the *Spanish* settlements; and its air, water, and herbage, were equally salubrious for men in their condition. It was, however, the 16th before their debility suffered them to land their sick, which took up the two following days, to the infinite fatigue of the more healthy among them. The whole number that landed alive was no more than 167 persons; and for the first ten or twelve days they commonly buried six in twenty-four hours. On the 21st of the same month, they discovered a sail, which, upon the 26th, they perceived to be the *Gloucester*. The commodore easily guessed at the distressed situation of her crew, which was then reduced to fewer than eighty men, and sent off his boat to their assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables. This supply arrived just at the time when the *Gloucester's* crew was on the point of expiring, they having been reduced for many days to a pint of water each man a day; and even that failing, they must in a short time have perished through thirst. But though the admiral had sent all the hands he could spare to her assistance, yet it was the 23d of *July* before she could enter the bay. d

The vast dis-
tress of his
Squadron.

THE men being now somewhat recovered, and capable of working, the *Trial* sloop was dispatched to the little island of *Masa Fuero*, which captain *Mitchel* had discovered, twenty-two leagues to the westward of *Juan Fernandes*, thinking, that possibly the other ships might have mistaken it for the place of rendezvous: but the sloop returned without receiving any intelligence of the others. They now began to be in want of bread, the greatest part of their flour being on board the *Anna* pink, which had not arrived; and this obliged the commodore to reduce his men to a short allowance of bread. At last, on the 16th of *August*, the *Anna* pink, to their great joy, came to anchor in the bay, after undergoing a proportionable share of distress with the other ships. The *Severn* and *Pearl*; in the mean while, had put back to the *Brazils*, having been separated from the rest of the Squadron off *Cape Noire*. The fate of captain *Cheap*, in the *Wager*, was still more deplorable. He had on board great part of the artillery that was intended, according to the original plan, to act against *Baldivia*, and he was very solicitous to have them ashore, in case the execution of that plan should be attempted. The *Wager* made land on the 14th of *May*, off the island of *Secoro*, from whence she proposed to sail for *Baldivia*; but being then little better than a wreck, she next morning struck on a sunken rock, and soon after was entirely lost, being grounded between two small islands, about a musket-shot from shore; but the crew escaped to land in boats, and saved great part of their provisions. e

THEIR common calamity in being thus thrown on an unknown desolate coast, instead of uniting them, proved the principle of disunion among the crew. They imagined, that the loss of their ship dissolved all relation between them and their officers, and nothing but anarchy, and the wildest scenes of riot, confusion, and intemperance of every kind, reigned in the company. The captain was a sedate, but resolute, officer; and having procured some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he had formed a scheme of fitting up his boats, and proceeding to the northward. Having with him an hundred healthy men, he was in hopes of meeting with a *Spanish* prize, which would carry him to the rendezvous at *St. Juan Fernandes*; and, if they met with none, he imagined he could make that island in his boats. This was a scheme very distant from that which was formed by his hot-headed crew; who being impatient to return home, proposed to lengthen their long-boat, and steering to the southward, to pass the streights of *Magellan*, and then to range along the east-side of *South America*, till they could get a ship to carry them to *England*. The captain, in opposing this mad, impracticable, scheme, was treated by those ruffians f g

a ruffians with the utmost brutality. At last, towards the middle of *October*, when the long-boat was almost ready, the captain was so much provoked by the usage he received, that, apprehending a mutiny, he shot one of the crew dead; upon which he was put under arrest, and the ruffians threatened to carry him in irons to *England*, there to be tried for murder. The captain's resolution did not desert him on this occasion; and to that, perhaps, he owed his deliverance and safety: for when they were going to set sail, his serenity and intrepidity struck them so much, that, reflecting on what they were doing, they set him at liberty, and gave him leave to dispose of himself, and the few attendants who were willing to share his fortune, in the yawl and the barge. This was on the 13th of *October*, and no more than nineteen remained with the captain, among whom were, Mr. *Hamilton*, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr. *Biron* and Mr. *Campbell*, midshipmen, and Mr. *Elliot*, the surgeon. The number of those who went off was fourscore; and their long-boat, which they had converted into a schooner, arrived, on the 29th of *January*, at *Rio-Grande*, on the *Brazil* coast, their number being by that time reduced to thirty persons.

Remarkable
history of cap-
tain Cheap.

UPON their departure, the captain pursued his former plan, of embarking himself and his little company in the barge and yawl, and to sail northward. Accordingly, on the 14th of *December*, they set sail; but finding their scheme impracticable, after losing six of their hands, they returned to *Wager-Island*, so called from the name of their ship. It was then the middle of *February*, and the captain and his companions were entertaining the most dismal reflections, when two canoes of *Indians* arrived. One of them, who was a native of *Chiloe*, understood a little *Spanish*, and could converse with Mr. *Elliot*, who made a bargain with them to carry the captain and his company to the island of *Chiloe* in the barge, which the *Indian* was to receive for his trouble. Their company was now reduced to eleven persons; and the barge had proceeded for some days, when the captain, and the four gentlemen we have named, going on shore, the other six and an *Indian* put off in the barge, and left them exposed to fresh horrors, without the smallest means of subsistence, upon a desert, unknown shore, and without arms to defend themselves. While they were in this melancholy situation, they perceived a canoe which belonged to the other *Indian* who had arrived at *Wager-Island*, and who, after some solicitation, carried them, partly by water, partly by land, (Mr. *Elliot* dying on the way) to *Chiloe*, where, to the honour of *Spanish* humanity, they were received and entertained with the utmost tenderness. From *Chiloe* they were carried to *Valparaiso*, and then to *St. Jago*, the capital of *Chili*, being every where treated with the same humanity. Here they continued for about a year; and a cartel being settled between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the captain, Mr. *Biron*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, were sent in a *French* ship to *Europe*, the other midshipman remaining among the *Spaniards*. But we are now to return to the commodore.

His escape.
Progress of
commodore
Anson;

ABOUT the middle of *September*, upon mustering the hands on board the *Centurion*, they were found to be no more than 214 marines and seamen. The *Gloucester* had only eighty-two alive, and the *Trial* thirty-nine, the victualling pink being discharged, and declared incapable of returning to *England*. The commodore bought the hull and furniture for 300 l. and the hands on board it were sent to the *Gloucester*; so that, upon the whole, those three ships of war, from the time of their departure from *England*, lost no fewer than 636 men, and no more than 335 were left to navigate them. The prospect which this afforded was the more melancholy, as they had reason to believe that *Pizarro's* squadron was in those seas, and that the *Spaniards* had, by that time, taken measures for defeating all their attempts. The commodore, however, acted with invincible fortitude of spirit, and determined, weak as his condition was, to sail down the coast, and to touch somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Panama*, being in hopes of receiving some intelligence of admiral *Vernon*, across the isthmus of *Darien*, it being one of the commodore's instructions, "That as he might find an opportunity to send privately over land to *Porto Bello* or *Darien*, he was, by that means, to endeavour to transmit to any of his majesty's ships or forces that should be on that coast, an account of what he had done, or intended to do; and, lest any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, he was to use a cypher that had been given him, to correspond with the *British* admiral that might be in the North seas of *America*, or the commander in chief of the forces."

He was farther instructed as to the destination of the troops under the lord *Cathcart* to the *West-Indies*; and was ordered, that "if those forces should go to *Porto-Bello* or *Darien*, with a design to march to *Panama*, or *Santa Maria*, to make the best dispositions to assist them in making a secure settlement, either at *Panama* or any other proper place, and supply them with cannon, or any thing else to be spared without weakening the squadron; and if they should want soldiers, to reinforce them with those on board his squadron, with the consent of the proper officer." Upon the whole, the commodore had some reason to believe that *Porto-Bello* was then actually in the hands of the *English*.

who takes several prizes;

in which case he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving a supply of men from thence, and of concerting such a plan of operations as should put him in possession of *Panama* itself, and consequently of the whole isthmus of *Darien*, which would lay open the wealth of all the *Spanish West Indies* to the *British* arms. Had the expedition commanded by *Vernon* and *Wentworth*, who succeeded to lord *Catbcart's* command, been managed with tolerable prudence, the commodore's hopes would probably have been realized. On the 8th of *September*, which was the season for sailing in that country, as they were preparing to put to sea, they espied a sail to North-east, to which the *Centurion* immediately gave chase, but soon lost sight of her. The *Centurion*, returning to the island, saw another sail, which happened to be the consort of that which she had lost. The captain of this ship, imagining the *Centurion* to be the ship that had escaped, immediately bore down upon the commodore, who took her without resistance. This prize proved to be a *Spanish* ship, with a very considerable cargo on board, consisting of sugar, cloth, cotton, wrought plate, and dollars, and was bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiso* in *Chili*. The crew consisted of fifty-three sailors, blacks and whites, exclusive of twenty-five passengers.

THIS capture, besides the value of its contents, was of infinite service to the commodore. He learned from the prisoners, that he had now nothing to apprehend from *Pizarro*, whose squadron, not being able to double *Cape-Horn*, had been forced back to the river *Plate*, after losing two of its largest ships. Next day, the *Centurion* came in sight of the island of *Juan Fernandez*; but the *Spanish* prisoners could not be persuaded that so small a vessel as the *Trial* sloop was, could have effected the passage of *Cape-Horn*, to which the best ships of *Spain* had been often found unequal. From the same prisoners, on the information of their letters, the commodore learned, that several other merchant-men were about to sail from *Callao* to *Valparaiso*; and perceiving that his men were in high spirits, through their late success, he ordered the *Trial* to cruise off *Valparaiso*, and gave her a reinforcement of hands for that purpose. At the same time, he sent on board the *Gloucester* six prisoners and twenty-three seamen, with orders for captain *Mitchel* "to proceed to the latitude of five degrees south, and there to cruise off the high land of *Paita*, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till joined by the commodore; which would be whenever it should be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ships at *Callao*, or on the commodore's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite their strength."

CAPTAIN *Mitchel* having received those orders, the commodore and his prize weighed anchor the 19th of *September*, and steered to the eastward to join the *Trial* off *Valparaiso*, which he did on the 24th. The *Trial*, in the mean time, had taken a prize of about 600 ton, with much the same contents with the former prize, but the value in plate did not amount to above 5000 l. All the *Trial* could do at this time was just to keep above water; and the commodore, at the earnest request of the captain and the officers, perceiving that she had sprung her main-mast turned, her crew over to the prize, to which he gave the rank of a frigate in the royal service, and ordered the *Trial* to be scuttled and sunk. The new frigate mounted twenty guns, and the commodore's orders to captain *Saunders*, who was appointed to the command of it were, "after he had sunk the *Trial*, to cruise off the high land of *Valparaiso*, keeping it from him, N. N. W. at the distance of fourteen leagues; to continue on that station twenty-four days; and then, if not joined by the commodore, to proceed down the coast to *Pisco* or *Nasca*, where he should be certain to meet the commodore." Lieutenant *Saumarez*, at the same time, was appointed to the command of the *Centurion's* prize, and ordered to keep company with captain *Saunders*. On the 27th of *September*, the commodore, taking leave of the two prizes, directed his course to the southward, and for some days cruised to the windward of *Valparaiso*. In this cruise, he met with no prizes, which determined him to rejoin the ships which he had last parted from: but returning to the same station, he could not find them, though he cruised there for three or four days. He then proceeded down the coast to the island of *Nasca*, where he arrived on the 21st of *October*, but it was the 2d of *November* before he was joined by the two prizes; who, as he found, had been as unfortunate as himself, having seen no *Spanish* ships. This made the commodore suspect, that an embargo had been laid upon the ships all along the coast, and that an armament was fitting out at *Callao* to attack him. He therefore determined to collect his ships into one body, and to join commodore *Smith* off *Paita*, with an intention to fight the *Spanish* squadron if it should come out. On the 5th of *November*, being then in sight of the high land of *Baranea*, he took the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, of 300 ton, bound to *Callao*, with forty-seven sailors and ten passengers on board, but her cargo not near so rich as those of his two former prizes.

On the 11th of the same month, while he was drawing near to the station assigned to the *Gloucester*, he took a ship called *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, commanded by *Marcos Morena*, of 270 ton burden, with a cargo which cost 400,000 dollars (about 100,000 l.)

prime-

a prime-coast at *Panama*. An *Irishman* on board this prize informed the commodore, that, a few days before, the master of a vessel that arrived at *Paita* had informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by one of the *English* squadron (which proved to be the *Gloucester*;) that upon this, the royal officer residing at *Paita* had been for some days busily employed in removing the treasure there to *Puiza*, a town lying about fourteen leagues within land; and that the governor of *Paita* had sent off an express to the governor of *Lima*, with the intelligence he had received. At the same time, the commodore learned from the other prisoners, that a considerable treasure was lodged in the custom-house at *Paita*, belonging to the *Lima*-merchants, which was to be moved to on board a ship with the first opportunity. The commodore comparing all those informations together, resolved to lose no time in surprising *Paita*, not only that he might make himself master of the treasure, but that he might procure some fresh provisions, which were much wanted for his ships, and that he might have an opportunity of getting rid of his prisoners, who increased the consumption of the small stock that was left him.

and is encouraged to attempt the reduction of *Paita*;

He was encouraged in this resolution by his receiving an exact information of the strength and situation of the place, as well as of the nature of the inhabitants; and every circumstance increased his hopes of success. He learned that *Paita* lay in the latitude of five deg. and twelve min. south; that the soil was barren; and that the town contained about 400 houses, built of split cane and mud, and raised no higher than the first floor. The town itself is almost open, having for its protection only a small fort of eight guns, without ditch or outwork, or any other defence but that of a plain brick wall; that the garrison consisted of only one weak company; that few whites lived in the place; and that the inhabitants in general were composed of *Indian* blacks, or a mixed breed. The port, or bay of *Paita*, however, was reckoned the best upon that coast, and all vessels coming from the North commonly touched there; and such passengers as were bound to *Lima* from *Acapulco* or *Panama* commonly disembarked there. The commodore, to lose no time in executing his scheme, resolved to attack *Paita* that very night, but to do it by boats only, lest the sight of his large ships should alarm the inhabitants. An eighteen-oared barge and two pinnaces were accordingly ordered for that service, the execution of which was committed to lieutenant *Brett*, at the head of fifty-eight picked men, all of them well-armed and appointed. The commodore, at the same time, ordered, that they should be attended by two *Spanish* pilots, who were his prisoners, and well acquainted with the coast; and who were not only to direct the lieutenant and his company to the best place of landing, but were to be their guides in their attack upon the place. The commodore promised, that if the pilots behaved faithfully they should be well rewarded, and all his prisoners released at *Paita*; but upon the least appearance of treachery, the pilots were to be immediately shot to death, and all the prisoners carried to *England*.

the execution of which he commits to lieutenant *Brett*;

The commodore was, at this time, about twelve leagues from the shore, for which he stood in as soon as he made the proper dispositions for the attack; and the night favouring him, lieutenant *Brett* and his detachment arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered. Having entered it, they were discovered by some *Spanish* sailors, who ran on shore, and gave the alarm, "that the *English* dogs were landing." This discovery served only to redouble the spirits and resolution of the brave lieutenant and his detachment; and though the guns of the fort began to play upon them, they disembarked without any loss. When landed, one of the *Spanish* pilots conducted them to the entrance of a narrow street, which sheltered them from the fire of the fort, and gave them leisure to form; upon which they marched, with shouts of triumph, towards the parade, which was formed into a square at the end of the street. Mr. *Brett* had taken care to give his men such instructions that the shouts and the noise of the drums struck terror into the unwarlike inhabitants, who imagined their numbers to be at least 300. The governor's house formed one side of the parade, and a gallery round it was manned by the merchants who were proprietors of the treasure, and who gave the detachment a volley of fire-arms, which being returned by the *English*, all the *Spaniards* abandoned that post, and left the parade in possession of the enemy. Mr. *Brett* then divided his detachment into two parties, one of which was allotted to the attack of the governor's house, while he himself led on the other to the fort, which the *Spaniards* abandoned upon his approach, and, to his amazement, he entered it without resistance. The governor, finding his house attacked, made his escape half-naked, leaving his wife (a young lady of about seventeen, to whom he had been but a few days married) in danger of falling into the hands of the *English*, from whom she, however, was carried off by two centinels. An absolute conquest was now made of the town and fort of *Paita*, with the loss of no more than one killed and two wounded; and the whole action did not last above a quarter of an hour from the first landing of the men. Mr. *Brett*, apprehending there might be some danger from the fugitives rallying and returning, placed a guard at the governor's house, and another

who performs it with great courage and conduct.

another at the fort, and made the last the repository of the treasure, which he employed some stout negroes to carry from the Custom-house; but he took care to confine the few inhabitants that were left, in a church. In the mean while, the sailors ransacked private houses for pillage, and ridiculously equipped themselves in *Spanish* lace and embroidery.

WHILE the action lasted, the commodore was advancing towards the town with an easy sail; and having entered the bay, he could perceive, about seven in the morning, *English* colours hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort. About eleven, the *Trial's* boat, laden with treasure, joined the *Centurion*, and at two the commodore anchored at a mile and a half distance from the town. He could then perceive, that though the *English* had yet met with no interruption in collecting the treasure, yet that about 200 *Spanish* horse had rendezvoused in the country, and appeared on a hill behind the town, sounding all kind of warlike instruments to make the *English* believe them to be more numerous than they really were, and to intimidate them into a retreat to their ships. This stratagem had no effect upon the sailors, who went on collecting the treasure and plunder, and sending off great plenty of live provisions to their ships. Towards evening, however, the commodore sent on shore a detachment to reinforce his party, and this kept the *Spaniards* in awe during the night; and next day the sailors went quietly on in their pillaging. The commodore had regretted the escape of the governor, and he found what he had suspected to be now true; for large warehouses were discovered of effects, which, though of vast value to the *Spaniards*, were of little to the captors, and which, had the governor been secured, he must have ransomed. The commodore sent him repeated messages for that purpose, threatening to burn the town if it was not ransomed; but he returned no answer. It soon appeared, that he was encouraged to this behaviour by the hopes of attacking the place with such a superiority of numbers as would drive the *English* from the town, or make them prisoners; and some negroes who deserted from the *Spaniards* gave intelligence, that they intended next night to storm the town and the fort. This information was far from interrupting the sailors in their business; and, receiving a fresh reinforcement, Mr. Brett doubled his guards, and made such dispositions as plainly indicated to the *Spaniards*, that he was prepared to receive them; and this deterred them from the attempt. By this time, the treasure had been all secured on board the *Centurion*; and the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable of the portable effects that were found in the town. The commodore then, to fulfil his promise, sent on shore all his prisoners, who were eighty-eight in number; but ordered Mr. Brett to confine them strictly in one of the churches till the sailors were ready to embark, and to burn all the town excepting the two churches, which stood at some distance from the other houses. Mr. Brett then collected all the pitch, tar, and other combustible materials, and distributed them in different quarters of the town, so as that, being fired all at once, it might be next to impossible for the *Spaniards* to stop the conflagration.

HE next nailed up the cannon, then set fire to the combustibles, and marched his men in order to the beach, where their boats were ready to receive them. The *Spaniards*, upon this, detached sixty horse to harass them in their retreat; and, indeed, with the least degree of resolution, they might have surrounded them upon the open beach, before they could have entered their boats; but no sooner had Mr. Brett ordered his men to face about, than the *Spaniards* halted and ran away. The sailors then went on board their ships without farther molestation; and in an instant they saw the town all in a blaze, till it disappeared in a general conflagration, there being no possibility of stopping the flames. The booty in dollars, bullion, and wrought-plate, amounted to about 30,000 l. besides jewels and other effects to a very considerable value; but the whole inferior to that of the goods consumed in the town through the perverseness and obstinacy of the *Spanish* governor. It appeared afterwards, by an estimate transmitted to the court of *Madrid*, that, without the least exaggeration, they computed their whole loss at a million and half of dollars. As to the plunder saved by the *English*, it was equally distributed among the officers and sailors, those on board receiving the same share as those on shore. When the commodore arrived in the bay, he found in it six *Spanish* ships, of which he added the largest and the best, called the *Solidad*, to his own squadron; the other five had been built by the *Spaniards* at different ports, to oppose any attempt that might be made upon their coasts; and the commodore, having no occasion for them, ordered them to be scuttled and burnt, to prevent their falling again into the enemies hands.

THE commodore lost no time, after he was joined by Mr. Brett and his party, in setting sail, which he did that very night. His squadron was now augmented to seven ships, five of them being prizes; and on the 16th of *November*, he gave orders that they should spread themselves in quest of the *Gloucester*, whom they came up with next morning, and found that she had taken a snow with a cargo of wine, brandy, and olives,

Booty made by
commodore An-
son at Païta.

His farther
proceedings.

- a with 7000 l. in specie, and a barge loaded with treasure to the amount of 12,000 l. The commodore had now leisure to inspect the papers taken on board his prizes, and found in some of them, that the *English* had miscarried in their attempt upon *Carthagena*, which put an end to all the projects he had formed against *Panama*. Being then joined by the *Gloucester*, he came to a determination to steer as soon as possible towards the southern parts of *California*, or to the adjacent coasts of *Mexico*, there to cruize for the *Manilla* galleon, which he knew to be at sea, and bound for *Acapulco*, where she was expected towards the middle of *January*. This determination was received with transports of joy by the sailors, and they steered to the island of *Quebo*, at the mouth of the bay of *Panama*, to recruit their water. In their passage thither, finding the *Solidad* and the *Theresa* to be but dull sailors, they were burnt to prevent farther delay, and the rest of the squadron, excepting the *Gloucester*, arriving upon the coast on the 6th of *December*, in two days after they completed their wood and water. They then stood to sea in search of the *Gloucester*, who rejoined them on the 12th, having sprung her fore-top-mast, which retarded her sailing. The commodore then issued fresh orders to his captains and commanders, "To use all possible dispatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of *Acapulco*, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitude of 18 and 19 deg. from whence they were to beat up the coast, at eight or ten leagues distance from the shore, till they came abreast of *Cape-Corientes*, in the latitude of 20 deg. 20 min. and to cruize on that station till the 14th of *February*, when they were to depart for the middle island of the *Tres Marias*, in the latitude of 21 deg. 25 min. bearing from *Cape-Corientes* N. W. by N. 25 leagues distant; and if, at this island, they did not meet the commodore, after recruiting their wood and water, they were then immediately to proceed for the island of *Macao*, on the coast of *China*."

THE winds proved so contrary, that it was the 28th of *January* when they found themselves in the latitude of 17 deg. 56 min. and in the neighbourhood of *Acapulco*. This retardment greatly dispirited the crews, as they saw themselves too late for intercepting the *Manilla* galleon. But on the 19th of *February*, the *Centurion's* barge, which had been sent to discover the harbour of *Acapulco*, returned with accounts that had been received from some negroes, that the galleon had actually arrived at *Acapulco* on the 9th of *January*; that she had delivered her cargo, and was making ready for a return, her departure from *Acapulco* being fixed by the viceroy of *Mexico* to the 3d of *March*. This intelligence, which was to be depended on, gave fresh spirits to the sailors, as they were now in hopes of intercepting the galleon with all her treasure on board, which to them was far preferable to effects or other goods. But we shall leave them in pursuit of their voyage, to attend the *Spanish* admiral, *Pizarro*.

His crew encouraged.

- HE had arrived at the river *Plate* in *South-America* on the 5th of *January* 1740, and anchoring in the bay of *Maldonado*, he sent to *Buenos-Ayres* for fresh provisions. While he remained there, he received intelligence from the *Portuguese* governor of *St. Catharine's*, that the *British* commodore had arrived there on the 21st of *December*, and of his preparing to set sail again. It is doubtful whether *Pizarro's* instructions authorized him to attack the *English* squadron any where but in the *South-seas*. Be that as it will, it is certain that he precipitately left the river *Plate* without his supplies, and put to sea on the 22d of *January*, in hopes of getting round *Cape-Horn* before Mr. *Anson*, who had sailed four days before from *St. Catharine's*; and during some part of the voyage, they sailed almost in company with each other. When the *Spaniards* had run the length of *Cape-Horn*, as they were standing to the westward to double it, on the 28th of *February* at night, three of their ships, the *Guipuscoa*, *Hermiona*, and *Esperanza*, were separated from their admiral; and on the very day that Mr. *Anson's* ships passed the strait of *Le Maire*, all the *Spanish* squadron was dispersed by a most furious storm at North-west. The improvidence of their admiral and officers contributed to their distresses, which were inconceivable. They had left *Spain* with no more than four months provisions at short allowance, and the storms they encountered detained them at sea a month longer. A dreadful mortality, the usual attendant on famine, swept off the bravest and hardiest of their sailors; and their distresses were so multiplied, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold at four dollars a-piece. It was no wonder if so dismal a situation produced plots and conspiracies among some of the sailors, who intended to murder their officers, that they might engross the remaining provisions, miserable as they were. But those bloody purposes were detected and defeated, and at last, after several fruitless attempts to get round *Cape-Horn*, *Pizarro*, having lost half of his men in the *Asia*, bore away for the river *Plate*, and about the middle of *May* arrived at *Monte Vedio*. The *St. Estivan* lost 175 men; of 450 which composed the crew of the *Esperanza*, no more than fifty-eight were left alive. The *Guipuscoa* was sunk on the coast of *Brasil*, having lost 300 of her crew. The *Hermiona* foundered at sea, and all her crew, consisting of 500 men, perished; so that, upon the whole,

Distress and ruin of Pizarro's fleet.

this unhappy squadron lost no fewer than 2000 men, besides being disabled in their masts, yards, and rigging, which in those countries were irreparable. a

Anson takes
the great Ma-
nilla galleon.

WITH the utmost difficulty, *Pizarro*, at last, out of the wrecks of his other ships, refitted the *Asia* and the *St. Estivan*, and once more attempted to sail round *Cape-Horn*; but the *Estivan* was disabled, and the *Asia*, in which was *Pizarro* himself, was obliged once more to return to the river *Plate*, with the loss of her masts. In the mean while, the situation of commodore *Anson* was but little more desirable. He was forced to sink the *Gloucester*, and to destroy his other ships, all but the *Centurion*, for want of hands to man them, such dreadful havock had fatigue and diseases made in his squadron. At last, when reduced to the most deplorable condition, he reached the small, but plentiful and wholesome, isle of *Tinian*, where he and his men underwent fresh hardships by the *Centurion* b being driven to sea. Having recovered her, they bore away for the river *Canton* in *China*, where their ship was sheathed, and he received a small reinforcement of sailors. Leaving *Canton*, he set sail back for the straits of *Manilla*, where he had the good fortune to intercept the *Manilla* galleon, for which he had so long waited, and was called *Nuestra Signor de Cabadonga*. This ship was mounted with forty guns, and had on board her 600 sailors; so that she was, in all respects, superior to the *Centurion*, who took her after a short but smart engagement, with all her treasure and effects, amounting in the whole to above 313,000 l. Mr. *Anson* then returned to *Canton*, and after some adventures which do not belong to this part of our history, he returned to *England* by the *Cape of Good-Hope*. Upon the whole, though this expedition has been censured, and though it is c certain the adventurers owed their success to mere accident, yet it was productive of much real benefit to the nation, whose specie was thereby augmented to the value of above 400,000 l. The expedition itself, it is true, cost *Great Britain* dear, but it cost her enemies dearer, *Pizarro's* squadron being composed of the very flower of their navy. But we are now to attend such part of the operations of the *Spaniards* in *Europe* as have not been touched upon in the preceding history.

Death and
character of
Philip, king
of Spain.

THE *English* fleet under admiral *Matthews* had long blocked up the combined squadrons of *France* and *Spain* in *Toulon*; but in *February* 1744, they ventured out. The *Spaniards* were commanded by don *Navarro*, whom the *English* admiral, *Matthews*, engaged; as rear-admiral *Rowley* did *Monf. de Court*, the *French* admiral. The combined squadrons d would willingly have declined an engagement, and *Matthews* was not supported by that division of his fleet which was commanded by admiral *Lestock*. *Matthews*, fearing that the whole of the enemy's fleet would escape him, gave his orders with great precipitation, and reduced *Navarro's* ship, the *Real*, which mounted 100 guns, to a mere wreck, and captain *Hawke* took another *Spanish* ship of the line. The miscarriages that happened after this, on the part of the *English*, were shameful, and owing to the stubborn differences that subsisted between *Matthews* and *Lestock*, while don *Navarro* escaped with the main of his division to *Cartagena*. In the month of *July* 1746, died *Philip V.* king of *Spain*, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was a prince not destitute of good natural abilities; and had, in the early part of his life, given proofs of personal courage. But indolence and e superstition, for some years before his death, rendered him useless to his people, and he was entirely under the government of his queen, the most intriguing and ambitious princess of her age.

Succeeded by
don Ferdi-
nand.

His treaty with
Great Britain;

PHILIP was succeeded by his eldest son, *Ferdinand*, prince of *Asturias*, whom he had by the princess *Maria-Louisa-Gabriela*, sister to the present king of *Sardinia*, *Ferdinand* himself having married donna *Maria-Magdalena*, an infanta of *Portugal*. He mounted the throne with a firm desire to restore peace to his people, which was effected by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the substance of which, as well as the operations of the *Spaniards* which preceded it, the reader will find in other parts of this work. But, above all, f *Ferdinand* was resolved to cultivate a firm alliance between *Spain* and *Great Britain*. He engaged with the *French* and the *Sardinian* monarchs in a defensive alliance, in which were comprehended the king of the *Two Sicilies*, the republic of *Genoa*, with the dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*; and he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the prince of *Piedmont*. As soon as he was settled on the throne, and peace restored to his dominions, he introduced fundamental alterations into the whole system of the *Spanish* government. He cut off unnecessary pensions. He applied himself to the discharge of the public debts, to put his forces both by sea and land into a respectable condition, to encourage commerce, and promote manufactures upon better and more active principles than *Spain* had ever known since the discovery of her *West-Indies*. In consequence of those maxims, conferences were held between Mr. *Keen*, who still continued to reside at the court of *Madrid*, and don *Joseph de Carvajal*, the *Spanish* minister, in order to compromise all the differences that had been left unsettled by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. g

a THOUGH those conferences were embarrassed by the intrigues of the queen-mother, yet a treaty at last was concluded, by which his Catholic majesty engaged himself to pay, in three months time, to the *South sea* company, 100,000*l.* in consideration of all the claims they had upon his crown in virtue of the *Affiento* contract. The trade between the two crowns was regulated on the footing of former treaties. It was stipulated, that the *British* nation should pay no higher duties than those that had been settled in the reign of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and that they should continue to enjoy the privilege of taking in salt at the island of *Tortuga*. As *Great Britain* at this time enjoyed vast advantages from the trade to *Spain* and *Portugal*, her ministers did not chuse to attempt to introduce the article of *No Search* into this treaty, though it had given rise to the preceding; and the *Spanish* ministry still continuing obstinate on that head, the *English* thought proper to let it rest upon the moderate exercise of it. The king of *Spain* was disposed towards those amicable sentiments for *Great Britain* by his ambassador, general *Wall*, who represented to him the true interests of *Spain*, and proposed the commercial system of *Great Britain*, as a model for that of *Spain*. As *Wall* was a man of sense and penetration, and well received at the *English* court, his Catholic majesty soon relished his reasoning on those points so well, that he called him to *Spain*, where he raised him to the post of first minister of state. About this time, his Catholic majesty gave orders to his sea commanders to retaliate the shameful insults of the *Barbary* corsairs, with whom the crown of *Spain* is always at war.

c THE partiality shewn by the king of *Spain* to Mr. *Wall*, renewed the efforts of the queen-mother to displace him, in which she was joined not only by the *French* faction at court, but by the marquis *de Ensenada*, the other *Spanish* minister of state. The king, continuing firm to his engagements with *Great Britain*, Mr. *Wall* and Sir *Benjamin Keen*, who, on this occasion, was made knight of the Bath, procured the disgrace of *Ensenada*, who was arrested and confined; and even the queen-mother was given to understand, that she ought not to meddle too much with the affairs of government. Upon the breaking out of the differences between *England* and *France*, in the year 1755, the *French* court made a fresh attempt to bring his Catholic majesty off from his engagements with *Great Britain*. For this purpose, they laid hold of the *British* admiral, *Boscawen*, having destroyed two

to whom he continues unalterably attached.

d *French* men of war before war was declared. This was represented by the *French* as a most gross violation of the law of nations; but Sir *Benjamin Keen* justified the action, and by orders of his master declared, that *British* ships would attack and destroy their enemies wherever they could find them, without regard to that neutrality to which the *French*, by their conduct, had shewn themselves not to be entitled. This, undoubtedly, was a critical case, especially as all the ports of *England* were, at this time, filled with *French* ships that had been taken at sea. His Catholic majesty, however, to the surprize of the rest of *Europe*, persevered in his system, and declared that he would take no part in the differences between the two crowns, but such as would tend to reconcile them. This declaration was intimated by his *Britannic* majesty to his parliament, who received it with great approbation. In this pacific condition and sentiments the crown of *Spain* continued, equally after the war was declared between *France* and *Great Britain*, as before. In 1758, the *British* admiral, *Osborne*, kept cruising with a squadron between *Cape de Gatt* and *Carthagena*; and, on the 28th of *March*, he fell in with a squadron commanded by the marquis *du Quesne*.

e THIS last squadron had been sent by the court of *France* to the relief of *de la Clue*, another *French* admiral, who was then shut up in the harbour of *Carthagena* by *Osborne*. It consisted of four of the best ships the *French* had, viz. the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships of their navy, mounting eighty guns, with 800 men on board, commanded by the marquis *de Quesne* himself; the *Orphée*, of sixty-four guns; the *Oriflamme*, of fifty; and the *Piciade* frigate, of twenty-four guns. As soon as they saw *Osborne's* squadron they would have gladly escaped, but he himself standing in for *Carthagena*, dispatched single ships after them. The *Foudroyant*, after a most obstinate engagement, struck to the *Mienmouth*, a ship of very inferior force; the *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of *Aigles*, in violation, as the *French* bitterly complained, of the neutrality of the *Spanish* coasts; and the *Orphée*, with 500 men on board, was taken by captain *Storr*, in the *Revenge*. The *Spanish* ministry could not help complaining of this violation, but were contented with a very moderate apology. The court of *London*, on the other hand, shewed a particular attention to his Catholic majesty, by their commissioners of the admiralty publishing a reward of 500*l.* without deduction, to any person who should discover certain *English* pirates who had plundered the money and effects of the *Spanish* ambassador, in his voyage to the court of *Denmark*, on board a *Dutch* ship.

f WHILE the war was thus carried on with unrelenting fury between *Great Britain* and *France*, the *Spanish* monarchy received a dreadful shock in the person of her pacific king.

He

He was passionately fond of his queen, who died in the year 1758. As he was naturally of a melancholy cast, which he inherited from his father, he gave way, with the most astonishing extravagance, to this disposition. He threw off, on a sudden, all concern in business, renounced all company, and immured himself in a chamber at *Villa Viciosa*, where he abstained from food with so much obstinacy, that it exhausted his strength, and brought upon him a complication of distempers. He was deaf to all consolation, he seemed to be sensible of no relation in life, but that which he had lost; and he neglected all kind of concern about his own person, even to an indecency of appearance. All he could be persuaded to was to make his will, which was written by the count *de Valparaiso*, in the presence of the duke *de Bejar*, high chancellor of *Spain*. In this deplorable condition, he continued for above eleven months, and died on the 10th of *August*, 1759. a

By his will he appointed his brother don *Carlos* to succeed him, as king of *Spain*, and that the queen-dowager should be regent till his arrival. As the succession to the kingdom of *Naples* was very doubtful, it was thought that this event would kindle a new flame in *Europe*. By the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, it was provided, that if don *Carlos* should succeed to the crown of *Spain*, his brother don *Philip* should succeed him in that of *Naples*, and that his duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*, should revert to the house of *Austria*. Don *Carlos* paid no regard to this provision, and, on that account, he never had ratified the treaty itself; and, upon his elder brother's death, he considered himself as being in possession of both crowns. He knew that the empress-queen was then too much involved in war to be able to make good her claim, and that she would receive no assistance from *Great Britain*, the only power in *Europe* who could afford it with effect. His eldest son don *Philip*, who was thirteen years of age, being through want of intellects and infirmities of person, incapable of succession, his father drew up a formal act, by which his second son was declared his successor to the crown of *Spain*, and his third son, don *Ferdinand*, to that of the *Two Sicilies*. He, at the same time, published the report of the chief physicians of his court and kingdom, concerning the insanity of his eldest son; and regulated the future succession to the crown of the *Two Sicilies*, which never is to be united to that of *Spain*. He likewise declared the young king of *Naples* and *Sicily* to be entirely independent of him both as a father and a sovereign, and made a formal cession to him of all his *Italian* dominions. After that, he embarked on board a *Spanish* squadron, and landing at *Barcelona*, he proceeded to *Madrid*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy in the month of *October*, 1759. It at first appeared, that he was resolved to pursue the maxims of his deceased brother, by observing a strict neutrality with regard to the belligerent powers. b

Neutrality of
Spain.

In vain did the court of *France* endeavour to form a party among his ministers, assisted by the queen-mother, to whom his majesty owed so much, to divert him from this wise resolution. All that he could be brought to, was, to send the count *de Fuentes*, a nobleman of high quality, to the court of *Great Britain*, with an offer of his mediation between it and that of *France*. It was thought that the count was charged with a proposal for a cessation of arms, in which the *British* ministry not readily acquiescing, the count, to remove some difficulties, went to *Paris*; but no compliances of the *French* court could make the proposition go down. During those transactions abroad, his Catholic majesty was giving the most intense application to the improvement of his kingdom, and the relief of his people. They owed threescore millions of reals to the crown, which he immediately discharged. He called for an account of all the debts left by his father, and ordered that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for the payment of them, and he added, out of his own treasury, fifty millions. In all other respects, by the execution of justice, and by the improvement of agriculture and manufactures, his people looked upon him as their father. Those pacific measures did not divert his attention from the possible event of a war; and he equipped, under pretext of his intending to chastise the insolence of the *Algerines*, a very considerable naval armament at *Carthagena*. It soon appeared, that his Catholic majesty had a very different design, though concealed from the public. He could not behold the progress made by the *British* arms without great jealousy, lest they might extend their conquests to the *Spanish America*; and the *French*, notwithstanding all his aversion to war, at last shook his resolution, by representing the intractable haughtiness, as they called it, of the *British* minister, who was then Mr. *Pitt*; and the danger of both branches of the house of *Bourbon* being stripped of their *American* possessions; not to mention the dreadful consequence that must rise from thence to *Spain*. c

Family-Compact.

It appears, that these representations secretly determined the Catholic king to break with *Great Britain*; and perhaps never was any negotiation more artfully conducted than this was on the part of *France*, when we consider the state of bankruptcy that nation was in, and the immense losses she had sustained. His Catholic majesty looked upon this distress as the chief motive for entering into what is very justly called a Family-Compact, d
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a the most extraordinary treaty that this age can produce; it being, in fact, a consolidation of the rights and interests of the two crowns, and their subjects, in all respects but those relating to the *Spanish American* commerce. By the twenty-third and twenty-fourth articles of this treaty, the subjects of their Catholic, and *Sicilian* majesties, were to enjoy in *France* the same privileges as natives; and the *French* were to be treated in *Spain*, and the *Two Sicilies*, as the natural born subjects of those two monarchies; and the subjects of the three sovereigns shall enjoy, in their respective dominions in *Europe*, the same privileges and exemptions as the natives; but by the twenty-fifth article, it was agreed, that the subjects of no other nation in *Europe* should participate in those advantages.

By those articles, this compact became, in fact, an incorporate union of the subjects of the three powers; and it is very questionable, whether such an union can in justice take place to the exclusion of all other nations with whom those three powers have treaties of commerce. But we have no room for a farther discussion on this point.

A FOEDERAL, as well as an incorporate union, was necessary to render the compact complete. This was formed in the most artful manner, and plainly intimated that it was pointed against *Great Britain*. By the first article, both kings are for the future to look upon every power as an enemy that becomes the enemy of either; and, after stipulating the proper guarantees and assistances, which each power was to give to the others, the 16th article provides, that "The succours above stipulated, shall be considered as the least that either of the two monarchs shall be at liberty to furnish to the other; but as it is their intention, that a war declared against either, shall be regarded as personal by the other, they agree, that when they happen to be both engaged in war against the same enemy, or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that, in such cases, they will enter into a particular convention suited to circumstances, and settle as well the respective and reciprocal efforts to be made, as their political and military plans of operations, which shall be executed by common consent, and with perfect agreement." By the seventeenth and eighteenth articles, "They formally engage not to make, or even to listen to, any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace, as well as in time of war, each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power."

By the eighth article of the said treaty, (for we shall not consider it in the artful order in which those articles are disposed, but according to the natural tendency it has to influence the affairs of *Europe*) an exception is made, by which his Catholic majesty declares himself not obliged to furnish the stipulated succours to *France*, in any war she may be engaged in with the Northern powers, in consequence of her guarantee of the treaty of *Westphalia*, unless some maritime power takes part in those wars; or that *France* be attacked by land in her own country. The obvious sense of this article is, that *Spain* will assist *France* against the Northern powers, and even against the house of *Austria*, if *Great Britain* should offer to support them. The tendency of this treaty was so dangerous, and so alarming, that all imaginable care was taken to keep it secret; but it came to the knowledge of the *English* minister, who brought it upon the carpet of his master's council-board; even while the contracting parties thought it impossible it should be known. The *French*, at this time, had entered into the famous negotiation with *Great Britain*, and their negotiator, *Bussy*, was treating at *London*. It soon appeared, that the whole of the *French* negotiation was undertaken and pursued for no other purpose than to keep his Catholic majesty firm to his engagements with *France*; and that the latter was laying a plan of future hostilities, while she was making the most solemn declarations of her sincere dispositions towards peace.

His Catholic majesty was prevailed with to lend his name, on this occasion, to the most extraordinary paper that ever was presented. *Bussy* offered a memorial to the *British* minister, importing, that his Most Christian majesty apprehended that a new war might break out, unless the *British* court would give satisfaction to his Catholic majesty on the three following points. First, with regard to some ships taken in the course of the war under *Spanish* colours. Secondly, the pretensions of *Spain* for her subjects to fish on the banks of *Newfoundland*. This was a claim that the *Spaniards* had made at the time of the peace of *Utrecht*, and it was then treated with the utmost disdain. Thirdly, the destruction of the *English* fortifications in the bay of *Honduras*. His Most Christian majesty, therefore, passionately desired that those points might be settled, and that his Catholic majesty should be invited to guarantee the treaty. This memorial seems to have been the first fruit of the family-compact, and to have been artfully introduced into the negotiation, to give the *Spanish* court an opinion of his Most Christian majesty's sincerity. The *British* minister could not conceal his indignation at this memorial, which came from an enemy, though relating to the settlement of differences with a friend, who had an ambassador

Injustice to Portugal.

bassador at that very time residing in *London*. It was returned with disdain by the *British* minister, who, at the same time, in a letter to *Buffy*, declared, that his master would not suffer the disputes with *Spain* to be intermingled in any shape in the negotiation; and that the bare mention of such an idea would be considered as an affront. The *Spanish* minister was applied to, to disavow the proceeding. He returned, at first, a verbal, but an ambiguous, answer, and then sent a written answer, which though couched in terms of seeming moderation in the main, justified *Buffy's* proceeding.

THIS conduct of the court of *Spain* left the reality of the Family-Compact no longer disputable; and Mr. *Pitt*, the *British* minister, renewed his instances at the council-board for an immediate declaration of war with *Spain*. He, at the same time, wrote a private letter to the earl of *Bristol*, the *British* ambassador at *Madrid*, complaining of *Buffy's* conduct, and demanding satisfaction; and likewise, an explanation of the reasons for equipping the large naval armaments which were every day going forward in the ports of *Spain*. The earl of *Bristol* immediately conferred with general *Wall*, the *Spanish* minister, on that head, and gave him a memorial of the same. *Wall* wanted to explain *Buffy's* insolence, in a manner, that should render it less offensive to the court of *Great Britain*, but he justified the claims that had been made in his memorial. As to the then preparations making in the ports of *Spain*, general *Wall* declared, that all the ships of war, including frigates, did not exceed twenty; and were but just necessary for protecting their trade, and for checking the *Barbary* corsairs. Mr. *Wall*, in several subsequent conferences, professed the great regard which his master had for his *Britannic* majesty, and his resolution to cultivate the harmony between the two crowns; but after the arrival of the fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*, he began to be more explicit, and declared, that his master thought the *French* could not, consistently with their own interests, and their engagements with their allies, make any farther advances towards peace than they had done.

War with
England.

THE court of *England* was now perfectly sensible, that the *French* and *Spaniards* intended to join in the war, and agreed with Mr. *Pitt*, in general, as to facts; but the other ministers differed with him as to consequences. The particulars of the Family-Compact were yet unknown. *England* was groaning under an immense debt. *Spain* had done nothing to provoke *England* to a war, and the laws of nations were to be respected, especially, considering the great interest the *British* trade had at stake, and the respectable state of the *Spanish* marine. It was therefore the opinion of all the *British* privy-council, excepting Mr. *Pitt*, and his brother-in-law, earl *Temple*, that no hostilities should commence against *Spain*, till farther explanations could be obtained. Mr. *Pitt* upon this resigned the seals of his office, which were given to the earl of *Egremont*. The new secretary's first dispatch to the earl of *Bristol*, instructed him to desire from the court of *Spain*, a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the courts of *Madrid* and *Versailles*; or such articles of it as related to *Great Britain*, and that too before he entered upon any other business. He acquainted his lordship, at the same time, that the war, far from being relaxed by Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, would be carried on with more vigour than ever. The earl of *Bristol* found Mr. *Wall* a good deal altered as to the language he made use of, which was more peremptory than before, in justifying the court of *France*, and blaming that of *Great Britain*; whose conduct, he said, had a very dangerous tendency. He, at the same time, insinuated, that his Catholic majesty expected satisfaction as to his own demands. The reason of this alteration was soon known by the arrival of another fleet at *Cadiz*, with an immense treasure; and on the 19th of *November*, 1761, the earl of *Egremont*, by his master's order, instructed the earl of *Bristol*, that if Mr. *Wall*, either in direct terms, or by implication, should acknowledge his master's having entered into any agreement with *France*, or in any way receding from his neutrality, that his excellency should depart from *Madrid* without taking leave. His Catholic majesty was all this while sending strong reinforcements of ships and troops to *America*, and was supplying *France* with vast sums, which the *English* and their allies severely felt in *Germany*. The *French* interest, at the court of *Madrid*, now compelled Mr. *Wall* to a still greater alteration of his language. The earl of *Bristol* having communicated to him his last dispatch, he replied, that "the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the *British* government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the king's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in the manner convenient to you, which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his majesty has ordered me to give you."

Soon after the receipt of this letter, the earl of *Bristol* quitted *Madrid* on the 17th of *December*, all farther tentatives for an accommodation being found ineffectual. In *England*, the count *de Fuentes* had orders likewise to leave that court. Before his departure, he left a most insolent and inflammatory note with the earl of *Egremont*, accusing, as usual, the

a the *British* ministry with being haughty and intractable; and intimating, that had the explanations so often desired been made with a proper deference with regard to his Catholic majesty, they might have been easily obtained. He said, in the same paper, that the treaty between the two branches of the house of *Bourbon*, was no more than a family convention that had not the least concern with the war; and that though it contained a mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two sovereigns, yet that guaranty was not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to *France* after the war is ended. Other parts of this memorial contained the most bitter invectives against Mr. *Pitt*, whom he still supposed, secretly, to hold the reins of government. This answer was answered in a counter memorial penned by the earl of *Egremont* with great decency, precision, and strength of reasoning.

b It is certain, that *Great Britain* would willingly have declined this rupture with his Catholic majesty, whose armies and fleets were untouched, and whose finances were full through a long continuance of peace; all which was the reverse with regard to *Great Britain*. It was computed, that the *Spanish* navy, at that time, consisted of above an hundred ships of war, many of them of great force: of those nineteen of the line, with sixteen frigates, and a body of land forces on board, were, at that time, in *America*, besides thirteen ships which were ready to sail for the *Havannah*. This marine, joined to the remains of that of *France*, and those which the *French* nation, animated by the conclusion of the Family-Compact, were then building, became a great object of attention to *Great Britain*, after so long, so bloody, and so expensive a war, as she had maintained. But the *English* nation had taken part with the late minister in his sentiments with regard to *Spain*, and a war with that country was now the only point in which all parties in *Great Britain* were united; and they had, at this time, upon their hands the two most important expeditions they had ever been engaged in, one against *Martinico*, and the other against *Cuba*.

c On the 10th of *December*, orders were issued by the king of *Spain*, to the governors of his sea-port towns, for the detention of all the *English* ships there; and his *Britannic* majesty's proclamation of war against *Spain*, which was published in *London*, bears date the 2d of *January*, 1762, and that of his Catholic majesty against *Great Britain*, is dated the 16th of *January*, the same year. The first effect of the Family Convention broke out against *Portugal*, which almost ever since it was an independent kingdom, had been under the immediate protection of *England*. Though that kingdom was then in a most deplorable condition, without a fleet, with very few troops, and those entirely undisciplined, yet her preservation was of the utmost consequence to the *British* nation. The *Spanish* army marched towards the frontiers of *Portugal*. All commerce between the two kingdoms was prohibited. On the 6th of *March*, the *French* and *Spanish* ministers presented to the court of *Portugal*, the most insolent memorial that history can parallel. It insisted greatly upon the insolence with which *Great Britain*, by her marine, behaved towards all other nations; and enlarged upon the tyrannical dependence in which she held *Portugal* itself. It mentioned the *English* admiral, *Boscawen's*, attacking *de la Clue's* squadron in a *Portuguese* harbour, the affinity between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the common interest the latter had with the former. The memorial concluded with several soothing expressions, inviting his Most Faithful majesty into an offensive and defensive alliance with *France* and *Spain*; and offering, on the part of the latter, that if his answer should be favourable, the *Spanish* troops, who were upon his frontiers, should immediately garrison the principal forts of his kingdom, to defend them against the *English*. The memorialists added, that they were instructed to demand a categorical answer in four days time; and, that every delay beyond that term would be considered as a negative.

d Few princes have ever been known in a more undesirable situation than his Most Faithful majesty was in at this time. It was equally dangerous for him to provoke the *Spaniards* as the *English*, without the smallest means of resisting either; and, by admitting the *Spanish* garrisons, he rendered his kingdom a dependent province on that crown. He behaved with astonishing firmness. He returned a modest, rational, but resolute, answer to this memorial, declining the invitation, and vindicating his alliance with the *English* nation. This produced other memorials from the same ministers, more insolent, if possible, than the former. They gave him to understand, that he was not at liberty to continue his neutrality, and that his alliance with *Great Britain*, which he said was purely defensive, ceased to be so, and became offensive from the situation of the *Portuguese* dominions, and from the nature of the *British* power, that without the ports and assistance of *Portugal*, the *English* squadrons could not keep the seas, and be always ready to cruise to intercept the *French* and *Spanish* navigation; nor could they insult all the powers of *Europe* by sea, did not the riches of *Portugal* come into their hands. His Most Faithful Majesty answered this, and several other memorials to the same purpose; and, at last, the memo-

memorialists demanded passports for leaving the kingdom, which was readily granted a them; and they set out on the 27th of *April*, 1762. Their departure was followed by declarations of war on all sides; that of his Catholic majesty was issued the 15th of *June*. Future ages will scarcely believe that nations, calling themselves civilized, could act with so avowed a disregard to justice and good faith, as *Spain* and *France* did on this occasion. It was thought, that all the troops of *Portugal*, at this time, did not amount to above 20,000 men, some of them without arms or cloathing, and all of them without discipline; nor did their marine consist of above five or six ships of the line, and a very few frigates; nor was there a fortified place in the kingdom in repair, or fit to stand a regular siege. To compensate those disadvantages, the *Spaniards*, before they could enter into the inhabited part of the kingdom, had prodigious tracts of a dreary, barren, burnt-up country, to march through; and had all the hardships of thirst, hunger, and heat, to encounter. Besides these considerations, his Most Faithful majesty had great dependence upon the inveterate aversion that his subjects in general, however unwarlike in other respects, had for the *Spaniards*; but his chief reliance was on the *English*, many of whose officers had repaired to *Portugal* upon the first breaking out of the differences between the two courts. b

THEY were followed by larger supplies of troops, artillery, arms, provisions, and even money; in all which the *Portuguese* were deficient, and which the *Spaniards* had flattered themselves *Great Britain* could not have supplied in her then exhausted state, when there was scarcely a corner in the world in which she was not carrying on a vigorous war. The general at first made choice of by his Catholic majesty to command his army in *Portugal* c was the marquis de *Sarria*, who entered that kingdom at its north-east angle, by the *Terra de Campos*, and proceeded towards *Miranda*. Though this place was in no good condition, yet it was thought to be strong enough to have delayed the progress of the enemy, for at least two or three days, which would have been of the utmost consequence to the *Portuguese*. But a powder-magazine, either through accident or treachery, blew up, overthrew the fortifications, and the *Spaniards*, without the least opposition, entered the place by the breaches that were made in the wall. The *Spaniards*, elated by this unexpected success, marched to *Braganza*, a considerable city that gave a ducal title to the ancestors of his *Portuguese* majesty, but which the *Spaniards* took possession of without resistance; so d dispirited were the garrison and the inhabitants by what had happened at *Miranda*. From thence a detachment was sent across the country to *Moncorvo*, which they took possession of with the same facility, and thereby became masters of a great part of the river *Douro*. During those operations, count *O'Reilly*, by a forced march of fourteen leagues, which he performed through a mountainous country in two days, came before the city of *Chaves*, which he found evacuated by its garrison and the inhabitants. By those conquests, the *Spaniards* became masters of almost the whole large province of *Tra los Montes*, by which their progress was, in a manner, cleared to the important city of *Oporto*, where the *English* had very valuable storehouses; and it was thought proper by the *British* admiralty to give orders for transports to carry off the effects of their factory; so prevailing was the opinion that e that city must be lost.

Campaign in
Portugal.

By this time, some *English* officers had found means to re-animate the courage of the *Portuguese*, by reviving in them their hereditary enmity to the *Spaniards*, and to give them a severe repulse in attempting to cross the *Douro*. It was impossible to retain the *Portuguese* peasants from inflicting many unwarrantable cruelties upon the *Spaniards* who fell into their hands upon this occasion, and which were severely retaliated in kind. This repulse did not prevent another division of the *Spanish* army from entering the province of *Beira*, by the villages of *Val de Mula*, and *Val de Coelha*, where they were joined by almost the whole body of the *Spanish* army that had over-run *Tra los Montes*. This blow was aimed at the vitals of the *Portuguese* monarchy, as, if successful, it opened their way to *Lisbon* f itself. Their first operation here was to besiege *Almeida*, the strongest town of the *Portuguese* frontiers. It held out for some days; but on the 25th of *August*, the garrison surrendered by an honourable capitulation. The *Spaniards* then directed their march southwards to the *Tago*, at the mouth of which stands the capital of *Portugal*. A small army of *English* and *Portuguese* had now taken the field, but by far too inconsiderable to think of hazarding a pitched battle with the *Spaniards*. All they could do was to dispute passes, intercept convoys, and surprize detached parties. Even those operations, inconsiderable as they seem, were of vast service to the affairs of the *Portuguese*, as they retarded the execution of the plan which their enemies had formed.

THE court of *Portugal*, from the beginning of this war, had solicited his *Britannic* majesty to send them an able general to command their armies. Count *la Lippe*, who had served with so much reputation in the *German* war, was pitched upon; and, to the great joy of the *Portuguese*, arrived at *Lisbon* just at the time when a third division of the *Spanish* g

- a *Spanish* army was preparing to enter *Portugal* by its southern frontier from *Estremadura*. It was of the utmost consequence to the *Portuguese* to check the progress of this division; and the count *la Lippe* receiving intelligence that the *Spaniards* were assembling and forming magazines at *Valença d'Alcantara*, for the invasion of *Alentejo*, he laid a plan, the execution of which he communicated to brigadier *Burgoyne*, for surprizing them at the first-mentioned place. The brigadier collected together 400 of his own regiment, all the *British* grenadiers, eleven companies of *Portuguese* grenadiers, two pieces of light cannon, and two haubitzers. Having taken all the necessary precautions to conceal his true design from the enemy, he began his march, which was through very bad roads, to *Castel de Videla*, where he was joined by about 200 ill-appointed *Portuguese*, from whom he seems to have got intelligence of the situation of the town. Being arrived near it, after infinite fatigues and difficulties, his advanced guard had the good fortune to find the *Spaniards*, who could not dream of such an attempt, so secure, that they rushed into the town without resistance, sword in hand, and cut in pieces, or made prisoners, all who resisted. The brigadier then detached his dragoons into the country, to pick up those who had escaped. A serjeant, and six men only, who were by themselves, engaged a subaltern with twenty-five dragoons, unbroken, killed six of the men, and brought in the rest prisoners, with every horse of the party. Among the prisoners were the general who was to have commanded the intended invasion, one colonel, two captains, and seven subaltern officers; and one of the best regiments of *Spain* was entirely destroyed. This blow entirely disconcerted the scheme the *Spaniards* had formed for entering *Alentejo*; where, it being an open country, their cavalry, in which their great strength consisted, could have acted with great advantage; but the province of *Baira*, in which they still continued, being rough, barren, and mountainous, they were there of very little service. That part of the *Spanish* army which continued still at *Castel Blanco*, had made themselves masters of several important places. While the combined army was passing the river *Alveito*, the *Spaniards* attacked their rear, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Notwithstanding this, they were still masters of the country, and wanted only to pass the *Tajo*, in order to take up their quarters in *Alentejo*. Brigadier *Burgoyne* was in the neighbourhood, and posted so as to be able to obstruct their passage; he perceived, that near a village called *Villa Velha*, a large body of the enemy's cavalry lay encamped, and he formed a design to surprize them; the execution of which he trusted to colonel *Lee*, who, in the night, turned the enemy's camp, fell upon their rear, dispersed the *Spaniards* with a considerable slaughter, and after destroying all their magazines, he returned with scarcely any loss. In this action, the colonel was greatly assisted by general *Burgoyne*, who kept the enemy in play in another quarter, so that they could not send any reinforcements to that where colonel *Lee* acted.

Those and several other checks which the *French* and *Spaniards* received during the progress of this invasion, effectually prevented their hostile designs against *Portugal*. The winter was now drawing on; most prodigious quantities of rain fell; the roads were broken up, and rendered impassable; they could not find subsistence for their cavalry, and they had taken no place where they could maintain themselves during the winter; nor had they laid up any magazines. Under those circumstances, the *Spaniards* thought proper to return to *Spain*; and thus *Portugal*, by the valour and good conduct of the *English*, was delivered from the most powerful invasion she had ever known. We have, in another part of the work, given a full account of the siege and taking of the *Havannah*, the most signal event that ever distinguished this, or any other, war between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. That court had no idea of the possibility of the *English* succeeding against a place so well provided, and so strongly situated, that they deemed it to be impregnable; and their ministers even threw out unmanly taunts against the *English* for their temerity in attempting it. Though the *English* valour saved *Portugal* for that campaign, yet it is probable, that the invasion might have been renewed next year, had it not been for the taking of the *Havannah*; but the loss of that key to their *American* possessions was so deeply felt thro' all their monarchy, and the loss of *Martinico* making the like impression upon the *French*, that both those crowns now disposed themselves seriously to peace, which was at last effected by the conclusion of the definitive treaty. which is saved by Great Britain.

The points in dispute between *Great Britain* and *Spain* had been materially adjusted during the late negotiations; and nothing remained to be settled but a few insignificant matters to satisfy the *Spanish* punctilio. The reader may remember, that one of the grievances which *Buffy*, in his famous memorial, said the *Spaniards* complained of ships having been taken and condemned, though carrying *Spanish* colours. The *British* ministry very properly replied to this complaint, that those ships had been condemned by regular process before the *English* court of admiralty, from whom there was an appeal to commissioners; but the matter was settled by the 16th article of the treaty, as follows: "The de-

cision of the prizes made, in time of peace, by the subjects of *Great Britain* on the *Spaniards*, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of *Great Britain*, conformable to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the *British* and *Spanish* nations, shall be decided and judged according to the law of nations, and according to the treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture." a

THE grand affair of the *English* cutting logwood in the bay of *Campeachy*, which had so much piqued the *Spanish* pride, was settled by the 17th article in the following manner. "His *Britannic* majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of *Honduras*, and other places of the territory of *Spain* in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty; and his Catholic majesty shall not permit his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his Catholic majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the *Spanish* coasts and territories as above stipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the present treaty." By the 18th article, his Catholic majesty renounces for himself, and his subjects, all pretensions to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of *Newfoundland*. The 19th and 20th articles, which we have already given, regard the cessions made by both parties in *America*; and the 21st article runs as follows. "The *Trench* and *Spanish* troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles of his Most Faithful majesty, in *Europe*, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of *France* and *Spain*, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition which were found there; and with regard to the *Portuguese* colonies in *America*, *Africa*, or in the *East-Indies*, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, before the present war." b c

A peace concluded.

UPON the conclusion of the peace, his Catholic majesty was at a vast expence in procuring the ablest architects, engineers, and artisans of all kinds, and sending them to repair the *Havannah*, and to strengthen it with new fortifications; and, at the same time, he returned to his former good understanding with the *British* nation. This, however, however, has of late received some shock by letters that have been received from *America*, most pathetically describing the miserable condition of the *English* logwood-cutters, in a petition from the principal settlers to the governor of *Jamaica*, in which it is said, "That the petitioners being ordered to withdraw from every other settlement, and retire to *Balis* with their effects, a total stagnation of business hath ensued; the commanders of ships, who have disposed of their cargoes to the petitioners, seeing no possibility of payment, refuse any longer to supply them with provisions; that having now no plantations of their own to maintain themselves and families, they see no possible means of preserving themselves from famine; that having no legal authority for settling disputes among themselves, they are reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion, in which the injured can have no redress. To this wretched condition they are reduced by the inhumanity of the *Spaniards*." The court of *England* lost no time in transmitting this complaint to the earl of *Rockford*, the *British* ambassador at *Madrid*; and we have since been assured by authority, that the *Spanish* ministry have disavowed their having given any orders to their officers in *America*, that could authorise them in the smallest infraction of the treaty. d e

Affairs of Honduras.

Supplement to the History of PORTUGAL.

a THE history of this kingdom, in the former part of our work, brought it down to the year 1715, when the treaty was signed between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, under the mediation of *France*. His *Portuguese* majesty, thereby gaining some respite, applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace, and to keep himself entirely free from all broils in *Europe*. This naturally led him, upon all occasions, to court the friendship of the *English*, by which his dominions remained in such tranquillity, that the history of *Portugal* affords, for some years, no interesting historical matter. But however assiduous *John V.* was to preserve this tranquillity, he always retained a sense of his own dignity, and would not lose the smallest punctilio due to his rank as a sovereign. This he manifested in the year 1724, when the abbe *de Livri* came to *Lisbon* with the character of ambassador from *France*. At first, he was received with all marks of distinction, but he insisted upon don *Diego de Mendoça*, first secretary of state, paying him the first visit, which the latter absolutely refused to do. The former asserted, that it had been customary; the latter maintained, that it had been only complied with when ambassadors were personally acquainted with each other. The two courts approved of the conduct of their respective ministers in this ridiculous dispute, which ended without its having any farther consequence, than in the abbe's leaving *Portugal* without having had an audience from the king.

b THE next historical event that occurs in the affairs of *Portugal*, was a dispute with the *Dutch African* companies, about the meaning of certain ancient treaties relating to the *Negro-trade*; a matter of great importance to both powers. The abbe *de Mendoça*, son to the secretary, was sent to the *Hague* to negotiate the affair; but he was so far from succeeding, that he embroiled matters more than ever: so that a rupture between the two powers must have ensued, had not the ambassador been recalled, and don *Lewis d'Alcunba* sent in his room, who made up the breach without farther consequences. A more embarrassing difference happened between his *Portuguese* majesty and his holiness the pope. The king insisted, that the nuncio, *Bichi*, who had for some time resided at his court, should, at the end of his nunciature, be promoted to the purple, which his holiness refused to do. The grounds of his refusal were as follows.

c WHEN the emperor *Charles VI.* in the character of *Charles III.* of *Spain*, kept his court at *Barcelona*, pope *Clement XI.* was prevailed upon by cardinal *Bichi* to send his nephew *Bichi* to *Lisbon*, in quality of nuncio, and the abbe *de Lucini* set out about the same time with only the character of internuncio to the court of *Barcelona*, where, for that reason, he was refused an audience, in 1710. *Bichi*, upon his journey to *Lisbon*, had neglected to pay his respects to king *Charles*, who complained of him on that account at *Rome* and *Lisbon*; nor was his *Portuguese* majesty at first well satisfied with his conduct, though he came afterwards to have the most sincere friendship for him. Those complaints raised other enemies to *Bichi*, amongst whom were the abbe *Bernardi*, and several ecclesiastics, whom he had made his enemies by opposing their promotion, and who accused him of simony; and, to the misfortune of *Bichi*, his protector and uncle the cardinal died about the same time. Upon the application of his *Portuguese* majesty to raise *Bichi* to the purple, his enemies remonstrated to his holiness how indecent it would be to promote to that honour a man against whom so many terrible charges lay, and the imprudence of disobliging so respectable a power as that of *Austria*. In this state the affair continued for some time, his *Portuguese* majesty refusing to admit into his dominions any other nuncio, and even threatening a total secession from the church of *Rome*.

Difference between the king of Portugal and the pope.

d THE obstinacy of his holiness in this affair was the more highly resented by the king, as his *Portuguese* majesty had been among the first of the *European* potentates, after the peace of *Utrecht*, who sent a squadron of men of war to assist the pope and the *Venetians* against the *Turks*, and his ships did considerable service on the coast of *Italy*. This the pope acknowledged by splitting the archbishoprick of *Lisbon* into two, and erecting the chapel-royal into a patriarchal and metropolitical church, since which time that city has been divided into two grand districts, the eastern and the western. His *Portuguese* majesty had some reasons, either of policy or œconomy, to press his brother don *Emanuel* to enter into holy orders, to which he had so great an aversion, that, to avoid being forced, he privately left the court about the time the patriarchate was erected, and going on board a ship, he set sail for *Holland*. An *English* man of war, at the request of his *Portuguese* majesty, pursued, but could not overtake, him; and the prince entered into the *German* service.

vice

vice against the *Turks*. During the profound tranquillity that *Portugal* then enjoyed, his majesty, notwithstanding all the opposition he met with from the inquisition, established at *Lisbon* academies for the improvement of arts and sciences, with a particular regard to the rescuing from oblivion the noble actions of the *Portuguese* in past ages. a

King of Portugal's attention to commerce.

The attention which his *Portuguese* majesty paid to the advancement of commerce, he being the chief merchant of his dominions, was rewarded by the vast treasures of gold and silver annually imported by his ships from *Brasil* and *India*. By the laws of *Portugal*, the exportation of gold is rendered capital; but those laws are so little observed, that *Portuguese* gold is to be found all over *Europe*, and especially in *England*. Two *English* merchants, *Wingfield* and *Roberts*, in 1722, who had made a practice of remitting *Portuguese* gold to *England*, were, by order of his majesty, seized, tried, and condemned to die; and it was with difficulty that their lives were saved, and their effects restored to them, by the intercession of Mr. *Worseley*, the *British* ambassador there. b

Next year, in *December*, a most dreadful earthquake happened in the province of *Algarve*, which demolished several towns, and even swallowed up, for some hours, a river, though the shocks did not last above three minutes. In 1724, his *Portuguese* majesty erected some of his noblemen and most considerable subjects into a company for supplying his *American* possessions with negroes from the coast of *Africa*, where he assigned them a large district, and prohibited all other nations, and even his other *Portuguese* subjects, from being concerned in that trade. The same year, two of his majesty's bastard brothers (but naturalized by their father) don *Miguel* and don *Joseph*, were overset in a boat on the river of *Lisbon*. Don *Joseph* was saved, but don *Miguel* and his attendants were drowned. c

On the 19th of *November* following, about six in the evening, so dreadful a storm arose upon the same river, that, before eight, sixty ships were driven on shore, and twenty of them rendered unfit for sea; the wharfs were damaged, the custom-house quay, and the goods upon it, washed away; the steeples of the churches were blown down, trees were torn up by the roots, and most inconceivable damage was done to the houses both in town and country.

Few or no occurrences of any note followed in *Portugal*, till *December* 1727, when the double-marriage took place between don *Joseph*, prince of *Brasil* (who was represented by his Catholic majesty), and donna *Maria-Anna-Victoria* (who had been formerly espoused to *Lewis XV.*), the eldest infanta of *Spain*. Some days after, another contract of marriage was celebrated between don *Ferdinand*, prince of *Asturias*, (who was represented by his *Portuguese* majesty), and donna *Maria*, the infanta of *Portugal*. d

The disputes between the courts of *Rome* and *Portugal* were now revived with more heat than ever. His *Portuguese* majesty had the promotion of M. *Bichi* to the purple so much at heart, that he wrote, in 1728, a most obliging letter to his holiness, notifying to him the death of one of his sons, who was but five years of age. His holiness referred the letter to the examination of five cardinals, who sat as a committee for managing the affairs of *Portugal*; and a very complaisant answer was returned. In the mean while, the king of *Spain* offered, by cardinal *Bentivoglio*, his mediation on those differences, and cardinal *de la Motte* laboured at *Lisbon* for the same purpose. e

All they could do was to prevail upon his holiness to offer to raise any person to the purple whom his *Portuguese* majesty should name, *Bichi* excepted; but that prince was immoveable, and actually now carried his threatenings into execution. It was thought that *Benedict XIII.* the next pope, would have relaxed towards *Bichi*; but he was strenuously opposed by the sacred college, who were unwilling that so dangerous a precedent should be set as that of a pope yielding to a king. His holiness was obliged to submit, and even to send an order for *Bichi* to leave *Lisbon*, with which he was obliged to comply, and he went to *Rome* by the way of *Madrid*.

Breach with the see of Rome.

This step exasperated the king to such a degree, that he cut off all communication with the see of *Rome*, prohibited his clergy to apply to the pope's datary for their bulls of confirmation, and the patriarch of *Lisbon*, in fact, acted as pope, by granting dispensations for marriages, and judging, in the last resort, all ecclesiastical causes. f

His majesty at the same time ordered all his subjects residing at *Rome*, where they spent immense sums, to return home, and put a stop to all the revenue which the pope and his court used to draw from *Portugal*. It is more than probable, that had *John* been actuated by temporal motives only, considering the powerful protection he might have expected from *Great Britain*, he would then have thrown off all connections with his holiness. But though he was a foe to the court, he was a bigot in his heart to the religion, of *Rome*. He had prevailed with the late pope to agree that the prisoners in the inquisition should be allowed counsel and solicitors to defend themselves; but he had not the courage to abolish that horrid tribunal, though he appointed certain assessors or commissioners to be present at the judgments of the inquisitors. g

But, upon the death of *Benedict*, and the accession of cardinal *Corsini* to the papal chair, the difference was compromised, to the great satis-

a satisfaction of both parties, though his *Portuguese* majesty never was gratified in his favourite view.

THE beginning of the year 1729 was distinguished by the magnificent exchange of the two royal brides, in the presence of the king and queen of *Spain* and his *Portuguese* majesty. But those princes were so jealous of their punctilio, that it was some time before their manner of meeting could be settled, and at last it was done in a very awkward manner. A wooden house with two gates was erected on a little island in the middle of the *Caya*, which serves as a boundary on that side between the territories of the two crowns, one of those gates opening towards *Spain*, the other towards *Portugal*, and each monarch at the same instant entered the building at his gate. The marriage-contracts were read, and the princesses exchanged, at the first meeting. The two monarchs had several interviews afterwards upon their mutual interests; and his *Portuguese* majesty having presented M. *Beimonte* as his ambassador to *Spain*, they parted on the third day, with mutual professions of friendship. We shall not repeat the account of the quarrel between the courts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, on account of the criminal that was rescued at *Madrid* by the *Portuguese*, because we have already fully related it in the history of *Spain*, with the consequences attending it; and indeed the affairs of *Spain* and *Portugal* are so nearly connecting *John* was spent in the steady pursuit of his subjects interest, but affords no historical event of importance enough to be mentioned here, but what has been already related. He died July 31st, 1750, aged sixty, and left behind him a numerous issue. His character was that of a prince extremely tenacious of what he thought to be his right; but he was eaten up with superstition, notwithstanding the many severe blows which he aimed at the court of *Rome*; and he was one of the many examples in history which prove that no prince, who is in his heart a slave to the religion of the pope, can ever be an effectual enemy to his power. Doubtful marriage.
Death of king John.

He was succeeded by his son, don *Joseph-Pedro-John-Lewis*, who was born the 9th of June 1715. When he came to the throne, he gave certain indications, that he would be still more attached than his father had been to his own interest. He renewed all the rigorous laws concerning the exportation of gold, and even insisted upon an inspection of the books of the *British* merchants trading at *Lisbon*. This was peremptorily refused him, as being contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two crowns. Tho' he dropped this unreasonable demand, yet he laid the *English* trade under unexampled difficulties, and inflicted several unjustifiable severities upon the merchants. All *Europe* considered those proceedings as being equally impolitic and ungrateful; nor was he even at much pains to justify them, though some very severe memorials were presented to him by the *English* ambassador on that head. Upon his accession, he applied himself entirely to the improvement of commerce and his marine; and some *French* merchants offered to establish, between *Portugal* and the *East-Indies*, a trade like that between *Cadiz* and *America*; but this project was dropped. Succeeded by his son Joseph.

His *Portuguese* majesty had better success in prevailing with the pope to abolish that reproach to human nature, the *Auto de fe* of the inquisition, and in obtaining a bull from his holiness to suppress the endowments given to the parochial church of *Lisbon* by the late king, to an immense value. About this time, some interchanges of territory in the *Brazils* made between their Catholic and *Portuguese* majesties took place, which created great dissatisfaction among the *Portuguese*, who were thereby obliged to give up the colony of *St. Sacrament*. The court of *Madrid*, at the same time, complained, that his *Portuguese* majesty extended the limits agreed upon too far. But the latter gave orders, that the settlements of *Grand Para* and *Matta-Grosso* should be fortified, as being the most exposed of any in the colony, and that two regiments of infantry, and a body of men, should be sent thither. This year, the *Barbary* corsairs had the assurance not only to cruize before the mouth of the *Taya*, but to advance as far up that river as *Fort-Cascais*; upon which the court ordered a squadron of men of war to be equipped, and this deterred them from the coast. On the 6th of *September*, the fleet from the bay of *All-Saints* arrived in the *Taya*, with an immense sum in specie and goods on board; and, upon a computation made by his Most Faithful majesty (a title that had lately been bestowed upon king *Joseph* by the pope), it was found that, notwithstanding the high differences between his holiness and the late king, no less than ninety-four millions of crusades had been remitted during his life from *Portugal* to *Rome*. In the month of *November*, the same year, Mr. *Cldenberg*, the manager of the duties on tobacco, obtained a charter for a new *East-India* company, which were to send out yearly eleven ships. To give the greater credit to this company, an ambassador was sent to the emperor of *China*, who was received at *Macao*, and all other places on the road, by mandarins, and treated with great honours. It was computed, upon a fair calculation, at this time, that the *British* nation gained at least

least a million of money by its trade with *Portugal*; but we are not to suppose, that the *English* had this preference from any principle of affection or gratitude, for his Most Faithful majesty did all he could to diminish their profits. In the beginning of the year 1754, he permitted the exportation of gold, coined or uncoined, out of his kingdom, but upon condition of its paying a duty of two *per cent.* upon all that was exported. He likewise, about the same time, re-purchased and re-united to his crown all the royal fiefs that had been granted by his predecessors to the nobility. A regulation took place about the same time, by which *Oldenberg* was to have an exclusive privilege to send five ships to *Macao*, near *Canton*, in *China*, in six years, and eleven ships to *Goa* in ten years; upon which grant a company was erected, whose stock was divided into shares of 480,000 rees, about 160 l. sterling each. But the spirit of the king in those regulations far outwent the abilities of his country, for he was obliged to send to *Great Britain* for captains to command his *East-India* ships. Mean while, the conduct of his court was such as plainly demonstrated, that if *Portugal* could have been supplied with necessaries by any other power than *Great Britain*, they would have given that power the preference. Indignities were every day heaped upon the *English* merchants: upon the ridiculous pretext of a ship (which brought corn to *Lisbon* to relieve the inhabitants from starving) having the plague on board, the government thought proper to burn both ship and cargo. But we are now upon the eve of a disaster that humbled *Portugal*, and gave the *British* nation the noblest opportunity any people ever had to exert its magnanimity.

Account of the
earthquake at
Lisbon.

IN 1755, while his Most Faithful majesty's ministers were busied in peopling their *American* possessions, the city of *Lisbon* was visited by one of the most dreadful earthquakes that history mentions. On the first of *November*, which happened to be a great holiday with the *Portuguese*, the inhabitants of *Lisbon* perceived their city shaking, and, soon after, the tremblings of the earth grew so violent, that the houses all round tumbled down, and buried numbers in the ruins. The people in general fled to squares, but finding no safety there, they ran to *Belem*, while those who remained were either destroyed by the fall of the houses, or by the flames, which at first were thought to be natural; but were afterwards found to have been kindled by a set of wretches who took occasion from the public calamity to rob the inhabitants of their most valuable effects. It is certain, that this dreadful visitation was magnified in *England* far beyond the truth. The principal loss fell upon the centre of the city; and tho' at first, 100,000 persons were said to have perished, yet, by the justest accounts, not above 15,000 were killed. A gentleman who was present on the spot, and who coolly surveyed the city after the first public panic was over, gave it as his opinion, that, great as the earthquake was, what remained of *Lisbon* formed a larger city than many of the *European* capitals.

“ IN the neighbourhood, says he, of the hill of *Bairo-Alto*, though the fire caused great havock from the *Convertidas* on one side, and from the palace of don *Emanuel de Sousa* on the other, quite down to the corner of the royal palace, still all the palace *das Mercês* escaped, and, from its lowest extremity, quite to the middle of the North-street. But in the straight part of the street, the palaces of the marquis of *Marialva*, of signior *John Xavier*, where the *Dutch* minister resided, and of the count of *St. Tiago*, on the opposite side to the above-mentioned places, were all burnt. Great part of the neighbourhood and parish of *St. Catharine* also escaped; the districts of *Jesus*, of *Rato*, of *Mocambo*, had the same good fortune; and so had the districts of *St. Joseph*, quite down to *S. Sebastiano da Pedreyra*; of *Moiraria* quite to *Royos*, turning towards *S. John dos bein Cazados*; the whole district of *Paraizo*, which takes in the great opening of *St. Clara* and all its dependencies; and, finally, all the vast territory from this territory quite to *Marvilla*.

“ To shew, then, by these districts, that the town has not been entirely demolished, as has been given out, it needs only to be remembered, that the space from *St. Paul's*, where the fire stopped, to *Belem*, makes an extent of five miles *English*; that from *Meiraria* to *Royos* makes other two; and that from *St. Joseph* to *S. Sebastiano de Pedreyra* makes at least two more: all which spaces are filled with houses and inhabitants, and have received but little damage. And the same is the case of great part of the district of *Alfama* quite to *Marvilla*, which makes an extent of more than two miles, and escaped the conflagration; and even in the centre, where the flames wrought the greatest havock, there is a street or two through which the fire never passed.

“ I AM sensible, that those principal parts which were its victims were of very great importance; inasmuch as they contained the most stately temples, and the habitations of the trading people. However, as I before observed, all the grand devastation was wrought in the centre of the town.

“ ALL the other parts above-mentioned are almost every where inhabited, and shops and manufactures carried on there. It is true, there are great numbers of barracks in all the

a openings and airlets, as *Campo de Coral*, *Cotovia*, *Bonos Ayres*, *Boamorte*, near the silk manufactory, and other places.

"THE greatest part of the houses are propped, some on account of the great damage they have received, but the bulk from the prudence of their proprietors, who were willing to prevent all danger by these precautions. Still, as they are almost all secured with props, it is thence conjectured by the people, that all are ruinous. Certain it is, however, that the number of those which really have been damaged is but too great; and as to the churches, they are mostly down. Even those which have not fallen, though they remain upright, are considerably shattered; for as the earthquake wrought the strongest impressions where it met with the most resistance, these received the greatest damage.

b "THE churches, which, having first suffered by the tremor, were destroyed by fire, are the following ones: *Loyos*, *S. Maria Mayor*, *Madalena*, *Conceycao Nova & Velha*, *Misericordia*, *S. Justa*, *S. Nicolao*, *S. Juliao*, *Victoria*, *S. Domingos*, *Patriarcal*, *Boa Morte*, *Spirito Santo*, *Martyres*, *S. Francisco*, *Corpo Santo*, *Sacramento*, *Carmo Trindado*, *Loreto*, *Igreja Nova*, *Chagas*, and *S. Paolo*.

"THE churches which fell entirely were, *S. Vicente*, *S. Clara*, *S. Monica*, *N. S. da Monte*, *N. S. da Penha de Franca*, and the church of that parish, *S. Pedro de Alcantara*, *S. Anna*, *Calvario*, and *S. Antonio dos Capuxos*.

"THE churches of the *Paulists*, of *Jesus*, of *S. Benedict*, suffered no damages; but those of the *Bernardines*, of *Madre de Dios*, and *Santos Velha*, though standing, are much shattered.

c "It is not feasible to fix the number of the dead, and much less to distinguish stations and sexes. At first, the total was made to amount to 14 or 15,000; since when some have pretended to swell it to 40,000. But I can by no means bring myself to give into it.

"*SETUVAL*, though but a little town, has greatly suffered: for, of all its churches, there are not above three or four of the smallest which have escaped. And they compute to 4000 persons, of both sexes, as having perished there, part in the ruins, part by the impetuosity of the sea, which arose above its walls, and, sweeping off the people, bore them away with it in its reflux.

d "Most days since the first, we have had perceptible repetitions of tremulous motions of the earth, with a degree of rumbling, which immediately precedes them. On the first day of the new moon of this month, we had one; and the day before yesterday, between four and five in the evening, we had another; but without farther prejudice than of opening the crevices of some houses already ruined, but not yet fallen.

"By letters and persons come from *Beyra*, and from beyond the mountains, we have learned, that they felt there the same shocks; and they are pretty commonly felt throughout the kingdom.

e "FROM *Brazil* we have hitherto no news, though a rumour was spread, that the *Bahia de Todos os Santos* was entirely lost, which is nevertheless false; for, to this present day, not a single sail has arrived from those parts: so that if any such fable should reach your part of the world, you may, with great safety, declare it to be an absolute forgery."

f THE king, queen, and the royal family, escaped from their palace just before it fell down. The *Spanish* ambassador, with nine of his domestics, was killed by the falling in of his house. Several towns in *Portugal* suffered severely, and the waters of the *Tagus* rose at *Toledo*, 100 leagues from *Lisbon*, to the height of ten feet. At *Oporto* the concussion was so great, that some houses were thrown down, and churches and steeples much damaged. At *Port St. Maria*, the sea had rose eight several times, and frightened the inhabitants out of town. At *Cadiz*, the sea rose to twenty-two feet perpendicular, and almost overwhelmed the city. At *Madrid*, and many other towns of *Spain*, it did incredible mischief. At *St. Lucar*, several ships were thrown upon land by the sudden rising of the waves. But, what most exceeds belief, is, ships were shaken as if they had been dashed against rocks, and that at sixty leagues distance; and the waters were affected by it in *Holland*, *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, and even as far as the *Baltic-sea*, at the distance of more than 2000 miles. It is to the honour of the court of *Spain* that we mention that prince sending money, and opening all his custom-houses duty-free for the relief of the *Portuguese*. The *British* nation, though at that time they had great reasons for being dissatisfied with the *Portuguese* court and people, shewed a noble instance of magnanimity; for no sooner did the accounts of the earthquake at *Lisbon* come to the knowledge of *George II.* than he sent the following message to the House of Commons:

The Portuguese relieved by Great Britain.

g "His majesty having received from his ambassador at *Madrid* a certain account of the fatal and deplorable event which happened at *Lisbon* on the first instant, by an earthquake, which has laid waste almost the whole city, and destroyed many thousands of the inhabitants; in consequence whereof, those who remain must be reduced to the utmost distress and necessity: and his majesty being moved with the greatest concern for so good and faithful-

faithful an ally as the king of *Portugal*, and with the utmost compassion for the distressed to which that city and kingdom must be reduced, wherein great numbers of his majesty's own subjects were resident, and many more interested, recommends to his faithful commons the consideration of this dreadful and extensive calamity, which cannot fail to affect the hearts of all persons who have any sense of religion or humanity, and desires to be enabled by the House of Commons to send such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to so affecting and pressing an exigency."

UPON this message, the House of Commons came unanimously to the following resolution: "That this house will enable his majesty to give such assistance to the distressed people of *Portugal* as his majesty shall think fit; and that such expences as shall be incurred by his majesty in relieving the misery to which they may be reduced by this most deplorable calamity shall be made good out of the next aids." This supply was accordingly sent, partly in money, and partly in what was much more acceptable, provisions. His *Portuguese* majesty and all his court were then living in tents, and received the generous donation from *England* with the most profound acknowledgments of gratitude; nor have we since heard the same complaints from the *English* merchants in *Portugal* as before. The truth is, the earthquake rendered *Portugal* an object of compassion, and all the attention of the people, and their neighbours, was turned towards repairing the devastations occasioned by it. The reader, therefore, may easily conceive, that for some time no historical events could happen in a country where the whole cares of the community and the government were employed in repairing the effects of the earthquake.

Full account
of the conspiracy
against
his *Portu-
guese* majesty;

THE conspiracy against the life of his Faithful majesty is the first great historical event that presents itself after the before-mentioned earthquake. This conspiracy is one of the darkest we meet with in history, and is hardly to be paralleled, whether we consider the quality of the persons engaged in it, or the exemplary punishment attending their crimes. The first intimation of it given to foreign courts was a paragraph of a dispatch wrote by M. da Cunha, secretary of state in *Portugal* for foreign affairs, and at war, dated *Belem*, Sept. 12. "Last Sunday the king had a fall in his palace, by which he was considerably hurt in his right arm. He was let blood on Monday, and is at present much better. His majesty, being prevented by this accident from attending to public affairs for some days, has empowered the queen to sign dispatches, and other instruments, during his illness." A little time cleared up the affair, as follows: It appeared, according to an authentic paper published by the court of *Portugal*, "That the duke of *Aveiro* had conceived an implacable resentment against the king, for preventing a marriage which he had precipitately adjusted between his son and the sister of the duke of *Cadaval*, endeavouring, at the same time, by vexatious artifices, to prevent the duke, who is a minor, from marrying, in order to secure to his family the possessions and honours of that house; and for defeating several projects to preserve a pernicious influence which he acquired in the latter years of the late reign.

"THAT he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with all persons who were dissatisfied with the government, of what party or condition soever; and therefore, as soon as the Jesuits were dismissed from court, he forgot an inveterate enmity which till then had been implacable against them, invited them to his house, and made them frequently long and secret visits at their houses, where the death of the king was concerted, the Jesuits declaring, that whoever should kill his majesty would not by that act become guilty even of venial sin.

"THAT the duke of *Aveiro* and the Jesuits drew the marchioness of *Tavora* into their confederacy, notwithstanding the mutual jealousy between the two houses; and the marchioness drew in the rest of her family.

"THAT the marquis of *Tavora* having entrusted *Joseph Romeiro*, an old servant who had attended him to and from the *Indies*, with the conspiracy, committed to him the care of waiting with horses ready saddled, where the conspirators were to mount.

"THAT the duke of *Aveiro* several times rode and walked with *Alvaris Ferreira*, his late wardrobe-keeper, and *Joseph Policarp*, *Ferreira's* brother-in-law, to acquaint them with the carriage in which the king usually rode; that he ordered them to buy two horses, not known, and some unknown arms.

"THAT after the fact the duke reproached *Alvaris*, telling him, the shot which he discharged did no service; but when he was about to reply, he added, "Hush! for the Devil himself can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell him." He then ordered him not to sell the unknown horses he had bought directly, lest it should cause suspicion."

with the
names,

THE persons concerned in this conspiracy were as follow: Don *Joseph Mascarenhas* and *Lencastre* (or *Lancaster*), duke of *Aveiro*, marquis of *Torres Novas*, and of *Gouvea*, and earl of *Santa Cruz*, hereditary lord-steward of the king's household, which is the highest office

office in the palace, and president of the palace-court, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom, which is the second state officer in the realm; was related himself to the *Tavoras*, and married to a sister of the elder marquis of that title. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, of the lowest middle size, well made in his person, of an agreeable countenance, and lively disposition.

a THE marchioness of *Tavora*, in her own right, and wife to the marquis, was in the fifty-ninth year of her age: she was of the lower middle size, and thin, extremely genteel, and in her youth had been very beautiful. In the duties of life she appeared highly amiable, being an extreme good mother, and demonstrated herself as a good wife by accompanying her husband to *India*, at the age of fifty, when he was appointed viceroy of the *Portuguese* dominions in that country; of which undertaking, before hers, there had been but a single example. Her deportment in general was courteous and affable, and she was allowed to be a lady of a good understanding.

b FRANCISCO de *Affiz* and *Tavora* (this family being above taking the title of don), marquis of *Tavora*, and earl of *St. John* and of *Alvor*, general of horie. This nobleman was himself the eldest branch of the *Alvor* family, the third noble house of the *Tavoras*; and by marrying his kinswoman, the heiress of the said marquissate, became, in her right, the earl of *St. John*, and marquis of *Tavora*. The family of *Tavora* is the most illustrious of the kingdom, as well for the purity as antiquity of their descent, deriving their origin from the kings of *Leon*, and having ever preserved their dignity by disdaining to make any other than the most noble alliances; insomuch, that it has of late been the practice of the chief branches of this family to marry only with one another. They themselves conquered from the *Moor*s the lands they possess, and on which there is a town, a river, and an ancient castle, of their name; and they even pretend to be lords of *Tavora* by the grace of God. The marquis was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, of the highest middle stature, a genteel person, comely countenance, and grave deportment.

c LUIS Bornando de *Tavora*, younger marquis of that title, was the eldest son of the above-mentioned couple, and in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was married, with a dispensation from the pope, to his father's youngest sister, donna *Thereza de Tavora* and *Lorenz* (or *Lorrain*) who was twenty days elder than himself. This is the lady who is said to be in the nunnery of *Santos*, without our having been informed whether she was sent thither a prisoner by order of the court. She was a middle sized lady, comely in her person, and extremely elegant in her deportment. The marquis, her husband, was a little man, and thin, well-enough made, but not of a pleasing aspect, though with a considerable resemblance of his mother. He was neither deficient in wit nor humour, but not amiable in his conduct, nor extremely correct in his morals. This couple had a daughter living, who was then in the twelfth year of her age, donna *Jeanna de Tavora*, who was exceeding beautiful; but who was, by the sentence of her father, grandfather, and grandmother, deprived of the very name of which she would otherwise have become chief.

d DON Jeronymo de *Alaide*, earl of *Alouguia*, one of the oldest (if not the most ancient) titles of the kingdom. This nobleman was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, related himself to the *Tavoras*, and married to the eldest daughter of the elder marquis and marchioness of *Tavora*, sister to the young marquis and Joseph-Maria of that name. He was of a middle stature, clumsy in his make, of a heavy aspect and ungraceful demeanor, and of low parts, but, in his general conduct, an in offensive man.

e JOSEPH Maria de *Tavora*, second and youngest son of the elder marquis and marchioness of *Tavora*, in the twenty third year of his age, of a middle size, most beautiful face, genteel person, agreeable deportment, and amiable disposition.

f It must be acknowledged, that however criminal the above parties might have been, no proofs of their offences are specified in the sentence pronounced against them, in a manner that is satisfactory to impartial enquiry. The duke de *Alcero* is accused, in general terms, of having contracted an intimacy with the Jesuits after they had been dismissed from receiving the confessions of the royal family, and universally forbidden all access to court; and that he and they entered into a conspiracy against the king's life, and had drawn the marchioness of *Tavora* into the plot; and that she had been directed by a Jesuit, one Gabriel Malagrida, to bring all her family into the same execrable design. The marquis Francis Affiz of *Tavora*, her husband, is accused of having personally assisted at an ambush laid against the king's life, on the third of September, at which time the king was shot at, while other ambushes were laid against him, which he fortunately escaped. "It farther appears (says the said sentence), that the third of the followers, whom the said three seditious and detestable ringleaders drew into this infamous conspiracy was don Jerome of *Alaide*, count of *Alouguia*, son in-law to the aforesaid marquis Francis Affizes and lady Eleanor of *Tavora*; it being proved, that he, with the countess his wife, almost every night assisted at the seditious and abominable cabals which were held in the house of the marquis and

marchioness, his father and mother-in-law; that he contributed eight moidores towards the most worthless reward of the assassins who fired the sacrilegious shot; and that he was an associate in the way-layings which were posted against his majesty." a

of the con-
spirators.

YOUNG *Joseph-Maria* of *Tavora* is next mentioned in the sentence, as having been present at the ambush against his majesty's life, and expressing his regret at the king's escape. The next person mentioned is one *Blaise Joseph Romeiro*, a domestic of the marchioness of *Tavora*, who had the charge of three horses that were to have carried off the conspirators after the assassination was perpetrated. "It farther appears (says the judicial sentence), that the sixth and seventh followers whom the head of this conspiracy, the duke of *Aveiro*, engaged in it, were the criminals *Antony Alvares Ferreira*, formerly keeper of the wardrobe to the said duke, and *Joseph Policarp de Azavedo*, brother-in-law to the same *Antony Alvares*. b It being fully proved, that both the said criminals went several times on foot and horseback, in company of the said duke, in order to become acquainted with the carriage in which his majesty usually rode; that, for this purpose, he ordered them to buy two horses, not known, which the criminal, *Antony Alvares*, did; that he also ordered them to buy unknown arms, which the aforesaid criminal, *Antony Alvares*, did not buy, he, together with his said brother-in-law, making use of one blunderbuss of his own, of another which was borrowed, and of two pistols which he had borrowed of a foreigner, under pretext of making trial of them; that the premium which these two most savage criminals received from the duke was forty moidores, sixteen at one time, four at another, and twenty at another; that immediately after having discharged the said arms on the back c of the carriage, the said *Antony Alvares* and his brother-in-law retreated directly to *Lisbon*; and, finally, that the criminal *Antony Alvares*, going, two days afterwards, to the house of the duke, he reproached him greatly, saying, "That those shot had been of no service," and uttering (with his finger on his mouth, and great serenity) the following words: "Hush! for the Devil himself can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell him;" and charging him not to sell the horses directly, that he might not become suspected."

EMANUEL Alvares Ferreira is named in the same sentence, as being another conspirator; as is one *John Michael*; and the manner of the assassination is related as follows: "That after *Joseph Mascarenhas* and lady *Eleanor* of *Tavora* had settled a most sordid gathering, to which the other associates did also contribute, towards making up the paltry d sum of 192 milrees, which was the premium given to the two savage and unnatural assassins, *Antony Alvares Ferreira* and *Joseph Policarp*; and after, with the two infamous and savage malefactors aforesaid, the associates in the crime had completed the number of eleven, they all posted themselves on horseback, divided into different parties or ambuscades, within the little tract of ground which lies between the northern extremity of the houses belonging to the garden called *de Meyo*, and the opposite southern extremity of the garden called *de Cima*, through which our lord the king usually returned home when he had been abroad in a private manner, as was the case the night of the most horrible insult in question; that if his majesty escaped from the first way layings, he might not fail of being destroyed by the others which succeeded them. e

Their sentence.

"It further appears, that our said lord having turned the corner of the said northern extremity of the above-mentioned houses belonging to the garden *de Meyo*, the ringleader of the conspiracy, *Joseph Mascarenhas*, came forth immediately from the arch which was in that place, and presented against *Costodio da Costa*, the coachman who drove his majesty, a blunderbuss, which missing fire, and warning the coachman with the snap and sparks from the flint, obliged him, without declaring to his majesty what he had seen and heard, to push on the mules, so as to avoid the murder which he apprehended. The miscarriage of this firing was the first of the apparent miracles with which the divine omnipotence, in that most fatal night, succoured all these realms, by the preservation of the inestimable life of his majesty; it being impossible he should have escaped, if, the coachman falling f dead with that infamous discharge, our said lord had remained a prey in the hands of those horrible monsters, who stood armed, in so many and such neighbouring ambushes, against his most august and precious life.

"It farther appears, that, on account of the hasty pace with which the coachman endeavoured to save himself, the two most savage malefactors, *Antony Alvares* and *Joseph Policarp*, who were posted in the ambush, immediately following, could not take a steady aim at the spot against which they should fire; wherefore, galloping after the said carriage, they fired as fast as they possibly could upon the back of the same the two sacrilegious and execrable shot which caused in his majesty's most august and most sacred person those most grievous and most dangerous wounds and dilacerations, which, from the right shoulder along the arm and down to the elbow on the outside, and also on the inner part of the same, occasioned a considerable loss of substance, from the variety of the contusions; six of which went so far as to offend the breast, a great number of flugs being g ex-

a extracted from them all. Whence, on one hand, is manifestly seen the cruelty with which the flugs were preferred to bullets, in order, by that means, the more certainly to secure the most fatal purpose of that savage and sacrilegious insult; and, on the other, that this was the second of the miraculous works of the divine omnipotence, in that most unfortunate night, for the common benefit of these realms; for it cannot be in the common order of events, nor can it be in any wise ascribed to the casualty of accidental occurrences, that two charges of flugs, fired out of such pieces, should make their way through the narrow space of a carriage, without totally and absolutely destroying the persons who were in such carriage.

b "It farther appears, that this miraculous event was followed by a third, equal to it, or rather greater. For our Lord God making use, in that critical conjuncture, of his majesty's heroic courage and unshaken serenity, to manifest his prodigies to us, his majesty not only bore those unexpected and most torturing mischiefs, without uttering a single word which indicated a complaint, but took the wonderful resolution to order the carriage to return back immediately, from where he then was, to the house of the chief surgeon of the kingdom; where, not suffering his wounds to be uncovered till he had, by the sacrament of penance, first returned thanks to the supreme King of Kings, for the preservation of his life from so great a danger, he first confessed at the feet of a minister of the gospel, and then proceeded with the same silence, serenity, and firmness, to submit to the painful operations necessary towards a cure. By these means his majesty avoided the perils from the other c savage associates in the crime, which he could not have escaped had he continued the route he was accustomed to take in returning home to his palace.

d "It farther appears, that the aforesaid criminals assembled again the said night, and instead of showing any symptoms of remorse, boasted of it one with another, the criminal *Joseph Mascarenhas*, then duke of *Aveiro*, beating on the stones the blunderbush which had missed going off, and saying in a passion these infernal words, "Damnation seize thee! when I want thee, thou art of no use to me." The criminal, *Francis Affizes*, expressing some doubt whether his majesty had perished, the said criminal, *Joseph Mascarenhas*, re-assuming the discourse, said, "No matter; if he is not dead he shall die;" another of the associates taking up these words, and replying with the most impious threat, "The point is, that if he do but go abroad;" and the other criminal, *Joseph-Maria* of *Tavora*, enquiring with great composure after the associate *John Michael*, who was not as yet arrived. On the day immediately following, in a family-meeting, in consequence of the same inflexible obstinacy, savage despair, and deplorable abandon of all divine graces, they there persisted, some in reproaching the assassins, *Antony Alvares* and *Joseph Policarp*, for that they had not aimed their fires in such a manner as to complete all their most mischievous intent; others in boasting, that they should have effectually completed the said execrable intent, had our lord the king passed by the ambushes where they themselves were posted to way-lay him, instead of turning back, as he did, by the descent of *Ajuda* to *Junqueira*."

e THE sentence then proceeds to accuse the Jesuits (who had kindled a war in the Portuguese dominions in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *America*) of their having been the contrivers and authors of the assassination, and of their having predicted the king's death from the latter end of *August* preceding. Don *Joseph Mascarenhas* is accused of having been the author of innumerable intrigues and cabals, with which he filled the court of his Faithful majesty, so as to keep him from all knowledge of the truth. It farther charges him with retiring, from a consciousness of his guilt, to his country-seat, and first attempting to fly, and afterwards resisting those who apprehended him. "With regard to lady *Eleanor* of *Tavora* (says the sentence) heretofore marchioness of that title, the third ring-leader, it is notorious, that her diabolical spirit of pride, and insatiable ambition, was sufficient to excite her into the greatest insults. Instigated by those blind and ardent passions, she had f the boldness (along with her husband) to offer a remonstrance to our lord the king for him to be made a duke, notwithstanding his insignificant services had been fully requited with the promotions he had obtained in *India*, and that there was no precedent in the chanceries of the realm of any person of his post being promoted to that title; yet both the said criminals, without consideration or shame, were incessantly persecuting the secretary of state for domestic affairs for that promotion, insomuch that, in order to check those importunities, it became necessary to make them comprehend, in a polite and decent manner, that their pretension had no precedent to support it. This proved the foundation of that passion with which the said marchioness went and reconciled herself with the g duke of *Aveiro*, in order to obtain by his favour, with the ruin of majesty and the monarchy, that ducal title which her vehement ambition had inflamed her with. However, all that pride, ambition, and haughtiness, which she had exerted till the fatal epoch of the

the execrable insult of the third of *September* last, fall spiritless into manifest confusion and dismay."

THE sentence of the court upon all the criminals was as follows: "They condemn the criminal, *Joseph Mascarenhas* (who is already unnaturalized, divested of the honours and privileges of a *Portuguese*, and of those of a vassal and servant, degraded of the order of *St. Jago*, of which he was a commendatory, and resigned up to this tribunal, and to the lay justice which is therein administered) to the punishment that he, as one of the three heads, or chief ringleaders of this infamous conspiracy, and of the abominable insult which resulted from it, be conveyed, with a halter about his neck, and proclamation of his crimes, to the square upon the quay of the town of *Belém*; and that there, upon a high scaffold, which shall be sufficiently elevated for his punishment, to be visible to the whole people whom the scandal of his most horrible crime has offended, after he has been broken alive, by the fracture of the eight bones of his legs and arms, he be exposed on a wheel, for the satisfaction of the present and future vassals of this realm; and that, after this execution being done, the same criminal be burnt alive, with the said scaffold on which he was executed, till all be reduced by fire into ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, that there may be no more notice taken of him or his memory; and though, as a criminal guilty of the abominable crimes of rebellion, sedition, high-treason, and parricide, he be already condemned by the tribunal of military orders to the confiscation and forfeiture of all his real and personal estate to the use of the crown, as has been practised in those cases wherein the crime of high treason of the first rate has been committed; nevertheless, considering this as having been a case so unexpected, so unusual, and so extravagantly horrible, and unthought of by the laws, that not even they have provided for, nor can there be found therein a punishment proportionable to its exorbitant foulness; therefore, from this motive, our said lord was entreated in the consultation of this court, and his majesty was pleased, in conformity to its request, to grant it the ample jurisdiction to establish all the punishments which should be settled by a plurality of votes, over and above those which, by the laws and the disposition of law, are already established; and considering that the punishment the most conformable to equity is that of erasing and obliterating, by every means, every memorial of the name and remembrance of such enormous criminals; they also condemn the same criminal not only in the penalties of the common law, that his arms and achievements, wherever placed, be pulled down and rent in pieces; and that the houses and material edifices of his abode be demolished and erased, in such sort that there may not a sign of them remain, being reduced to a wild, and covered with salt, but also that all effective houses or estates by him enjoyed, in those parts thereof which have been established in properties of the crown, or have issued from thence, be confiscated, and from this time forward forfeited, with effectual reversion and reincorporation in the said crown from whence they derived, &c. The same they order to be observed with respect to the copyholds of any kind whatever, with the proviso established concerning the sale thereof in benefit of the lords of the manors. With regard to the other entailed estates, settled with the patrimony of the entailers, they declare that the statutes are to be observed in benefit of those who ought to succeed to them.

"THEY condemn to the same pains the criminal *Francis Affizes of Tavora*, and ordain that no persons whatever shall use the surname of *Tavora*, on pain of confiscation and outlawry.

"THEY condemn the two savage monsters, *Antonio Alvares Ferreira* and *Joseph Policarp*, who fired the two sacrilegious shot, to be conveyed, with halters about their necks, to the great square; and that being there exalted on two posts, fire to be set to them, which shall consume them alive, till their bodies be reduced to ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, their dwelling-houses erased, and their names blotted out. But the criminal *Joseph Policarp* having absconded, a power is given to any body to seize and kill him; and a reward of 10,000 crusados is offered for bringing him dead or alive before the senator of the palace, or 20,000 if taken in a foreign country.

"THEY condemn the criminals, *Lewis Barnard of Tavora*, don *Jerome of Ataide*, *Joseph-Maria of Tavora*, *Blaize Joseph Romeira*, *John Michael*, and *Emanuel Alvares*, to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with halters about their necks, to be first strangled, and afterwards to have the eight bones of their legs and arms broken, and then their bodies to be reduced by fire into powder, and thrown into the sea, &c. with confiscation and forfeiture of goods, &c. to the use of the crown, demolition, erazement and pulling down and defacement of arms and achievements.

"AND the criminal, lady *Eleanor Tavora*, for certain just considerations, they condemn only to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with a halter about her neck, and there to be beheaded; her body reduced to powder by fire, and thrown also into the sea, &c. with extinction of memory, and all other confiscations."

a We shall make no other observations upon this remarkable sentence, than that it was executed with the most rigid punctuality. Upon the whole, it seems most probable, that this was a conspiracy instigated and fomented by the Jesuits, who had been disgraced for some time before at court. After the king was wounded, he shut himself up in his palace, and published a manifesto, investing the queen with the government of his kingdom; nor did he suffer any one to approach his person, but herself, the first minister, the cardinal *de Saldanha*, the physicians and surgeons. To prevent the escape of the conspirators, an embargo was laid upon all the shipping in the *Tago*; but though the duke *de Aveiro* was suspected of having an eye to the crown, yet nothing of that kind was ever proved, nor does there seem to have been the least concert among the conspirators, farther than the personal assassination of the king. The consequences of the conspiracy were, with regard to the pope, very serious. His nuncio was not only forbid the court, but sent under a strong guard to the frontiers of *Portugal*. His holiness, at the same time, ordered the *Portuguese* ambassador to leave the Ecclesiastical territories. The Jesuits, who were the great objects of his most Faithful majesty's resentment, were shipped off by shoals from *Portugal* to *Civita Vecchia*, and their army in *Paraguay* was defeated by the united troops of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

b ADMIRAL *Boscawen*, as we have already observed in the history of *Spain*, having destroyed some *French* ships in the Bay of *Lagos*, the court of *Lisbon* made some remonstrances upon its neutrality being invaded. The earl of *Kinnoul* was sent ambassador to *Lisbon*, and explained the affair in such a manner as gave entire satisfaction to his most Faithful majesty. Some doubts with regard to the succession to the crown of *Portugal* still remaining, his *Portuguese* majesty agreed to a marriage between his brother, don *Pedro*, and his daughter, the princess of *Brasil*, which was celebrated on his birth-day, the 6th of *June* 1760, to the great joy of the *Portuguese*, who thereby saw all disputes concerning the succession to the throne terminated. The invasion of *Portugal* by the *Spaniards* and *French* has been already treated of under the head of *Spain*, nor do the affairs of that kingdom afford any farther historical matter.

Conclusion of
the history of
Portugal.

Supplement to the History of F R A N C E.

d THE latter part of *Lewis XIV.*'s reign terminated the history of this kingdom, in the preceding part of this work. Upon the accession of king *George I.* to the crown of *Great Britain*, the *French* were so unpopular at *London*, that the duke of *Ormond*, then commander in chief of the *British* forces, upon the application of *Iberville*, his most Christian majesty's ambassador, assigned him a guard to protect him from the resentment of the populace. In return for this, he assured the regency, "That his master would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, particularly with regard to the settlement of the *British* crown in the house of *Hanover*." This step fully manifested the duplicity of that court. *James II.* had been received in *France*, where he died, and his queen and son had been recognized at the same court with royal honours. Nay, at the very time the above assurance was given by the *French* ambassador, that court was fomenting a rebellion in *Great Britain*, in favour of the Pretender.

e THE earl of *Peterborough*, who was in *France* when queen *Anne* died, received from that court the strongest assurances of their readiness to support the interest of the house of *Hanover* in *Great Britain*; and *Iberville* received a letter from the marquis *de Torcy*, and another from the *French* king, importing, "That having been informed, that reports had been spread as if he designed to make alterations in the late renunciations, he thought fit to declare, as he had already done to the earl of *Peterborough*, that these reports were altogether false and groundless; that the king of *Spain* having sent the cardinal *del Giudice* as ambassador to *France*, which might create some suspicions, his most Christian majesty had desired the king his grandson to recal him; and that the elector of *Brunswick* having, some time before the death of the queen, signified to his most Christian majesty, that, whenever his succession to the crown of *Great Britain* should take place, he would cultivate a friendship with his most Christian majesty; he, (the king of *France*, on his part, assured the lords justices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two crowns." His most Christian majesty was, at this time, reduced to a most despicable condition. He was obliged to seize all the coin belonging to his subjects, and giving it a new stamp, he issued it at an advanced value; while

France acknowledges
the house of
Hanover's sovereignty over
Great Britain.

while the paper-money which he issued was at forty per Cent. discount, at the time the peace of *Utrecht* was concluded. This introduced an almost universal bankruptcy all over *France*, for the moneyed people, perceiving that they could not ward off the blows of despotism, whenever they were required to bring in their coin, omitted no method of securing it in other funds. By this time *Lewis XIV.* perceived his latter end drawing near. On the 11th of *August* 1715, he was seized with the cramp, gout, and sciatic pains; a few days after, being a little relieved, he intended to have dined in public. Lord *Stair* was then the *British* ambassador at his court, and a rebellion then raging in *Scotland*, *Lewis* thought it was of the utmost importance for him to be considered as the only power in *Europe*, whose friendship or enmity could be of service or detriment to the house of *Hanover*. With this view, he never openly espoused the cause of the Pretender, but affected before the earl of *Stair* to have a share of health, of which he was so far from being possessed, that he was in the most excruciating torments. The earl, with a sagacity peculiar to himself, treated the king's affectation with the contempt it deserved; and his majesty committed some excesses in eating and drinking to keep up the appearances he assumed, that were thought to hasten his end; for they brought on a violent fever, and an old sore he had in his leg tended towards a mortification; and on the first of *September*, he died about eight in the morning.

Death of
Lewis XIV.
of France.

He was the son of *Lewis XIII.* and *Anne* of *Austria*, and was born the 5th of *September*, 1638. His widow was *Maria-Theresa*, daughter to *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, whom he married in 1660. His issue by her were *Lewis*, dauphin of *France*, who married *Mary-Anne-Christina*, sister to the duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had issue three sons. First, *Lewis*, duke of *Burgundy*, born 1682; secondly, *Philip*, duke of *Anjou*, afterwards king of *Spain*, born 1683; thirdly, *Gaston*, duke of *Berry*, born in 1684. *Lewis*, the dauphin, died in 1711, and his eldest son, the duke of *Burgundy*, succeeded to that title. That prince in 1698, married *Mary-Adelaide*, eldest daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, afterwards king of *Sardinia*. This dauphin died in 1712, leaving issue three sons, two of whom were named dukes of *Brittany*, and died soon after himself; but the third son, who was born in 1710, now fills the throne of *France*. The natural children of *Lewis XIV.* by madam *de la Valiere* were, *Mary-Anne de Bourbon*, born in 1666, and married in 1680, to *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, prince of *Conti*, who died without issue by her. By madam *Montespan*, he had, 1. *Lewis-Augustus de Bourbon*, duke of *Maine*, born in 1670, who, by his wife *Louisa*, daughter to the prince of *Condé*, has a daughter called mademoiselle *D'Aumale*, born in 1697; and a son, *Lewis-Augustus*, prince of *Dombes*, born in 1700. 2. *Louisa-Frances de Bourbon*, mademoiselle *de Nantes*, born in 1673, and married to *Lewis*, duke of *Bourbon*, in 1685; whose children are mademoiselle *de Bourbon*, born 1600; *Lewis*, duke of *Enguien*, born 1692; *Louisa*, mademoiselle *de Chatelois*, born 1693; and *Louisa-Anne*, mademoiselle *de Sens*, born in 1695. 3. *Lewis-Alexander de Bourbon*, count of *Thoulouse*, born 1678, late admiral of *France*. 4. *Frances-Mary de Bourbon*, mademoiselle *de Blois*, born 1681. His majesty's only legitimate brother was *Philip*, duke of *Orleans*, first married to *Henrietta-Maria*, daughter to *Charles I.* king of *England*, by whom he had one daughter, married to the duke of *Savoy*; he was afterwards married to *Charlotta-Elizabeth*, daughter to *Charles-Lewis*, elector palatine; by whom he had issue *Philip*, duke of *Chartres*, late duke of *Orleans*, who married *Frances-Mary de Bourbon*, mademoiselle *de Blois*, by whom he had issue the duke of *Orleans*, born anno 1703, and four daughters.

His family
and issue.

THE person of *Lewis XIV.* was agreeable and majestic. He performed his exercises well, and to do him justice, he was by far the most magnificent prince of the age he lived in. His encouragement of learning has passed almost to a proverb; though it is said, that all the expences he bestowed upon men of letters, did not amount to 7000 l. sterling, a year. His complexion was amorous, and had not his mother found means to prevent it, he would have married his first mistress mademoiselle *de Manchini*, cardinal *Mazarine*'s niece. His second mistress was the famous *la Valiere*, who loved him so faithfully, that finding herself rivalled in his affections, she retired to a convent, where she died. The countess *de Montespan*, a celebrated beauty, by whom he had several children, was his third mistress, and was succeeded by mademoiselle *de Fontange*; but madam *Maintenon* was the fair one who had the unrivalled possession of the heart of *Lewis*. She had been bred in *America*, and, after various adventures, she was married to *Scarron*, the famous *French* wit, by whom she was left a widow. About that time, madam *Montespan* made use of madam *Scarron*'s pen in writing to the king; and he found her billets so delicately composed, that he desired to see the author, and her conversation confirmed him her slave. She was then past her bloom, but her judgment, address, and manners, so entirely won the heart of *Lewis*, that he married her secretly; and it was owing merely to her own moderation, that he did not publicly own her as his queen. She had, during

a ing the latter end of his reign, almost the sole management of public affairs, but never had any children by *Lewis*.

Louis XV. the present king of *France*, was but six years of age at the time of his accession to the throne, on the first of *September 1715*. *Lewis XIV.* had appointed a council of regency, consisting of the duke of *Orleans*, the duke of *Bourbon*, the duke of *Maine*, the count de *Thoulouse*, the chancellor, the president of the royal council, the marshals *Villars*, *Uxelles*, *Tallard*, and *Harcourt*, the four secretaries of state, and the comptroller-general of the finances. By the same will, he ordered the duke de *Maine* to have the guardianship of his majesty, and marshal *Villeroy* to act as his sub governor; but the duke de *Maine*'s powers were so great in the council of regency, that the duke of

Accession of
Louis XV.

b *Orleans*, who was a man of far superior talents, considered himself as no better than a cypher in the government, and resolved to set him aside. For this purpose, he applied to the parliament of *Paris*, whom he promised to restore to all their antient privileges, and claimed, in right of his birth, the regency of the kingdom. The parliament agreed to this request; the will of *Louis XIV.* was set aside, and the duke of *Orleans*, the next heir to the crown, was declared sole regent. It is thought that the crown of *France*, at that time, was in debt about three hundred millions sterling. Amongst the first measures of

Arbitrary proceedings of the
regent.

c the duke's regency, he published an edict, by which the value of louis d'ors was fixed at fourteen livres, the crown-piece at three livres ten sols, and the other specie in proportion. He then called in the louis d'or at sixteen livres, as a bait to the people; but he soon after published another edict, by which the crown got possession of a fifth of all the money in the kingdom, by obliging the public to receive the louis d'ors at twenty livres each, and other specie proportionably, upon their being issued out of the mint. For this arbitrary proceeding he apologized by the necessity he was under to diminish the debts of the crown; and this, for some days, kept the people quiet. But the merchants and tradesmen of all kinds, especially foreigners, paid no regard to the edict, and raised the prices of their commodities according to the nominal rise of the coin; so that a louis d'or of twenty livres could purchase no more goods than one of fourteen livres, which was the intrinsic value, had done before. To make the people some amends for this disagreeable proceeding, the regent established a court, which he called *Chambre Ardent*, by which he

d obliged those who had been concerned in the management of the public revenues during the late war, and who had been guilty of most terrible extortions, to refund large sums.

The regent was conscious, not only that those proceedings were very unpopular, but that a great part of the kingdom considered his title to be extremely questionable and unpopular; and to secure himself, he cultivated an intimate friendship with *George I.* of *Great Britain*, who had mutual reasons for accepting of his alliance. The earl of *Stair* was still minister at the *French* court, and the Pretender to the crown of *Great Britain* having failed to support the rebellion that had been raised in his name in *Scotland*, his lordship presented several very warm memorials upon the encouragement and assistance he had received from *France*. The regent knew how disagreeable it would be to the *French* nobility and nation, if he should openly employ force against a cause which their late king had so much at heart. He therefore contented himself with sending to the court of *Great Britain* private information of all the proceedings of the Pretender and his adherents in *France*, and winked at a few supplies sent to *Scotland*, which he knew could do no service to their cause.

e The disputes between the Jesuits and Jansenists having made a great noise in *France*, even to the threatening to kindle up a civil war, it is proper we should give some account of them here. A doctor of *Louvain*, (*Jansenius*) afterwards bishop of *Ipres*, having published a book concerning *St. Augustine*'s doctrine of grace and free-will, he was answered by a Jesuit; and at last the matter was carried before the pope, who condemned five propositions in the bishop's book. His followers, who are called Jansenists, denied the propositions condemned were deducible from the book, and some of them went so far as to say they were not heterodox; and that the pope, though an infallible judge of doctrines, was not a judge of facts. The Jesuits maintained he was judge of both. The pope, *Clement XI.* would gladly have compromised the dispute, by waving his right to judge of facts; but the Jansenists aimed at destroying the Jesuits, whom they accused as being the corrupters of all piety, virtue, and morals. The Jesuits, on the other hand, upbraided the Jansenists with being Quietists, or Molinists, and influenced entirely by temporal considerations. In this state of the question, father *Quefnel*, of the *Oratory*, wrote a book called, "Moral Reflections on the New Testament," and levelled at the Jesuits. This

Religious affairs of
France.

f book was approved of by cardinal de *Noailles*, archbishop of *Paris*, and several of the bishops; but the reading of it was forbid by other prelates. Upon this, the controversy was carried before the king, who being unable to reconcile the dispute, referred it to the pope, who condemned the book, as containing an hundred-and-one heretical propositions.

The bull of this condemnation beginning with the word *Unigenitus*, it was afterwards called the bull *Unigenitus*. Many of the clergy, and some of the parliaments of *France*, refusing to accept of this bull, appealed to a general council; but the Jesuits having an entire ascendancy over *Lewis XIV.* he enforced the observance of the bull, and banished some of the most forward of the appellants. His death put a stop to the dispute for some time.

On the accession of the duke of *Orleans* to the regency, it was revived with so much fury, that he published an edict, setting at liberty all who were imprisoned on account of the bull *Unigenitus*, and recalling those who had been exiled; but, at the same time, he enjoined the recusant bishops to accept of it with certain modifications. But while the persecution of the Jansenists ceased for a while by this interposition, that of the Protestants still went on. Though the regent could not be said to be of any religion, he was too great a politician to give offence to so powerful a body as the clergy of *France*, by shewing any indulgence to the Reformed; and all that even the importunity of *George I.* could obtain from him was, the release of three or four score protestants, who had been condemned to the galleys merely on account of their religion. The next point of great consequence that fell under the cognizance of the regent, was a petition of the princes of the house of *Bourbon*, born in wedlock, against an edict of the late king, by which his spurious issue, the duke de *Maine* and the count de *Thoulouse*, were not only legitimated, but put upon the same footing with the other princes of the blood, and even declared capable of succeeding to the crown. This, it must be acknowledged, was an illegal arbitrary act, and the effect of royal dotage; but the edict had been formally registered in parliament, and received even by the parties who now petitioned against it. The legitimate princes could not deny those facts; but they said, that neither they nor the parliament were free under the late king, whose act was invalid in its nature, as he could not destroy the fundamental constitution of the kingdom by transferring the succession to foreigners, or illegitimate issue. The duke de *Maine* and the count de *Thoulouse* requested, that the matter might stand as it was till his majesty should be of age; but the regent thought proper to annul the edict and declaration which had passed in their favour, and they were forbidden for the future to assume the title of princes of the blood, by an edict published in *July 1717*.

The czar visits Paris.

THAT same summer, the czar *Peter the Great*, of *Russia*, visited *Paris*, where he was entertained with surprizing politeness. The famous project of the *Mississippi* company was then on foot. It was calculated to discharge the prodigious debt that had been contracted during the late war, and fifty millions of livres was the capital sum which was to carry on a trade in *Florida*, *Louisiana*, and the other countries on the borders of that river; the shares to be purchased with state-bills. The scheme was so plausible, that thirty millions were immediately subscribed. It would be too tedious to recount the various other expedients which the regent had recourse to for robbing the people of their money. At last, having partly by plausible means, and partly by force, got into his hands almost the whole specie of the kingdom, it was re-coined, and the louis d'or was raised to thirty-six livres, at which rate all who had state bills in their hands were obliged to take them. Nay, they were forced under penalties to carry their old specie to the mint; by all which oppressive measures it was thought, upon a moderate computation, that the people were cheated at once of two hundred millions of livres. The parliament struggled long against those iniquitous proceedings, but all was in vain. The regent was resolved to be obeyed; and to secure himself against the public indignation, he formed more strict connections than ever with the court of *Great Britain*, by giving the Pretender and his adherents a perpetual exclusion from *France*, and guarantying the Protestant succession in *Great Britain*, his *Britannic* majesty undertaking a reciprocal guaranty in favour of the house of *Orleans*.

THE discontents which the regent's conduct occasioned in *France*, encouraged the court of *Madrid* to form the schemes which we have fully given an account of in the history of *Spain*; therefore we shall not repeat them, but proceed to the internal affairs of *France*. It is certain, that at this time, the *French* in general were well disposed to have admitted his Catholic majesty to the regency instead of the duke of *Orleans*; but the latter, besides the support of *England*, had upon his side the army, which disappointed all their efforts. The duke de *Richelieu* and some other noblemen were taken into custody on suspicion of favouring the *Spanish* interest, and some men of quality were executed in *Brittany* on the same account; while the great blow given to the *Spanish* marine by Sir *George Byng*, delivered the regent from all apprehensions on that quarter. This emboldened him to proceed in his arbitrary schemes of fleecing the people, and he met with a proper tool for that purpose in the person of *John Law*, a *Scotsman*, a projector and a professed gamester. This person had formed a scheme for establishing a bank, which the regent liked so well, that

- a that after agreeing to it, he ordered it to be continued under the royal name and authority; and the king having purchased all the actions or shares in it, became its sole proprietor; and from the first of *January* 1719, it was declared to be a royal bank. The parliament of *Paris* refused to register this declaration, foreseeing that the bank-bills, in a short time, would be of as little value as the state-bills. The opposition made by the parliament was ineffectual, and an arret was published, enjoining all men to look upon the declaration as registered in parliament, though it had been rejected. Offices were erected in all the great towns of the kingdom for paying and delivering bank-bills, and in *April* 1719, the stock of the bank, through the regularity of its payments, was encreased to an hundred millions of livres. and progress
- b THE establishment of this royal bank was but one part of the mighty plan that had been formed by *Law*. He undertook the improvement of the *Mississippi* scheme; and it must be acknowledged that there was something great in all his proposals, setting aside the intention. Before the end of the year 1719, the circulation of the royal bank amounted to a thousand millions of livres, which sum is above thirty-eight millions of pounds sterling; a circulation exceeding that of all the other banks of *Europe*. While the *French* were thus enjoying their imaginary wealth in the midst of beggary, Mr. *Law* persuaded the regent to transfer all the privileges of the *East-India* company to that of the *Mississippi*. As the last-mentioned company had received for the purchase of their shares state-bills without any discount, their original subscription was soon filled, and by adding subscriptions to subscriptions, the whole ran up to two hundred millions; and in *August* 1719, every share of an hundred livres was sold for nine hundred. The treasurer of the royal bank was ordered to deliver to the company twenty-five millions of livres for carrying on the trade to *Loisiana*. In short, without entering into the particulars of a scheme which very few of our readers can be supposed to understand, such was the madness of the *French* nation at this time, that the actions rose at last to 2050; and the total, when calculated at that rate, amounted in *November*, and part of *December* following, to 228 millions sterling. In *December* an arret was published, by which no tender but what was made in bank-bills should be accepted of in payment, and those bills at last encreased to a million of millions. It now came to be suspected, that all the management of the government tended towards
- c getting the whole specie of the kingdom into their own hands, and to pay their debts with paper, the value of which was in their own breasts.
- d In *January* 1720, Mr. *Law* was made comptroller of the finances, and was by many looked upon as the greatest subject in *Europe*. Some of the great men in *France* having made immense sums by the *India* stock, sent their money out of the kingdom to purchase jewels, foreseeing what would happen. This coming to the knowledge of the government, an arret was published, prohibiting, under severe penalties, either the wear or importation of diamonds, pearls, or precious stones. Notwithstanding all these oppressive measures, the regent, and the comptroller of his finances, being sensible that a great deal of money was still concealed, published another arret, permitting the merchants and others
- e to export specie for the purchase of merchandize. This, in a few days, occasioned abundance of money to circulate; upon which, another arret was published to lower the value of gold and silver-money, and to oblige the proprietors, on pain of forfeiture, to bring it into the mint, where it was to be exchanged for bank-notes. This severity not being found quite successful, a most unheard-of arbitrary power was given the *India* company, to enter all houses in the kingdom, civil and religious, not excepting the royal palaces, and to search them for concealed money. Those, and many other tyrannical acts of power, rendered the people of *France* at once slaves and beggars. As the former edicts respected only ready money, many foreigners and others, who had great hoards of it, had converted it into plate; and it was found, by an account taken from the books of the silversmiths at
- f *Paris*, that, in three months time, they had made an hundred and twenty thousand dozen of plates, besides dishes, the value of which was computed at seven millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling; supposing each plate at an average to be worth five pound sterling. This produced another arret, prohibiting the making of any gold plate above an ounce weight; and the quantity of silver plate was reduced to the necessary uses of the table, beyond which it was penal to make any beyond the king's permission. After this, arrets upon arrets were issued for obliging the people to accept of a paper security for money, till the people, tame as they were, and bridled by a numerous army, were upon the point of rising as one man against the government.
- THIS obliged the regent, by the end of *May* 1720, to repeal some of his most unpopular edicts, and the people were obliged to become creditors to one another, instead of the government being a debtor to them; so that *France* wore a general face of ruin, by fifteen hundred millions of livres being transferred from them to the king. The regent, at last, was obliged to dismiss Mr. *Law* from all his employments, and to assign him a guard to
- which is attended with great ruin
- to the French.
- protect

protect him from the fury of the people; and he left the kingdom, but with no very considerable addition to his private fortune. As it would have been impossible for the projectors of the above iniquitous schemes to have carried them into execution without amusing the people with a shew of somewhat real, no fewer than an hundred ships were built, or taken into the pay of the *Mississippi* company. But this deception served only to encrease the public expence, as no settlement was seriously attempted to be made, and no new channel of commerce opened. In a short time, the *Indian Mississippi* company was actually dissolved, and the trade to the *East-Indies* and *America* was put upon its former footing. People, to this day, are divided in opinions concerning *Law's* schemes. The common voice is, that they were chimerical, and calculated only to answer the regent's purposes, by impoverishing the people of *France*, who hated him. Some, who pretend to have better judgment, think that they were formed upon two maxims of commerce and policy, and that their miscarriage was owing to the impatience of the people of *France*, which did not suffer them to wait for the result of them. The arguments of the latter might have some weight, were they able to prove that the trade of the *Mississippi* ever could have been rendered so considerable as to have indemnified the sufferers by realizing their subscriptions.

Plague at
Marseilles.

BESIDES the above artificial calamity, a natural one was, at this time, heavy upon the people of *France*, and no nation in *Europe* could have recovered so soon as she did from both. A ship arriving at *Marseilles* from *Sidon*, brought in it the plague, of which some porters employed in unloading it, died; but the magistrates of the city gave out that it was only a malignant fever, and trade went on as formerly, by which the pestilence communicated itself to all the southern provinces of the kingdom; and it was computed that in the city of *Marseilles* itself, no fewer than 40,000 people died during the month of *September*. Great precautions were taken by the *French* government, by drawing lines of circumvallation, establishing patrols, and enforcing even capital severities, to prevent the infection from spreading, and at last it ceased; but not till after having occasioned inexpressible devastations.

The parliament
opposes the
regent,

It is recorded to the honour of the parliament of *Paris*, that the members opposed all the tyrannical proceedings of the regent, and refused to register the pernicious edicts he issued; upon which he quartered 45,000 troops in that capital and its neighbourhood. Even this force being thought insufficient to bridle the people, the parliament had the additional glory of being banished to *Pontoise*, where they remained, for some time, in a state of exile. Amidst so many unpopular acts the regent pursued, one which a little softened the public resentment, was that of establishing a court, by which he obliged those who had enriched themselves during the late *Mississippi* project, to refund immense sums; a measure which gained him vast profit and some popularity. Having some reason to believe that many of the nobility of *France*, though not in the *Spanish* interest, were in that of their country, and consequently wished that their king was removed out of his hands, he discharged the duke *de Villeroy*, whom he considered as being of that number, from his post of governor to the king, and substituted the duke *de Charost* in his room. The charge against *Villeroy* was his having suggested some things to his majesty to the disadvantage of his royal highness, his aiming at being independent, and his refusing to leave the room when the regent wanted to speak with his majesty.

who dies, and
is succeeded by
the duke of
Bourbon.

It is remarkable, notwithstanding the distresses of the people of *France* at this time, that the court never appeared in greater splendor. We have already mentioned at length the marriage of his Most Christian majesty to the infanta of *Spain*, and the other royal marriage concluded at the same time; together with the short war between the two crowns that preceded them, and the intrigues of cardinal *Alberoni*. Cardinal *du Bois*, a monster of irreligion and immorality, was declared by the regent first minister of *France*; and in the year 1723, the king was crowned at *Rheims*, and next spring he was declared by the parliament to be of age. On the 10th of *August*, *Du Bois* died, and the regent thought it most safe to act as first minister himself; but he died the second of *December* following. He was succeeded as first minister by the duke of *Bourbon*, who was a wise moderate man, and restored *Villeroy* to court; for though the king was declared to be of age, he was, in fact, still considered as a minor, and was as much under tutelage as before. The incidents that brought on the congress of *Cambray*, have been related in the history of *Spain*, as have been most of the particulars relating to *France* at this juncture, as to the part she acted in the affairs of *Europe*. The foreign trade of *France* being, at this time, low, the duke of *Bourbon* reduced the louis-d'or from twenty-seven livres to twenty-four. This created vast losses to tradesmen and manufacturers of all kinds; and the profligacy of the city of *Paris* was such, that the most audacious robberies and murders were every hour committed, and a general insurrection apprehended, so that the government ordered some bodies of regular troops to march into the capital. Those public calamities did not

a allay the bitterness of the clergy against one another, concerning the bull *Unigenitus*, nor the persecution of the Protestants, the only point in which those holy men were agreed. The king, to oblige his clergy, published many cruel edicts against them; and in one of them he is made to say, that he was determined to pursue the glorious example laid down by his great-grandfather, of extirpating heresy out of his kingdom.

b THE court, by this time, was determined to force the *French* clergy to accept of the bull *Unigenitus*; and the bishop of *Montpelier* was severely punished for refusing it. Notwithstanding all the miseries the *French* suffered, their love for the young king kept them quiet; but all ranks and degrees of people lamented the youth, or rather infancy, of his queen, and wished to see him married to a princess by whom he could have issue; upon which he sent her back; and the king declared his intention to take to wife *Mary Leczinski*, the daughter of king *Stanislaus*. This match had been pitched upon for him by the duke of *Bourbon*, preferable to far more powerful alliances, because he thought that interest, as well as gratitude, would always induce the young queen to befriend him and his family. It is certain, the duke could not have made a better choice for the good of *France*. She was unconnected with the great powers of *Europe*, and therefore brought no foreign interests to the king's bed, that could create cabals and intrigues in his court; and, above all, she was distinguished for her piety, virtue, and good disposition. The *Vienno* and *Hanover* alliances, which succeeded this marriage, have been already mentioned and explained.

c THE lead which the court of *France* took, at this time, in all the affairs of *Europe*, and the subsidies it paid to the *Italian*, *German*, and Northern powers, obliged his majesty to encrease the taxes upon his people; and in the preamble to one of the declarations published for that purpose, it is said, that the king, within the compass of seven years, viz. from 1716 to 1723, by raising the value of the coin, and new stamping it, had gained upwards of three hundred and fifty-three millions of livres; and in the years 1719 and 1720, by the royal bank-notes which had been issued by the government, and never paid, above three millions of millions; and that notwithstanding these prodigious profits, the crown was still so far in debt, that it paid fifty-one millions of livres annually for interest-money, though that interest was but two *per cent*. When those, and several other edicts of the like import, were carried on the 8th of *June* 1725, to the parliament of *Paris*, they required time to deliberate upon them, as they were not only of great weight, but considerable length. This was a favour that could not be granted, and the members were obliged to comply with the king's positive command that they should be immediately registered. All, therefore, that the parliaments, all over the kingdom, could do, was to lay before the throne the most pathetic remonstrances concerning the miseries of the people, who were then actually in a state of famine; but those which came from the parliament of *Brittany* were the most spirited and the best drawn.

Hardships of the people continue,

e EVEN the terrors of the numerous army could not prevent the populace in some places from committing acts of violence, particularly in *Paris* and *Rouen*; bread being then at the exorbitant price of eight-pence and ten-pence a-pound, and other provisions proportionably dear. All this while, the religious persecutions, particularly on account of the bull *Unigenitus*, continued to rage; the court being resolved to enforce the acceptance of it all over the kingdom. The *Carthusian* friars, who refused to accept it, fled to *Holland* for protection. Great numbers of other ecclesiastics were imprisoned, banished, or deprived, for the same cause; and, among other sufferers, was the abbess *de Chelles*, daughter to the late duke of *Orleans*; but, far from complying, she declared, that she thought it meritorious to share in the persecution with so many holy men. In the year 1726, for the causes mentioned in the history of *Spain*, his Most Christian majesty augmented his army, dismissed the duke of *Bourbon* from his post of first minister, and took the whole of the government into his own hands. This removal was thought to be occasioned by the interest of the *Spanish* party, who could never forgive the duke's sending back the infanta to *Spain*; and it is said, that he had somewhat in his manner that was disagreeable to the king. Soon after, cardinal *Fleury* appeared upon the stage of state as first minister. He had been preceptor to the king, and by his smooth insinuating address, he had obtained a complete ascendancy over that monarch's mind and affections. He had not even the learning that was requisite for his profession as a priest, but his decent, and seemingly open, behaviour, begot in the public an opinion both of his abilities and virtue; the first of which he did not deserve, and the latter was at best equivocal. He had good sense enough to know the influence he had with his royal pupil; that his own genius rendered him to be a far more fit minister in time of peace than war; and he had the art to persuade all the foreign ministers by turns, that he was equally a friend to the interests of them all. With all this shew of moderation, it is certain that he was in his heart a violent bigot in matters of religion; and one of the first measures of his administration was,

and they are driven to mutiny.

Character of cardinal Fleury.

to

to prevail upon the king to publish a declaration, by which he required the bull *Unigenitus* to be received through all his dominions, and equally binding upon laity as clergy. We have already, in the history of *Spain*, discussed the transactions which gave rise to the unnatural alliance between *France* and *Great Britain*, and which preceded the congress of *Cambray* and *Soissons*.

Congress of
Cambray and
Soissons.

THE cardinal never appeared with so much lustre as he did in those places, which were of his own nomination, and so near to his master's person, that he was in no danger of leaving him too long in the hands, or under the influence, of other ministers. On the 17th of *August* 1727, *Te Deum* was sung at *Paris* for the birth of the two princesses, which was a prodigious disappointment to the people of *France*; and the king himself, in the letter he wrote to the archbishop of *Paris* on that occasion, ordered him to put up prayers that he might be blessed with a dauphin. On the 28th of *July*, next year, the hopes of the *French* were again disappointed by her majesty being brought to bed of another princess; upon which she underwent a solemn, but ridiculous procession to the church of *Notre Dame*, to pray that she might be impregnated with a dauphin. A few days after this, the king was taken ill of the small-pox, but recovered so well, that he appeared abroad about the beginning of *November*. The winter this year was so excessively severe, that the king was not only obliged to remit to the poor great part of his taille or land tax, but to issue large sums for their relief; in which he was imitated by his chief nobility.

Religious dis-
putes.

AMIDST those natural calamities, religious rage seemed to gather strength in *France*, and the divisions between the Jansenists and Jesuits rose higher than ever. It was, for some time, hard to say which of the two parties, as ecclesiastics, were the most solicitous for proselytes; but the parliaments, and the lay-tribunals in general, were on the side of the Jansenists, chiefly because they were in opposition to the pope. The Jesuits, however, were allowed to be the greatest proficient in the art of making converts, especially among the women, whom they often worked up into enthusiasm, to accomplish their infamous purposes, carnal as well as religious. All this while the *French* ministry, taking advantage of the heats and divisions that reigned in the *British* parliament, were employed in fortifying and repairing the harbour of *Dunkirk*, in violation of the most solemn engagements, particularly of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The death of *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, in 1733, drove the cardinal from his pacific system. He could not, with safety to himself, refuse to join in the measures that were concerted for restoring the queen's father to his throne, in opposition to the late king's son, the elector of *Saxony*, who likewise declared himself a candidate, and whose interest was espoused by the emperor, the czarina, and the king of *Prussia*.

Stanislaus
chosen king of
Poland,

THE marquis de *Monte*, the *French* ambassador at *Warsaw*, had the address to bring over the Primate, and the most zealous popish dietines to the interest of *Stanislaus*, who travelled through *Germany* in disguise to *Warsaw*, where he remained for some days concealed in the *French* ambassador's house; and when he appeared in public, was received with great acclamations of joy. The *Russian* troops, by this time, advancing rapidly towards *Warsaw*, and the primate thinking that no time ought to be lost, declared, after collecting the votes of the electors, that *Stanislaus* was duly elected king. All the palatines who were in the *Saxon* interest, protested against this election, and withdrew from the diet. In the mean while, the emperor of *Germany* having assembled an army in *Silesia*, the duke of *Berwick*, the best general in *France*, had orders to assemble another on the *Rhine*, and to march into *Germany* as soon as the Imperialists should proceed towards *Poland*. But the danger of *Stanislaus* did not lie in that quarter. *Lacy*, the *Russian* general, had entered *Poland* at the head of 50,000 men, and being joined by the *Poles* in the *Saxon* interest, after proclaiming *Augustus* king, they passed the *Vistula*, on their march to *Warsaw*. *Stanislaus* was in no condition to oppose such a force, which soon became masters of *Warsaw*, while he, with the primate and a few friends, retired towards *Dantzick*. Those proceedings produced a treaty between *France* and *Spain*, and the king of *Sardinia*; and the duke of *Berwick* passing the *Rhine*, took fort *Kehl*, and put an end to the campaign that year, for the duke of *Berwick* returned immediately to *Paris*.

but loses that
crown.

FROM the conduct of the *French* court during the late campaign, it is very doubtful, whether his most Christian majesty and his ministers ever were sincere in their professions to assist *Stanislaus*; and there is reason to believe, from the event, that they never were. His most Christian majesty, however, next year declared, that he would put himself at the head of his army; but, in the mean time, he suffered *Dantzick* to fall into the hands of the *Russians* and *Saxons*, from whence his father-in-law escaped in the habit of a peasant, after suffering as much misery as human nature is capable of enduring. On the *Rhine*, the *French*, under the count, afterwards the famous duke de *Belleisle*, took *Traerbach*, and the duke of *Berwick* invested *Philipsburgh* with 60,000 men, but was killed by a cannon-ball in visiting the trenches. His command devolved upon the marquis d'*Asfeldt*; while prince *Eugene*, who commanded the Imperialists, was so ill supported by his court, that he

was obliged to remain inactive in a fortified camp at *Heilbron*. The reader, in other parts of this history, has been acquainted with the other operations of the *French* at this time: in different parts of *Europe*. Their army occupied both sides of the *Rhine*, without any molestation from the Imperialists, prince *Eugene* not daring to attack them; and the campaign ended about the beginning of *October*.

In the winter of this year, *Great Britain* was insulted by one of the most extraordinary ordinances that ever was published, commanding all the *British* subjects in *France*, who were not in employ, instantly to depart out of that kingdom on pain of being sent to the galleys. This ordinance was so rigorously carried into execution, that, in a few days, the prisons of *Paris* were filled with *British* subjects, who found themselves without remedy or relief. The earl of *Waldegrave*, the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, exerted himself to strenuously against this unheard of proscription, that he obtained an explanation of the ordinance, confining it to vagabonds, who had no visible way of living, without affecting noblemen and gentlemen who were on their travels, or any persons of fortune, or their servants. The *French* court being now masters upon the *Rhine*, beheld with the greatest indifference the ruin of the party of *Stanislaus* in *Poland*; but, upon the czarina ordering 30,000 men to march to the assistance of the emperor, their ministers offered to enter upon a negotiation for restoring peace to *Germany*. Preliminaries, by a peculiar management of the *French*, were concluded between them and the Imperialists, without the privacy or intervention of an ally on either side. By them, which were afterwards carried into a treaty, the duke of *Lorraine* was to have the reversion of *Tuscany*, and, in that event, *Lorraine* was to be given to *Stanislaus*; but, upon his death, was to be annexed for ever to the crown of *France*, which was to restore to the emperor all the conquests it had made in *Germany*, and to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction. The remaining parts of this treaty have been mentioned in other parts of this history; neither shall we recapitulate circumstances already set down, or which fall more properly under other heads of this history.

A peace between France and Germany.

THE death of the emperor *Charles VI.* afforded a new theatre for the ambition of the *French*, who most perfidiously broke their lately-concluded guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and declared their intention to place on the Imperial throne the elector of *Bavaria*, who was neither able nor willing to withstand their power. Notwithstanding this, the *French* minister was making the strongest professions to the queen of *Hungary*, while the count *de Belleisle* undertook, being furnished with vast sums underhand, to procure the votes of the electors in favour of the duke of *Bavaria*, who was declared generalissimo of 25 000 *French* troops, who were to put him in possession of the *Austrian* dominions in *Germany*: to the history of which we must refer the reader for the transactions which followed. It was with the utmost grief that old cardinal *Fleury* saw *France* plunged into a war by the superior genius of *Belleisle*; but the spirit of the nation was not to be checked, and the king himself was obliged to give way to it, especially as he found his parliaments extremely unmanageable. It is certain, that the elevation of the elector of *Bavaria* to the Imperial throne was owing, in a great measure, to the predilection of his *Britannic* majesty for his *German* dominions, which induced him to embrace a neutrality. When the *French* in a manner forced him from that neutrality, and when he defeated them at the battle of *Dettingen*, the same influence operated in their favour when orders were given to stop the pursuir, by which the *French* army under *Noailles* was saved from immediate and total destruction.

Death of the emperor Charles VI.

and its consequences.

THE religious heats of *France* now communicated themselves from the church to the state. The parliaments, particularly that of *Paris*, began now to have a relish for civil liberty, and to talk to their king in a manner very different from what they had ever used before. The severities practised by the friends of the constitution *Unigenitus*, in persecuting all who would not receive that bull, particularly an order of nuns called the *Calvarists*, induced them to entreat his majesty to permit them to make remonstrances to the pope's brief against them; but he forbade them with an air of authority that required absolute obedience to his will. In all other cases and grievances, too numerous to be here mentioned, he told them, that their remonstrances were useless; that he took it ill his parliament should meddle with the rights of his kingdom, and that they concerned himself alone; and made use of many such arbitrary expressions. In the year 1741, he published a declaration for raising the tenth penny, which it was thought would produce four millions a year. The parliament made a strong remonstrance against this imposition, and the president even shed tears when he represented the miseries of the people. The king's answer was more mild than usual; but they were obliged to obey him by registering it. A free-gift of about 120,000 l. was at the same time demanded of the clergy, and the order of knights of *Malta* were required to compound once a-year for their revenues in *France*.

Disputes between the French king and parliament.

Those impositions were occasioned, in a great measure, by the war between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, which prevented the galleons, upon whom the government greatly depended for their supplies, from returning to *Europe*. The unfortunate issue of the arms of *France* in *Germany* encreased her distresses so much, that in 1742 her king was obliged to extend the tenth penny to handicrafts and manufacturers, which occasioned an insurrection at *Lyons*; and it was thought that a civil war would follow.

The French
befriend the
Spaniards a-
gainst Great
Britain;

IN proportion as the *Spaniards* were distressed by the *British* arms, the expences of the court of *France* grew. They could not see with unconcern the progress of the *English* in *America*, and this hurried them to take part in that war, especially after the death of cardinal *Fleury*. It is certain, at this time, not only their court, but their people, were in a miserable situation; but the amazing resources which *France* has within itself, and the love which the people have for the greatness of their monarch, carried their court thro' all difficulties at home, however unsuccessful their arms proved abroad. They had been driven with prodigious loss out of *Germany*; their intrigues had been unsuccessful; they had been deserted by some of their allies, and they paid immense subsidies to others; but still their preparations went on, and in the beginning of the year 1744, being then determined to join with *Spain* against *Great Britain*, they had a prodigious fleet at sea, and their armies in *Flanders*, on the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*, consisted of 230,000 men. It was about this time that they formed the scheme, which was then thought ridiculous, but afterwards proved but too serious, of placing the Pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*. They were encouraged to this by the great army which his *Britannic* majesty at that time was obliged to employ upon the continent, by the reports made by the *British* and *Irish* Roman Catholics in *France* of the small number of regular troops who were then in *Britain*; but, above all, by the representations which their emissaries in *London* sent them concerning the disaffection of the nation to the house of *Hanover*, ever since the battle of *Dettingen*, and the prodigious heats and dissensions then prevailing in the *British* parliament.

and send the
young Preten-
der to invade
Great Bri-
tain.

SUCH were the motives that induced the court of *France* to revive their long-disused policy of making the abdicated house of *Stuart* their tools in their differences with *Great Britain*. Cardinal *Tencin*, who owed his hat to the old Pretender, had succeeded to great part of *Fleury's* power in the cabinet, and warmly espoused the revived system, to which he brought the king over. He entered into a correspondence with the old Pretender at *Rome*, who, unable himself to embark in such an expedition, was persuaded, but it is said against his better judgment, to lend (for so we may call it) his eldest son, *Charles*, to the *French*; and about the end of *December* 1743, the youth set out, in the disguise of a *Spanish* courier, from *Rome*. Being furnished with passports by cardinal *Aquaviva*, he went through *Tuscany* to *Genoa*, and proceeding to *Savona*, he took shipping at *Antibes*; and arriving at *Paris*, he had a private audience of the *French* king, at which, we may suppose, the future operations were concerted. All this was not so privately done, but intelligence of what was passing came to the knowledge of Mr. *Thomson*, the *British* resident at *Paris*, who presented strong remonstrances on so glaring an infraction of treaties as the receiving into *France* the son of the Pretender to the crown of *Great Britain*, who was, by this time, set out for *Picardy*. The *French* had gone too far to pretend to dissemble then. They were scarcely at pains to disavow their intention of declaring war against *Great Britain*.

THE court of *Versailles* was so wrapt up in the success of this expedition, that the command of it was given to count *Saxe* and *Monf. de Roquefeuille*, the two best officers the *French* had, the one by land, and the other by sea. The land-troops who were to serve in it were said to consist of 15,000 men, and a vast number of transports were assembled at *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, and *Boulogne*. Their intention was to land in *Kent*, and to have attempted to take *Dover-Castle* by an escalade. *Roquefeuille*, above all things, was enjoined to prevent the junction of the *English* squadrons equipping at *Portsmouth* and *Chatham*; and it was their trusting to the supposed impracticability of such a junction, that rendered them so sanguine in their hopes of success. *Roquefeuille*, when he sailed in the month of *January* from *Brest*, had twenty ships of war, and three or four frigates, under his command. He was, unknown to himself, discovered by an *English* cruizer, who ran into *Plymouth*, and sent an express over land to the *British* admiralty with the news. Sir *John Norris* was immediately sent to take the command of the squadron at *Spithead*, with which he sailed for the *Downs*, where being joined by the *Chatham* ships, his fleet was much superior in strength to that of *Roquefeuille*. The latter had dispatched a frigate to the *Isle of Wight*, who returning, reported that no ships lay at *Spithead* or *St. Helens*, and this made *Roquefeuille* conclude that the *British* squadron had put into *Portsmouth*. While *Roquefeuille* lay off the *Isle of Wight*, which he did for three or four days, he dispatched four of his ships, which were to serve as a convoy for the embarkation of the troops that

Their fleet
driven back.

was

a was going on at *Dunkirk*, where he himself was in danger of losing his fleet by the stormy weather. Having repaired his ships, he anchored at *Dungeness*, in full persuasion that the *English* Squadron durst not put to sea to fight him.

On the 10th of *March*, *Roquefeuille* perceived the *English* fleet, which at first he took for merchantmen, advancing against him with all the expedition a contrary wind would admit of; but the tide failing, they were obliged to cast an anchor two leagues short of the *French*. *Roquefeuille* knew his own inferiority too well to think of fighting, and calling a council of war, it was resolved to make the best of their way back to *Brest*, without firing a gun, or observing any order of battle; which resolution was signed by all the members present. As the *French* were, as it were, hemmed in a bay, even this resolution might not have saved them, had not a strong gale of wind sprung up from the north-east, which carried them down the Channel with such rapidity, that the *English* next morning were astonished at their having totally disappeared. But the storm that favoured their escape proved fatal to their expedition, for many of their transports which had put to sea were dashed to pieces, and most, if not all the others were rendered unfit for immediate service. This unsuccessful attempt was followed by a declaration of war from the court of *France* against *Great Britain*, dated *March* the 15th, and another declaration of war against the queen of *Hungary*, whom the *French* had hitherto opposed only as auxiliaries to the emperor *Charles VII.* By the first declaration, the *French* king charged his *Britannic* majesty, whom he affected to call king of *England*, elector of *Hanover*, with want of moderation, and with having views very inconsistent with the interests of *England*, aiming at nothing less than the kindling a general war, to which he excited the court of *Vienna*. His majesty is farther accused of having thrown off all the appearances of moderation which he wore while he was in *Germany*, upon his return to his regal dominions, and of having not only taken all opportunities of provoking *France* by the piracies exercised against her ships, and by the *English* daring to block up the port of *Toulon*, and committing all kinds of depredations against her subjects, but of exciting all the powers of *Europe* against her. In short, the *French* king declares war against the king of *England*, elector of *Hanover*, by sea and land.

Declarations
of war

between
France,
Great Bri-
tain, and
Austria.

d This declaration created great indignation amongst the *English* and their allies, as it was plain, from the affected appellation given his *Britannic* majesty, the *French* court insinuated that another king of *England* was in being. The declaration against the queen of *Hungary* was a very weak piece. The *French* king, without apologising for his scandalous breach of faith in invading the *Austrian* dominions, and breaking his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, accuses the court of *Vienna* with malice and violence, and its ministers with having propagated infamous writings against *France*; their breaking their capitulations, and cruelly treating the *French* prisoners; charges which were notoriously false. After himself having desolated the *Austrian* dominions, he charges her *Hungarian* majesty with having invaded *Alsace*, and stirred up his subjects to rebellion. On the 31st of *March*, the same year, war was declared against *France* at *London*. This declaration was extremely precise, without admitting any vague matter, and founded on facts. His most Christian majesty was charged with having violated his solemn guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, given by him in the year 1738, in consideration of the cession of *Lorraine*; with having connived at his subjects acting as privateers under *Spanish* commissions, both in *Europe* and *America*; and with sending, in the year 1740, a strong Squadron into the *American* seas, to keep the *English* from prosecuting the war against *Spain* in those parts. A duplicate of an order, dated the 7th of *October* 1740, was mentioned, by which the *French* admiral was instructed not only to act in a hostile manner against the *British* ships either jointly or separately, but to act in concert with the *Spaniards* in attacking one of the chief of the *British* settlements in the *West-Indies*; and this too at the time when the *French* minister at the court of *England* was declaring, that his master had no intention to break with the *British* nation. The unwarrantable proceeding of repairing *Dunkirk*, a notorious breach of treaties; the reception of the Pretender's son; and the late attempt of the *French* to invade *England*, transactions that were publicly avowed and acknowledged by the *French* themselves, were likewise mentioned. As to his *Britannic* majesty's acting another part in *England* than he had done in *Germany*, it was very justly observed in the declaration, that he had contracted his neutrality as elector of *Hanover*, but not as king of *Great Britain*.

g THE *French* court, after this declaration, thought proper to transfer the chief seat of war from *Germany* to *Flanders*, where they had an army of 120,000 men commanded by count *Saxe*. The prospect of glory which the ensuing campaign presented, prevailed on his most Christian majesty himself to review his army in the fields of *Lisse*, which he did in the month of *May*; and notwithstanding the most earnest instances made by the *Dutch* for the preservation of their barrier, on the 17th, count *Saxe*, then a marshal of *France*, seized *Courtray*, *Harlebeck*, and *Warneton*; and the very next day he invested

French cam-
paign in the
Netherlands.

invested *Menin* with 40,000 troops, the allied army being all this while obliged to post themselves behind the *Schelde*. *Menin* surrendered after a brisk siege. In seven days, *Ypres*, *Fort Knoques*, and *Fournes*, were obliged to surrender likewise; and the *French* having taken some measures to hinder any more *English* troops from joining their allies, the *French* king, who was attended by all the ladies of his court, on the 29th day of *June* made a triumphant entry into *Dunkirk*. A sudden irruption of prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, at the head of an *Austrian* army, into *Alsace*, where he thought himself most secure, interrupted the course of the *French* king's conquests in the *Netherlands*. He no sooner heard that prince *Charles* had passed the *Rhine*, than he ordered 30,000 troops from the *Netherlands*, besides a great number of detachments that followed; so that not above 30,000 regulars, besides garrisons, were left with marshal *Saxe* in the *Netherlands*, where the allied army consisted of above 70,000 men. The *Dutch* and the people of *England* flattered themselves that this superiority would not only drive *Saxe* out of the *Netherlands*, but retake all the towns they had lost. *Aremberg* and *Wade*, the *Austrian* and *British* generals, had neither genius nor experience for the chief command of an army that was to act against such a general as marshal *Saxe*, and they had a fixed hatred for one another; and thus the campaign was thrown away by the allies.

Their king
falls sick.

AFTER his most Christian majesty had given orders for the march of his army from the *Netherlands* to the *Rhine*, he resolved to head it in person, that he might give the greater spirit to its operations. He was then in the height of his glory. The sufferings and complaints of his subjects were now forgot, and nothing was heard through all the provinces of *France* but the praises of *Lewis the Well-beloved*. When he was arrived as far as *Metz*, in *Lorraine*, he was seized with a violent fever, and the physicians despaired of his life. Upon this, his queen and family hastened to pay him their last duties; and he appeared so great a penitent that he dismissed all the loose women who attended his person, and was preparing himself seriously for death, when his distemper taking a turn, he recovered, to the infinite joy of the *French* nation. In *August*, his army passing the *Rhine* at *Fort-Louis*, invested and took *Friburg*, one of the strongest and most important fortresses in *Europe*; prince *Charles* having been obliged, for reasons to be met with in the history of *Germany*, to repass that same river. The place made a brave defence for thirty days, and then count *Damnitz*, the governor, made an honourable capitulation. In the mean while, the duke de *Lauragnais* had orders, as ambassador-extraordinary from *France*, to demand the infant of *Spain* for the dauphin; and the marshal *Belleisle*, with his brother the chevalier, were taken prisoner at *Elbingerode* by a *Hanoverian* magistrate, and both of them were sent to *England*. This capture made a great noise; nor was it very easy to justify the conduct of the *English* ministry in denying him, after he came to *England*, the benefit of the cartel, and the privilege of being ransomed as a prisoner of war. The matter, however, was afterwards agreeably compromised, and the two illustrious prisoners were honourably set at liberty. During the winter of the year 1744, the *French* committed most terrible devastations in the bishopric of *Cologne*. When that elector complained of their taking quarters in his dominion, the marshal *Maillebois* sent his aid-de camp to assure him, that they would behave as friends. "That is the very thing I dread, replied the elector; for I have always observed, that the friends of the *French* suffer more from them than their enemies."

Death of the
emperor
Charles VII.

IN the beginning of the year 1745, died the emperor *Charles VII.* chiefly, as was reported, from heart-break, which his son and successor would have resented upon the *French*, had they not had 25,000 men quartered in or near his dominions. The conduct of marshal *Saxe*, in the preceding campaign, procured him the command of the *French* army in *Flanders* immediately under the king, who declared that he was resolved to make the campaign in person; and his ministers gave out, that his army would consist of 120,000 men, with a train of 150 pieces of battering cannon and 60 mortars, and that his army in *Germany* would be proportionably strong. They accordingly took the field early, and with infinite advantages, as the allies had nothing to oppose them, and were consuming their time in ridiculous negotiations and fruitless efforts to awaken the *Dutch* to a sense of their danger. The duke of *Cumberland*, who was to command the allied army in the *Low-Countries*, did not arrive at *Brussels*, where he reviewed his army, before the 10th of *April*; but, by that time, the *French* had besieged *Tournay*. The importance of that place was such, that his royal highness resolved to risk every thing for its relief. The place itself was invested on the 25th of *April*. Its fortifications were constructed by the famous *Vauban*, and the inhabitants were inclined to the *French*; and the *Dutch* highness to risk a battle, rather than suffer the city to be taken. The allied army was far inferior in numbers to that of the *French*. The *Austrians* in it were but eight squadrons, with old *Konigseg* at their head, though the cause in which they were to fight was that of their

a their mistress. The *Dutch* troops consisted of forty squadrons and twenty six battalions, ill disciplined, cowardly, and insincere, under the command of the prince of *Waldeck*; so that, in fact, the only dependence of his royal highness was in twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of *British* forces; nor did his whole army exceed 50,000 fighting men.

b THE *French* army consisted of about 80,000 men, after leaving 18,000 men to continue the siege of *Tournay*, and 6000 to guard the bridges on the *Schelde*. On the 7th of *May*, early in the morning, the king and the dauphin joined it, and reconnoitred the ground which marshal *Saxe* had appointed for the future engagement. On the day of the battle, which was the 11th of *May*, the king and the dauphin passed the bridge of *Calonne*, and the marshal *Saxe* ordered the *gens d'armes*, his majesty's body-guards, to be reserved for the safety of the two royal personages, and, if needful, to secure their retreat. This disposition was countermanded by the king, who instantly ordered his guards to advance, and he himself took post, with no more than 120 men to guard him, beyond a place called *The justice of our Lady in the Wood*. The dispositions made by his royal highness for attacking the *French* were such as did honour to his judgment, and the courage the *English* shewed through the whole of that bloody engagement, did the same to their country; but they were betrayed by the cowardice of the *Dutch*, who failed in their attack upon the village of *Fontenoy*, upon which the event of the day depended. Notwithstanding this, the resolution and intrepidity of the *British* troops, animated by his royal highness, were such, that the *French* king and his son were preparing to repass the bridge, and the whole army to take flight, when the duke de *Richelieu*, or some other *French* general (for it is not agreed who) advised the bringing up four field-pieces, which played directly on the front of the *English* column, and which disordered it so much, that the *French* troops rallied, and obliged his royal highness to leave his enemies in possession of the field, after the *English* had made a much greater slaughter than they suffered.

Battle of Fontenoy.

c THE *French*, upon this victory, pushed the siege of *Tournay*, which they took, and baron *Dorth*, with 7000 men in his garrison, retired to the citadel. All this while, the *French* acted upon the defensive in *Germany*, where nothing of importance followed; but neither their power nor intrigues could prevent the great duke of *Tuscany*, husband to the queen of *Hungary*, from being chosen emperor. As to the operations of the war in *Italy*, the reader will find them in our history of *Spain* and the *Italian* states. The citadel of *Tournay* capitulated on the 20th of *June*, and the *French* gave orders to demolish its fortifications, and those of several other towns of the barrier. After the battle of *Fontenoy*, the allies lay encamped at *Lessines*, from whence they unaccountably retreated, by which the towns of *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Oudenarde*, with many other places, fell into the hands of the *French*, who invested *Dendermonde* and *Ostend*. In short, during the course of this campaign, the *French* king, with unparalleled facility, subdued the greatest part of the *Austrian Netherlands*, and in one day took towns which had cost the great duke of *Marlborough* many weeks to reduce. They were not, however, equally fortunate in all parts of the globe.

The French become masters of the Austrian Netherlands.

e THEY had been at a vast expence in fortifying *Louisburgh*, on the island of *Cape-Breton*, in *North-America*; and the destruction they dealt from thence justly entitled it to the appellation of the *American Dunkirk*. But it was now taken by a *British* squadron under Mr. *Warren*, a body of *New-England* forces, who were no better than militia, and some *British* marine officers, who conducted the operations of the siege. The *French* beheld this important conquest with unconcern, the occasion of which was soon explained. We have already seen the disappointment which the young Pretender met with in his attempt to invade *England*. Upon his return to the *French* court, he found the respect which it paid him decline in proportion as the necessity they had for him decreased. He had cultivated a correspondence with the friends of his father in *Scotland*, and they ignorantly persuaded him that the *English* were ripe for a revolt, and that all *Scotland* would join him if he appeared in that country. He imparted his advices to the *French* ministry, who were well apprized of the public discontents in *England*, and ridiculously supposed that the writers in the opposition to government spoke the sense of the nation. They adopted the plan of an insurrection in *Scotland*, which was then without troops, king *George* being in *Germany*, and the *Highlanders* in general exasperated against him and his family on account of some severe, if not unjust, proceedings of his ministers against their countrymen. In the beginning of *July*, the young adventurer embarked on board a small frigate at *Port St. Lazare*. Off *Belleisle*, on the 14th of the same month, he was joined by the *Elizabeth*, a *French* man of war of sixty-six guns, which maintained a most dreadful engagement with the *Lion*, a *British* ship of war, while the Pretender held on his course, and landed on the coast of *Lochaber* in *Scotland*, where he was joined by about 1500 followers. The

Conquest of Louisburgh.

particulars of his success, farther than as they are connected with the history of France, do not belong to this part of our history. a

Rebellion in
Scotland.

This rebellion unaccountably gathered force, from the security of the *British* ministry, who were weak enough to despise or distrust the accounts of its commencement. The *French* court, it is probable, had it not been for the victories of *Preston* and *Bathurst*, which his less than half-armed *Highlanders* gained over the king's forces, would have taken very little notice of this adventurer; and it is to this day doubtful, whether he set out upon his invasion with the money furnished him by *France*, or by his father and his friends. An obscure *Frenchman* attended him in the character of a minister; but he was employed by that court to send them intelligence, and his success prevailed with them to send him some troops, who landed in *Scotland* during the amazing march which he made into *England*. The vigilance of the *British* cruisers, who intercepted them, prevented more from joining him; and those who did, did him no service, nor (so far as we can learn) did they fire a gun or draw a sword at the decisive battle of *Culloden*, when the duke of *Cumberland*, in 1746, extinguished the rebellion. It is even uncertain, whether the ship which carried off that wanderer, after his defeat, to *France*, was not hired by his own followers there; so little regard had that king and ministry for his person after their own ends were served. Just before the battle of *Culloden*, they indeed sent him 40 or 50,000 louis-d'ors; but they did not land till after his defeat, nor did they ever come to his hands. After the peace of *Mr. de Choiseul*, he taxed the court of *Versailles* for having betrayed him. Their answer was to seize, punish, and imprison him, like a common malefactor, and then to drive him out of their kingdom. b

Campaign in
the Netherlands.

The campaign of 1745, in the *Netherlands*, was undoubtedly glorious for *France*; but her glory was owing to the pusillanimity of the *Dutch* and *German*s. *Brussels* was besieged and taken in the depth of winter; and the barrier which had cost the *English* millions of lives and money, was given up almost without resistance. Count *Saxe*, in the latter end of *April* 1746, at the head of 120,000 men, intimidated *Bathiani*, the general of the allies, so much, that he invested and took *Antwerp* in a manner before his face; and *Mons*, hitherto deemed almost impregnable, surrendered after a siege of twenty-eight days. *St. Guislain* and *Charleroi* were next reduced, and by the middle of *July*, the *French* were in possession of all *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hainault*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, at this time, took the command of the confederate army, which consisted of about 80,000 men. He endeavoured to cover *Brussels*, and count *Lowendahl*, the *French* general, availed himself of that opportunity to take possession of *Huy*, and to cut off the communication of the allies with *Maastricht*; while count *Saxe* deprived them of their subsistence. This obliged prince *Charles* to repass the *Meuse*, by which *Namur*, after a vigorous siege, fell into the hands of the *French*. The allied army now finding their communication with *Maastricht* open, encamped near that place, where they were joined by Sir *John Ligonier*, with some battalions of *British* and *Bavarian*s. Prince *Charles* wanted to force marshal *Saxe* to a battle, and passed the *Meuse*; but finding the *French* too advantageously encamped at *Tongres*, he marched back to *Maastricht*. *Saxe*, being reinforced, attacked and beat the confederates at *Roucoux*, and soon after both armies took up their winter-quarters, the allies in the duchies of *Limburgh* and *Luxemburgh*, and the *French* in their conquests. In the winter, count *Brown*, an *Austrian* general, passed the *Var*, and penetrated into *Provence*, where he besieged *Aix*, being seconded by the *British* squadron; but the *French*, under marshal *Bellisle*, had made such good dispositions, that *Brown* was obliged to repass the *Var* with some loss. A body of *British* troops, under general *Sinclair*, made an attempt upon *Port l'Orient* in *Brittany*, with the like success; but his failure was owing to a most shameful mismanagement. In the mean while, the *British* squadrons remained either inactive in *America*, or carried on only a privateering war, to the advantage of private persons only. In the winter of the year 1746, the duke of *Cumberland* and the States-General concerted the operations of the following campaign, which they intended should be vigorous, if not decisive, as the demands of the *French*, in a congress that was held at *Breda*, were too insolent to be complied with, and the court of *Versailles* had rejected all applications of the *Dutch* for peace. In *February*, his royal highness assembled his army, and took post, with the *English*, *Hanoverians*, and *Hessians*, at the village of *Tilberg*; while the prince of *Waldeck*, with the *Dutch*, encamped at *Breda*, and the marshal *Bathiani*, with the *Germans*, in the neighbourhood of *Venlo*. The *French* king had now created count *Saxe* marshal-general of *France*, and his armies continuing quiet in their cantonments, the allied army had no object to act against. Though it consisted of 120,000 men, it remained inactive, and suffered more by the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provisions, than it could have done by the sword of an enemy. In *April*, *Saxe* took the field, and detached count *Lowendahl* c

Progress of the
French in
Dutch Flan-
ders.

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a *enabl*, with 27,000 men, to invade *Dutch Flanders*, where he took the town and fortrels of *Sluys*, and many other places; some of which were shamefully given up, and others bravely, though ineffectually, defended by *British* troops.

LOWENDABL wanted to pursue his good fortune, and prepared flat-bottom boats for a descent into *Zealand*. This alarmed the common people of *Holland* so much, that, in a fit of despair, they chose the prince of *Orange* their stadtholder, and orders were issued to act offensively against the *French*. The duke of *Cumberland* was then encamped between the two *Niels*, so as to cover both *Maestricht* and *Bergen op-zoom*; and *Saxe* made dispositions for a general engagement, and, at the same time, for besieging *Maestricht*. All this he did in the most masterly manner, and attacked the confederates at the village of *La Feldt*. Here the *French* availed themselves of their superiority; but they must have been entirely defeated, had not the cowardice of the *Dutch*, as usual, left them in possession of the field, by giving them an opportunity of surrounding the duke of *Cumberland*, who owed his deliverance to general Sir *John Ligonier*, at the expence of his own liberty, for he was taken prisoner by a *French* carabineer. After this action, the confederates passed the *Meuse*, and the *French* king, who had joined his army, remained in the neighbourhood of *Torgras*, while marshal *Saxe*, after perplexing the allies by his marches and countermarches, detached count *Lowendabl*, with 36,000 men, to besiege *Bergen op-zoom*, the strongest fortrels of the *Dutch Brabant*. On the 12th of *July*, the *French* summoned the governor to surrender; but this summons being disregarded, a siege followed, which was the most bloody and important of any in the war. After all, the *French* took the place, almost without resistance; and this important conquest procured to *Lowendabl* the rank of a marshal of *France*; after which the *French* king returned in triumph to *Verailles*.

Battle of La Feldt.

In the mean while, the *French* had the glory of assisting and protecting the *Genoise*, in the recovery of their liberty from the tyranny of the *Austrians*; but marshal *Belleisle* and his brother, who was killed, were unfortunate in attempting to penetrate into the king of *Sardinia's* dominions by the pass of *Emilles*; nor was the *French* marine more fortunate in their attempt to retrieve or revenge the losses they had suffered in *America*: and the ruin of their fleet was completed by the admirals *Asfon* and *Warren*; admiral *Hatcke*, about the same time, having destroyed another *French* fleet that was bound for the *West-Indies*. Those disagreeable events rendered the *French* king sufficiently tired of the war. He saw the trade of his people almost annihilated by the *British* fleet and privateers; his finances were exhausted; the *Dutch* were united against him under a stadtholder, and *Germany* under an *Austrian* emperor; while the commerce of *Great Britain*, notwithstanding the war, never had been known to be in so flourishing a condition. His Most Christian majesty having dropt some hints favourable for peace to his prisoner, Sir *John Ligonier*, a negotiation was opened at *Aix-la Chapelle*, while the *French* were investing *Maestricht*, which they took. After some hesitation, and various operations, both in the field and the cabinet, a definitive treaty was concluded on the footing of a general restitution of the conquests made by the *French* during the war. As to the other conditions in this treaty, the reader may find them in the preceding parts of this history. The only peculiar stipulation was, that *France* had the glory to oblige the court of *Great Britain* to send to her court two noble hostages for the performance of the articles. Very little occurs during the interval between the peace of *Aix-la Chapelle* and the commencement of a new war in 1756, relating to the history of *France*, that are worthy the attention of the reader, excepting the internal policy of her government. A scheme of œconomy was laid down and executed; but the quarrels between the king and his parliaments little less than threatened a civil war.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

DISPUTES had subsisted for some time between the *French* clergy and parliaments, and between both and the king, which, according to the genius of that nation, went no farther than political altercations, confined to prate and paper. The king, at last, ordered the parliament to suspend all proceedings against such of the clery as had refused to give the sacraments to dying persons who had refused to subscribe the bull *Unigenitus*; and this prohibition led the parliaments into a disquisition of their own powers, which, they pretended, obliged them to oppose the papal power, and to vindicate the rights of the regale, which the king, in fact, had given up. The archbishop of *Paris*, a violent prelate, took part with the clergy, or rather the *Jesuits*. The parliament of *Paris* ordered some clergymen who had refused the sacraments to be apprehended; the latter justified themselves under the orders of the archbishop of *Paris*, who treated the parliament's authority with the utmost contempt, and this produced remonstrances to the king. At first he despised them, but they raised their own importance in proportion as he did his prerogative, and refused even to register his letters-patent upon the subject of their disputes. The king repeated his orders for that purpose: they were again disobeyed; and the

Interior affairs of France.

the chambers refused to proceed upon any business, or even to pay any obedience to the king's arrets, till they had right done them with regard to their privileges. The king, upon this, by *lettres de cachet*, banished all the members except those of the great-chamber, who, proving as intractable as their fellows, were banished likewise, amidst the acclamations of their countrymen, who applauded their firmness. The members of the parliament of *Rouen* imitated, and even exceeded, those of *Paris*, for they issued a warrant to apprehend the bishop of *Evreux*, who, when summoned, had refused to appear before their tribunal. The king's council of state dissolved their decrees; but they answered him by a bold memorial, which was despised by the ministry. The parliament ordered a deputation to attend the king; but all the satisfaction they received was an order to register an injunction not to meddle in the affair of the sacraments; and, when they returned to debate upon this order, one of their number, who had spoken too freely, was arrested and carried prisoner to *Dcurlens*. All the known tribunals of justice in *France* were, by this time, annihilated, and the subjects had no other resort but the king's authority, which was backed by a standing army. He endeavoured to repair the deficiency by the establishment of what he called a Royal Chamber for determining all matters civil and criminal. The constitution of this chamber not having been registered by the parliament, the ministry applied to the inferior court of the *Chatelet*, which refused to register it. Orders were issued to apprehend two of its members, one of whom was arrested, and the other absconded, and the royal officers having entered it in the register, the lieutenant civil appeared in their court; upon which the counsellors retired, after leaving an arret, in the nature of a protest, to account for that proceeding.

A new war

In the mean while, the commissaries appointed by the treaty of *Aix-la Chapelle* met at *Paris*, and the *French* pretended to dispute the most indubitable rights of the *British* in *America*. They went so far as to order their officers there to dislodge the *English* from a post within the limits of the government of *Virginia*, and made it no longer a secret that they intended to exclude the *British* subjects from all commerce with the *Indians* to the westward of the *Alleghany* mountains; they built a strong fort, called *du Quesne*, on the forks of the river *Monongabela*; and thus they commanded the entrance into all the country, into the rivers *Ohio* and *Mississippi*. This was too important an encroachment for the *British* nation to digest, as the *French* thereby pretended to form a frontier of above 1500 miles in length, beyond which the *English* could not trade with the *Indians*, and they must, in a very short time, have been confined to the sea-coast, and to traffic only among themselves. The dispute thus became critical, and the *French*, who had foreseen it, had prepared a marine to back their pretensions. They accordingly fitted out some ships, and the *English*, towards the latter end of *April* 1755, equipped likewise a squadron, the command of which was afterwards given to admiral *Boscawen*, with orders to prevent the *French* fleet that had been sent to *America* from entering the river *St. Laurence*. This vigorous resolution entirely disconcerted the court of *Versailles*, which had depended upon the tameness of the *British* government on account of their king's *German* dominions, which, in case of a rupture, lay open to the *French* arms.

in America,

BOSCAWEN executed his commands bravely, but imperfectly. He took a proper station off *Cape Race*, the southernmost point of *Newfoundland*, and there waited for the *French* fleet commanded by *Monf. Bois de la Mothe*. When it arrived at *Boscawen's* station, only two of their ships, the *Alcide* of sixty-four guns, and the *Lys*, which had been pierced for sixty-four likewise, fell into the hands of the *English*, the rest escaping, by favour of a fog, to the streights of *Belleisle*, by which they entered the river *St. Laurence*. Upon the news of this action, his Most Christian Majesty recalled his ambassador from *London*, and his *Britannic* majesty ordered general reprisals to be issued for taking all *French* ships wherever they could be found, a measure that could be justified only by the prior and injurious hostilities committed by the *French* in *America*. Those reprisals ruined the *French* trade, and in a few weeks above 15,000 of their sailors were prisoners in *England*, which number was doubled in the course of the war. This spirited conduct of the *English* rendered *France*, from being the terror, the object of contempt all over *Europe*; so that the king was at last obliged to side with his parliaments against the clergy, though the latter had presented him with the enormous sum of sixteen millions of livres.

disadvantageous to the French.

THE *British* court supported their vigorous measures by ordering the colonels *Laurence* and *Monckton* to attack the *French* forts, which they had built upon the isthmus that divides *Nova Scotia* from what the *French* pretended to be *Acadia*. This service was bravely performed, and *Beaufejour*, with all their forts there, were taken, to the amazement of all *Europe*, who were now convinced of the emptiness of the *French* boasts against *Great Britain*. In the mean while, the court of *England* ordered general *Braddock*, with about

- a 1500 regular troops, to *America*, where he was to have attacked fort *duquesne*. He was an officer no way fit for such a command, and, as the reader may see in the preceding parts of this work, he was defeated and killed in his march thither. Another expedition, at the same time, was planned against the *French* fort of *Crown-Point*, built on the frontiers of *New York*, the command of which was given to general *Johnson*, who entirely defeated the *French* army, and made its general, *Dieskau*, prisoner; but the season being far advanced, the expedition, for that year, came to nothing. The *French*, being thus lessened in their reputation, began, at last, to exert themselves. They fitted out a fleet, and sent an army of 11,000 men, under the duke *de Richelieu*, to reduce fort *St. Philip* in *Minorca*, which, to the shame of the *English* arms, they accordingly did, and, on the return of their fleet, under *Galissoniere*, *Byng*, the *English* admiral, attacked it; but the event of the engagement being doubtful, *Byng*, upon his return to *England*, was shot, pursuant to a sentence of a court-martial. War being soon after declared between *France* and *Great Britain*, the *French* resolved to execute their favourite scheme of attacking his *Britannic* majesty's dominions in *Germany*. They tempted him to renounce the rights of his crown and people in *America*, by offering him a neutrality for *Hanover*; but he disdained it, and in *January* 1756, he entered into an alliance with the king of *Prussia*, which produced a counter, but an unnatural, alliance between the houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*. The *French*, in consequence of this alliance, sent an army of 80,000 men, under marshal *d'Etrees*, across the *Rhine*, with orders to invade the *Prussian* dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, but, in reality, to fall upon *Hanover*, while another army of 25,000 men, under the prince *de Soubise*, took possession of *Cleves*, *Meurs*, and *Guedres*. *D'Etrees* was opposed by an army of observation, as it was called, under the duke of *Cumberland*, who, notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, threw great obstacles to the *French* in their march; but they were so well provided, and so numerous, that all difficulties gave way to them, and they passed the *Weser*. His royal highness was in no condition to hazard a battle, and retired till he came to *Hastenbeck*, within a few miles of *Hamel*, where he made a stand. A battle ensued, in which *D'Etrees* got the better, and the duke was obliged to retire towards *Stade*. While *D'Etrees* was thus at the summit of glory, the duke *de Richelieu*, who had reduced *Minorca*, undermined him, by means of the *French* king's favourite mistress, and got the command of his army, upon which he entered with vast advantages.

Battle of Hastenbeck.

- His royal highness in vain called upon the regency of *Hanover* to support him; but he saw them more intent upon finding the means of protecting themselves from the fury of the *French*, than resenting their sovereign's wrongs. The duke of *Cumberland* was obliged to give way to their pusillanimity, and to sign a capitulation at *Closterseven*, which disarmed 28,000 *Hanoverians*, and left the *French* at liberty to proceed in their enterprize against the king of *Prussia*. In the mean while, the court of *England* planned an expedition against *Rockfort*, which, through the mismanagement of its conductors, most scandalously miscarried. *Soubise* all this while was pressing upon his *Prussian* majesty, who was now reduced so low, that he was given over for lost by all *Europe*; but he recovered himself by an amazing victory which he obtained over the *French* at *Rosbach*. This victory re-animated the *Hanoverians* against the *French*, who had most unjustly violated every article of the *Closterseven* convention, and resuming their arms under prince *Ferdinand* of *Brunswick*, they drove the *French* out of their country. Their retreat from *Hanover* was shameful for themselves, and the more so, as they had behaved with the greatest rapaciousness and injustice in that electorate; though history must do the justice to the duke *de Randan*, who was appointed governor of the city of *Hanover*, to acknowledge, that he acted with moderation and humanity, and did every thing in his power to alleviate the distresses of the *Hanoverians*.

Convention of Closterseven.

- In *America*, preparations were made for an expedition against *Louisburgh*, which had been restored to the *French* by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but by the misconduct of the *English*, the expedition was postponed, and a violent storm drove their fleet from that coast. *Oswego*, an *English* fort of the greatest importance, and fort *William-Henry* fell into the hands of the *French*, by which they remained entirely masters of all the lakes, and of the five nations of *Indians*, who till then had been remarkably attached to the *English* interest. To counterbalance those losses in one part of the globe, the *English* were victorious in another; for the *French* interest in the *East-Indies* was entirely ruined by admiral *Watson* and colonel *Clive*. After the shameful expulsion of the *French* out of *Hanover*, their army, one of the finest that had ever been sent from *France* into *Germany*, repassed the *Rhine*, the object rather of contempt and compassion than of terror; but a detachment remained under the count *de Clermont* at *Wesel*.

Operations in America.

So many disgraces and disasters having attended the *French* arms, at last convinced their king and nation, that the management of their affairs was in weak, or wicked hands, and

the

the marshal duke *de Belleisle*, with the approbation of all *France*, was placed at the head a of the military department. Though he had not been remarkably fortunate as a general, the *French* had an opinion of his genius and moderation, and he immediately applied himself to repair the disgraces which his nation had suffered in *Germany*. But this, in the beginning of the year 1758, exhausted, in a manner, all the resources of *France* both by sea and land, while the *English* every day seemed to encrease in strength and spirit. In the beginning of *June*, prince *Ferdinand*, the *Hanoverian*, and then, indeed, the *British*, general, passed the *Rhine* in pursuit of the *French* army, which, though 50,000 men strong, was so far from opposing him, that they retired back as far as *Nuys*; but, after some consultation, they advanced towards *Crevelt* near the *Hanoverian* army. A most desperate battle followed, in which the *French* were defeated; but, by the help of their cavalry, b which protected their foot, they made a tolerable retreat to *Nuys*. In this battle, the count *de Gisors*, eldest son to the marshal count *de Belleisle*, and the glory of the *French* nobility, was killed in the 25th year of his age. The *French*, after their defeat, being on the frontiers of their own country, were soon recruited, and in a condition to reinforce their army on the *Rhine* under the prince *de Soubise*, who, on the 23d of *July*, defeated the *Hessians*, by which the *French* came to be possessed of the *Weser*.

It was now perceived that prince *Ferdinand's* pursuit of the *French* to the frontiers of their own country, was ill-judged; and there was some danger, lest the *British* troops, which had landed in *Germany*, and were then on their march under the duke of *Marlborough*, should be intercepted. Prince *Ferdinand* was enclosed between the *Rhine* and the c *French* army, which he was in no condition to attack; and *Chevert*, the *French* general, taking advantage of the swell of the *Rhine*, made an attempt upon the *Hanoverian* general, *Imhoff*, in which being unsuccessful, prince *Ferdinand* became again in a condition to retrieve his mistake. This action happened on the 5th of *August*, and *Imhoff* after that quitted his post, passed the *Rhine*, and joined the *British* troops under the duke of *Marlborough*. In the mean while, prince *Ferdinand* reduced the important city of *Dusseldorp*, by which his passage over the *Rhine* was secured, and his force upon the *Rhine* multiplied. Some days were spent in marches and countermarches; but both parties had their reasons for avoiding an action. Prince *Ferdinand* had flattered himself that the *Hessian* general, the prince of *Ysenburgh*, would have been a match for prince *Soubise*, till, at the head of d the allies, he could have passed the *Maese*, and carried the war into the enemy's country; and with this view all his dilatory motions had been made. Had this plan succeeded, the prince of *Soubise* must, probably, have come to the assistance of *Contades* the *French* general, who now commanded in the room of count *Clermont*; but his expectations were defeated. The duke *de Broglie* formed a junction with the prince of *Soubise*, attacked *Ysenburgh* with a superior force, and defeated him on the 23d of *July*, near *Sangerhausen*; by which the *French* preserved the possession of the *Weser*, and consequently commanded all that part of *Westphalia*. Prince *Ferdinand* had now only two measures to take, one was to fight the *French*, the other to repass the *Rhine*. This last was attended with difficulties, on account of the prodigious rains that had fallen, and of the *French* being in possession e of *Wachtendonck*, a place of importance on the left of the allies. This place was attacked with amazing intrepidity by the hereditary prince of *Brunswick*, who plunged into the river, and being seconded by his grenadiers, drove the *French* from the post; by which the latter was so much daunted, that prince *Ferdinand*, without farther loss, on the 9th and 10th of *August*, effected his passage, at a place called *Griethuysen*.

Though, in reality, the *French* nation suffered greatly, nor were the allies much benefited by those actions and motions, yet the *French* themselves were sensible, that neither their generals nor soldiers were comparable to those of the allies; nor did *Broglie* and *Soubise* venture to pursue the blow they had given to *Ysenburgh*, who, after his defeat, had taken up his camp in a strong ground. While those operations were passing in *Germany*, f the *English* fleet invaded *France*, and burnt the *French* shipping at *St. Malo's*. It then moved towards *Cherburgh*, but was obliged by the weather to return to *England*. On the first of *August*, the fleet under commodore *Howe*, with the transports, again set sail for *Cherburgh*. They landed with scarce any opposition from the *French*, who most shamefully suffered them to enter the town, where most immense sums had been laid out by the *French* government in fortifying it, and making its harbour one of the strongest in *Europe*. The work of all this labour and expence was now totally destroyed by the *English*, who found far more difficulty in demolishing than in conquering the place. This destruction being accomplished, all the ships in the harbour were burnt, and hostages taken for the payment of the contribution laid on the town; upon which the army, after having g remained for ten days unmolested in *France*, re-embarked on the 16th, carrying with it all the brass cannon and mortars taken at *Cherburgh*. The *English* troops again landed in the bay of *St. Lunar*, in the neighbourhood of *St. Malo*; but they found it impracticable to

The British
troops join
prince *Ferdinand*.

The English
invade the coast
of France.

- a to make any impression upon that place, and while they remained there, the commodore found himself obliged, from the danger of the coast, to move up to the bay of *St. Cas*, about three leagues to the westward. The army, without resolving upon any operation, marched to the village of *Mantignon*, being skirted all the way by *French* parties, who never durst stand an engagement; and the *English* troops pushed forward to the bay of *St. Cas*. By this time, as the *English* troops easily have foreseen, the duke *D'Aguillon*, governor of *Brittany*, was within six miles of the *English* army, at the head of twelve battalions, and six squadrons of regulars, besides two regiments of militia. The *English* still pushed on towards *St. Cas*, where they all embarked but the last division, which consisted of the grenadiers of the army, and the first regiment of guards. These were attacked by the *French*, and though they made a most gallant resistance, about 600 of them were killed, and 400 taken prisoners, not being able to reach the boats for their embarkation.

Are defeated at St. Cas.

- c THIS small advantage elevated the *French* nation beyond measure, but the decisive advantages the *English* obtained in *America*, by their taking *Louisburgh* a second time, soon humbled them. In this place the garrison, consisting with the irregulars and seamen, of 5637 men, were made prisoners of war, and their ships in the harbour destroyed, to the irretrievable loss of the *French* trade in *America*. The defeat of the *English*, in their attempt upon *Ticonderoga*, on the 8th of *July* this year, did not make them amends for the loss of *Louisburgh*; and on the 27th of *August*, they lost fort *Frontenac*, with nine armed sloops, and all the magazines which they had amassed for the support of their garrisons to the southward. General *Forbes*, on the 25th of *November*, the same year, reduced fort *du Quesne*, now called *Pittsburgh*, the object of general *Braddock's* unfortunate expedition, and thereby gave the third fatal blow to the *French* dominion in *America*. It would far exceed the bounds we are obliged to allot to this sequel of our history to particularise every success of the *English* during this year, which, among other glories, was signalized by the reduction of *Senegal* and *Goree*, in *Africa*, places thought inaccessible to the *English* arms, and before entirely in possession of the *French*. Though the *English* had lost *Minorca*, they remained victorious in the *Mediterranean*, where they continued to ruin the *French* marine.

Louisburgh taken by the English;

- d TOWARDS the end of this year, the *English* fitted out a squadron of nine ships of the line, with sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, for the conquest of *Martinico*. General *Hopson* commanded the land-forces, and the command of the sea was given to commodore *Moore*, then in the *West-Indies*. After a slight attempt upon *Martinico*, the conquest of that island was judged to be impracticable; but the *English* achieved a more important conquest, that of *Guadaloupe*, which was followed by the reduction of all the *French* *Leeward-Islands*. While the *English* were thus victorious in *America*, the *French* obtained some advantages in *Germany*. They most perfidiously seized *Frankfort*, which secured to them the course of the *Maine* and the *Rhine*, and gave them other important advantages. Prince *Ferdinand* drew his troops out of their winter-quarters to dislodge them; but the duke *de Broglie* took up an advantageous post near *Bergen*, where he repulsed the allies under prince *Ferdinand*, who was obliged to retreat. The consequence of this was, that *Ritberg* was surprised, *Lipstadt* blockaded, and *Minden* taken by assault, with a garrison of 1500 men, who were made prisoners; immense magazines at the same time falling into the hands of the *French*. On the 25th of *July* *d'Armentieres*, one of their generals, took *Munster*, in which was a garrison of 4000 men; and from this train of irresistible successes, the *French* thought themselves so sure of the conquest of *Hanover*, that their ministry gave no attention to any object relating to the war, but the securing their conquests by the most inhuman methods, which were prescribed by the duke *de Belleisle* to the marshal *Contades*, who had the command of the *French* army in *Germany*. He was a young officer, and though spirited, he was unequal to the command to which he was preferred by the partiality of *Belleisle* in his favour. All *Europe* now looked upon *Hanover* as lost, and the most valuable effects and papers in the electoral palaces were transported to *Stade*. Nothing but a battle could have preserved that electorate from ruin. The *French* lay near *Minden*, in a camp so strong, that it could not be attacked with any probability of success. On the 28th of *July*, the hereditary prince was detached with 6000 men to cut off the enemy's communication with *Paderborn*.

as is Guada-] loupe.

Campaign in Germany.

- g ON the 29th, prince *Ferdinand* advanced from his camp on the *Weser*, but left a body of troops under *Wangenheim*, on the borders of that river. The *French* imagined, that by this disjointed state of the allied army, it would be easy for them to defeat *Wangenheim*, and to get between the prince and the *Weser*; the great object they had all along aimed at. With this idea, they left their advantageous camp, but were astonished, after passing the morass, and mounting an eminence, when they found that the prince, instead of being, as they imagined, at *Hillen*, had in the night-time marched back, and taken up the

French defeated at Minden,

very

very ground which he foresaw the *French* would endeavour to pass. The duke *de Broglie* ^a led the attack upon *Wangenheim's* division, with a visible assurance of success; for his centre was entirely composed of horse, who attacked six *English* regiments, particularly those of *Waldegrave* and *Kingsey*, supported by two battalions of *Hanoverian* guards, who sustained the whole shock of the battle, and, to the amazement of the *German* general himself, obtained a complete victory by the help of the artillery, which was well served by the *English* officers. The *French* lost about 7000 men, and the *English* about 1200; but the victory of the latter must have been more decisive, had not the general of the *British* cavalry misunderstood the prince's orders, and thereby lost the opportunity of engaging and supporting the pursuit. In short, this battle was as glorious to the *English*, as those of *Cressy* and *Agincourt* had been to their ancestors. Just before the fate of the day was decided, ^b *Contades* received an account that the duke *de Brisac* had been entirely routed by the hereditary prince. This obliged *Contades*, who, with all his chief officers, lost their equipages, to fly with the utmost disorder to *Minden*, which surrendered the next day, while the *French* continued their flight over the *Weser*, and thereby lost all their advantageous posts upon that river.

pursued by
prince Fer-
dinand,

PRINCE *Ferdinand* pursued without being able to overtake them, but defeated them in every post where they made a stand; and on the 11th of *September*, *Marpurg* was surrendered with a garrison of between 8 and 900 men, who were made prisoners of war. The resistance made by this inconsiderable place, stopped the allies in their pursuit of the *French* towards *Cassel*; and the amazing victory at *Minden* did no more than just save the conquerors from ruin, as no care was taken to improve it. *D'Armentieres* obliged the *Hano-* ^c *verian* general *Imhoff* to raise the siege of *Munster*, and *Contades* having collected his vanquished army, was still an over-match in numbers for the allies. *Contades* and *Broglie* re-
criminated upon each other. The public and the court took the part of the latter; but both of them were so much despised by the troops they commanded, that old marshal *D'Etrees* was sent by the *French* king to moderate between them, to prevent matters from coming to an extremity; which, to his glory, he did, though with the mortification of being obliged to serve under them.

and defeated
by sea.

THE operations of this year by sea were still more fatal than those by land had been to the *French*. To repair their losses in *America* and *Germany*, they meditated a descent upon ^d the *British* dominions with three squadrons. The smallest, consisting of three frigates, was commanded by one *Thurot*, a marine free-booter, who, after a variety of adventures, landed in *Ireland*, where he did little more than alarm the people of *Carrickfergus*; and putting to sea again, he was met by three *British* frigates of a force inferior to his own, and after a severe encounter he was killed, and his ships led in triumph by the *English* commanders to the *Isle of Man*. The duke *d'Aguillon* was to have headed another invasion, which was thought to have been intended against *Ireland*, while the grand fleet, which was designed against *England*, was to have been commanded by marshal *Conflans*. The ruin of the latter fleet, by admiral *Hawke*, on the 20th of *November*, put an end to all those ambitious schemes; and admiral *Boscawen* was equally fortunate at *Cape Lagos*, ^e where he defeated the *Toulon* fleet, under M. *de la Clue*, who, when he came on shore, died of his wounds.

Conquest of
Quebec by the
English.

THE *French* government could not stand so many repeated shocks, and partly through necessity, but more through policy, they authentically acknowledged themselves to be bankrupt. The *French* king retrenched the expence of his house to those of a private gentleman. He converted his plate into money, and he invited all his subjects who valued the safety of their country to do the same. This was of infinite service to his affairs. It roused a spirit of generous compassion in the breasts of his subjects, and he soon found resources for continuing the war; the operations of which had been unaccountably relaxed, through the opinion the allies had of the inability of the *French*. Let us now turn ^f our eyes to *America*, where the *French* were commanded by *Moncalm*, a general of abilities and experience, and had been often successful against the *English*, particularly in the reduction of *Oswego*. The conquest of *Quebec* was committed to general *Wolfe*, and that of the rest of *Canada* to general *Amherst*. *Wolfe* was not at the head of above 7000 men, including provincials, for this arduous undertaking. *Moncalm's* army was far more numerous, and had the advantage of a situation which art and nature seemed to conspire to render inaccessible. The *English* admiral was *Saunders*; but both he and *Wolfe* failed in their attempts to make a landing good; and *Wolfe* was despairing of the expedition, when, by a lucky feint, a landing was effected, but under such disadvantages, that the *English* were obliged to drag their heavy artillery up the steep hill, which they mounted. *Moncalm* was ^g then forced to fight; his army was defeated, and himself killed, as was the brave general *Wolfe* likewise; and the *English* took *Quebec*, which they are now in possession of, notwithstanding a vigorous effort made by the *French* a few weeks after to retake it. This conquest was

a was followed by the reduction of all *Canada* by general *Amherst*; and Sir *William Johnson* took *Niagara*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the victory of *Minden*, the *French* affairs in *Germany* were unaccountably bettered, in the beginning of the year 1760, partly through the indolence of the allies, and partly through the support of the *French* nation. No considerable advantage had resulted from the victory at *Minden*, and the winter had been spent in bloody, indecisive skirmishes in the field, and ineffectual proposals for peace in the cabinet. The allies, under prince *Ferdinand*, repassed the *Rhine*, and the *Lippe*, to the surprize of the public, thereby abandoning *Hesse*, and with difficulty covering *Hanover*. Large reinforcements were sent from *England* to join him; so that it was computed 25,000 *British* soldiers served in his army. *Broglie* had, by this time, received the baton of a marshal of *France*, and his army was augmented to near 100,000 effective men; while count *de St. Germain*, a general of genius and merit, commanded a separate body of 30,000 men upon the *Rhine*. Those vast armies were far better supplied than that of the allies, who were unable to undertake any thing of importance. All that was done was by the hereditary prince of *Brunswick*, who drove the *French* out of *Fulda*, and laid it under contribution; and a few skirmishes, of no moment, passed between the *French* and the *Hanoverian* general, *Sporken*. Had the *French*, on this occasion, kept to their original plan of acting in separate bodies, *St. Germain* upon the *Weser*, and *Broglie* in *Hesse*, the allied army, probably, must have been ruined. But *Broglie*, jealous of *St. Germain*'s success, ordered him to join the main army; for which *St. Germain*, who was *Broglie*'s senior, afterwards quitted his command in disgust. The *French*, however, took *Marburgh* and *Dillenburgh*. In the mean while, *June* the 10th, *Broglie* having pushed forward a strong detachment by the way of *Westphalia*, while he himself marched by *Hesse*; both bodies joined at a place called *Corbach*.

Inactivity of the *French* armies.

THE hereditary prince, not knowing of this junction, and imagining he had not above 10 or 12,000 men to deal with, attacked the whole, was defeated and wounded, but carried off by the intrepidity of the *British* cavalry. He repaired this miscarriage, by surprising and defeating *Glaubitz*, a *French* general at *Ermsdorf*; and on this occasion, no fewer than 177 officers, and 2482 private men were made prisoners. After this, prince *Ferdinand* moved his army from *Saxenhausen* to *Kalle*, near *Cassel*, and defeated the *French*, under the chevalier *de May*, at *Warburgh*. This victory cost the allies dear, for the other two divisions of the *French* army made themselves masters of *Hesse*, while the general of the allies remained inactive upon the *Dymel* for a whole month. All that was done at this time was his surprising the town of *Zierenburgh*, where 2000 *French* lay. He was, however, unable to keep the place. This brisk action somewhat quickened the operations of the two armies. *Bulow*, the *Hanoverian* general, took *Marpurg*, but was defeated by *Stainville*, the *French* general, and must have been destroyed, had he not been supported by the hereditary prince. *Wangenheim* passed the *Weser*, but, after receiving a severe check, was obliged to repass it. The hereditary prince, with incredible expedition, marched with an army of twenty battalions and ten squadrons towards the *Rhine*, which he passed, and after taking *Cleves*, he besieged *Wesel*, but thro' the inclemency of the weather, and the approach of the *French* army under *M. de Castres*, the siege was raised. The *French* had chosen a camp with the convent of *Campe* in their front; and where the hereditary prince, attempting to surprize them, was defeated with considerable loss, especially of the *English*, about 1200 of his army being killed, and 500 made prisoners. This defeat obliged the hereditary prince to repass the *Rhine*; and soon after, both armies drew towards winter-quarters without any action of consequence following.

Successes of the *French*.

THE war between *France* and *England* in *Germany* being thus equally ruinous and ineffectual, *France*, who had been sufficiently humbled through all other parts of the globe, sought to make peace, and *Augsburgh* was pitched upon by all parties as the scene of negotiation. It not being thought proper to carry the *American* territorial disputes before a congress in *Germany*, *M. Buffy* was named by the *French* court to repair to *London*, where he was to treat with the *English* ministry, as *Mr. Stanley* was with the *French* at *Paris*. The *French* had no equivalent to oppose to the successes of the *British* arms in all parts of the globe, excepting *Germany*, but the evacuation of *Hesse*; and, as we have seen in the history of *Spain*, *Buffy*'s negotiation broke off upon his being so imprudent as to propose the mediation of his Catholic majesty between his court and that of *London*. The *French*, at this time, viz. in the beginning of the year 1761, had a manifest superiority over the allies in *Germany*, which creating great uneasiness in *England*, prince *Ferdinand* resolved to exert his utmost to dislodge them out of *Hesse*. They were possessed of *Gottingen* and *Wesel*, where they had strong garrisons and large magazines, and their situation in *Hesse* was such, that they threatened to enclose the allies. Prince *Ferdinand*, on the 9th of *February*, assembled his army, and penetrated by three quarters into *Hesse* and *Thuringia*. This

Negotiation for peace.

amazing attempt threw the *French* into such consternation, that they appeared enervated, and fled on all sides, leaving *Gottingen* and *Cassel* at their backs, where they had a large body of men. After this, the hereditary prince attempted to surprize *Fritzlar*, but the garrison made so brave a defence, that he was obliged to draw off with considerable loss; but soon after the place capitulated, and the marquis of *Granby* reduced all the forts and castles in the neighbourhood. The *French* army continued to retire, and their magazines fell into the hands of the allies, an acquisition which, at that time, stood them in more stead than conquest itself. *Broglie* being thus driven out of *Hesse*, prince *Ferdinand* made dispositions for besieging *Cassel*. The season of the year made this attempt, at that juncture, impracticable, though the *Hanoverians* under general *Sporken* had driven the *French* to *Bamburg*. *Marpurg* and *Ziegenbagen* were blockaded; but, upon the whole, the allies gained little more than mere subsistence by this impetuous incursion. By their pushing forward, they left a vast tract of territory behind them, which was garrisoned by the enemy, and *Broglie* lay before them with a superior army. The count *de Vaux*, the *French* governor of *Gottingen*, took the town of *Duderstadt*, and forced *Sporken* to fall back upon prince *Ferdinand's* army. *Broglie* collected his strength, and attacking the hereditary prince near *Grunberg*, he routed the advanced part of the allied army, consisting of *Hessians*, *Hanoverians*, and *Brunswickers*, and took 2000 prisoners. The siege of *Cassel* upon this was abandoned by the allies, after the trenches had been open twenty-seven days; and the blockade of *Ziegenbagen* was broken up, prince *Ferdinand* himself being obliged to fall back upon the *Dymel*, and to repossess his former quarters.

Hereditary
prince de-
feated.

THOUGH the irruption of prince *Ferdinand* into *Hesse* carried with it abundance of eclat, yet it was of no solid advantage to the allies, or of prejudice to the *French*. Nothing would now satisfy the government of *England* less than the bringing *France* to the most humiliating state. They equipped a most expensive fleet for the conquest of the barren, sandy, island of *Belleisle*, only for having the glory of conquering a spot that was under the eye and protection of the *French* monarchy. Commodore *Keppel* had the command of the sea, and general *Hodgson* of the land-forces. On the 25th of *April*, their landing, after great loss and difficulty, was made good; and *Palais*, the principal place in the island, capitulated on the 7th of *June*. A war so glorious, but so unavailing to *England*, began now to be considered as a splendid calamity; and the most thinking part of both nations were in their private sentiments for peace. A negociation had been set on foot at *Augsburgh*; but, from the incompatible claims of the various parties, with little prospect of success. It was imagined, that when once the difference between the *Spanish* and *British* courts were settled, *Europe* would have peace, and a negotiation was set on foot. Mr. *Bussy* was sent to *London*, as Mr. *Stanley* was to *Paris*. The former negotiated for the duke *de Choiseul*, the first minister of *France*, and the only man of true political genius that had appeared there for a century before. The latter acted under the auspices of Mr. *Pitt*, the popular minister of *Great Britain*. We have, in the sequel of our history of *Spain*, given an account of this negotiation, and its concomitant circumstances; it is therefore sufficient here to say, that a definitive treaty was signed at *Paris*, on the 10th of *February*, 1763; by which peace was once more restored to *Europe*.

Progress of
the war.

WE are obliged, though with reluctance, here to resume the operations of a war, in which *England* and *France* bore the greatest share, but had the least concern. During the dependence of the negotiation for peace, each party imagined that the more vigorously they carried on war, they would obtain the more advantageous terms. The allies, by this time, had, with no great credit to the capacity of their general, been obliged to repass the *Dymel*; and a manifest superiority appeared on the side of *France*, though the month of *June* was far advanced before *Broglie* could assemble his army, so as to pursue the advantage he had obtained. *Sporken* was posted on the front of the allies, but could not prevent the *French* from passing the *Dymel*, for he was defeated with very considerable loss. Prince *Ferdinand* was obliged to fall back upon the *Lippe*, and to take post between *Ham* and *Lipstadt*, while the *French* made themselves masters of *Warburgh*, *Dringleburgh*, and *Paderborn*. The situation of prince *Ferdinand's* army prevented *Broglie* from penetrating into *Hanover*, but could not hinder his joining the prince *de Soubise* at *Soest*. This junction obliged prince *Ferdinand* to call in all his posts, to defend himself against the *French*. He then secured the communication between *Lipstadt* and *Ham*. His left wing took post between the *Lippe* and the *Aast*; his main body occupied the height of *Wambeln*, and the prince of *Anhalt* the ground between *Illengen* and *Hohenover*. The marquis of *Granby* kept possession of the height of *Kirch-Denkern*, and general *Wutgenau* was encamped on the heath of *Untrup*, while the avenues and posts on the *Aast* and the *Sulbach* were guarded by piquets.

French defeat-
ed at Kirch-
Denkern.

On the 15th of *July*, at six in the evening, lord *Granby's* advanced posts were most furiously attacked and dislodged by the *French*; but he himself maintained his ground and repulsed

- a repulsed the enemy. Next morning the *French* renewed their attack, which was chiefly directed against *Wulgenia's* corps. They were commanded by *Broglio* and *Soubise*; and, after a cannonade, which lasted five hours, they were routed by the allies, with the loss; in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at *Kirch-Denkern*, of 5000 men, that of the allies amounting to 300 killed and 1000 wounded, and 200 taken prisoners. This defeat reflected great dishonour upon the *French*, and created a dispute between their two generals. Their affairs, however, did not suffer in the main: they soon repaired their loss of men. *Soubise*, at the head of one part of their army, crossed the *Lippe* to besiege *Munster*, and another division under *Broglio* passed the *Wefer*, to penetrate into *Harover*. The hereditary prince was sent to cover *Munster*, and many skirmishes, mostly to the advantage of the allies, b though the bravery of the *British* troops, happened. *Broglio*, industriously but wisely, declined a battle. The hereditary prince, on the 30th of *August*, took *Dörsten*; and *Soubise*, instead of besieging *Munster*, returned to *Hesse*, as prince *Ferdinand* did to *Paderborn*. In the mean while, prince *Xavier* of *Saxony* bombarded and took *Wolfenbuttle*, and drove the reigning prince of *Brunswick* to *Hamburg*. Prince *Xavier*, after that, besieged *Brunswick*, but was driven out of his entrenchments by the hereditary prince, and obliged to abandon *Wolfenbuttle* with great loss. To make some amends for those misfortunes, the *French*, under *Soubise*, took and plundered *Osnaburgh*, and another party of them reduced *Emden* after a capitulation, which was infamously broke on their part; so that the boors of the country drove them out of the place soon after they took possession of it. The prince of c *Conde*, with a detachment from *Soubise's* army, took *Mapper*; but the *French* were repulsed in an attempt they made upon *Bremen*; and the rest of the campaign was spent in skirmishes, which did more honour to the courage than to the judgment of either of the parties, as neither of them derived any solid advantage from their efforts.

- In the mean while, the *English* arms reduced the important island of *Martinico*, and the town of *Havannah* in *Cuba*, the particulars of which may be seen in former parts of this work. On the 4th of *June*, next campaign, prince *Ferdinand* attacked the *French*, under the marshals *d'Etrees* and *Soubise*, in their camp at *Graebenstein*, from four different quarters. The marquis of *Granby*, at the head of the *British* troops, distinguished himself in this action, which must have utterly ruined the *French* army, had it not been for the d trepidity and presence of mind of *Stainville*, one of their general officers, who sacrificed a fine body of infantry under his command, that he might favour the retreat of their cavalry. The same general again preserved the *French* army under prince *Xavier*, after it had retired precipitately over the *Fulda*; but the prince of *Conde* defeated the allies under the hereditary prince. By this time, all the material articles for a general pacification were settled between the courts of *London* and *Versailles*; and prince *Ferdinand*, who had again besieged *Cassel*, had that city surrendered to him. As if the rage of war could never be satiated, the most bloody encounter during the whole war happened at *Ameneburgh*, between the *French* and *English*, while their two courts in fact were at peace. The dispute was concerning a trifling post, which the *French*, by superior numbers and artillery, carried, and the subsequent definitive treaty here puts an end to the military history of *France* in this work. e

Attack at Ameneburgh.

Peace concluded.

- No nation, perhaps, ever emerged from a state of civil slavery with more credit than the *French* have done within these forty years past. The prerogative, which, under the reigns of *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* were thought so sacred, that the disputing it must have been immediate death to any opponent, is now upon the point of being annihilated. The *French* nation have adopted the maxims of the *English*. Their parliaments have shewn themselves to be proof against all the arts, power, and prerogative of their prince, whose glory, they say, consists in the happiness of his people, and his being independent upon the church of *Rome*, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In consequence of those maxims, they have exterminated out of *France* the order of the *Jesuits*; they have supported the dignity of their king against his ministry; they have punished the officers of the crown, who, from the phantom of prerogative, invaded the liberties of the *Gallican* constitution; and have carried the claims of liberty to as great a length as they ever were known to be in *England*. f

Sequel to the HISTORY of GERMANY.

FEW facts, of great importance to history occur in this sequel, that are not mentioned in the histories of *Spain* and *France*. We have already seen the principal motions of *Europe* after the peace of *Utrecht*, in which we have given a view of the capital concerns of *Germany*; so that we have little more to add than what relates to the internal interests of that empire, especially as we have been so explicit in the wars between the *Germans* and the *Turks*.

Account of the
Pragmatic
Sanction.

It is well known with what passion the emperor *Charles VI.* maintained the mode of succession in his own family, as prescribed by the Pragmatic Sanction. It was the favourite measure of his life and reign, but built upon a very disputable principle, as it excluded from the *Austrian* succession all the descendants of his elder brother *Joseph*, in favour of his own daughter. This Pragmatic Sanction was in reality intended to be a perpetual and irrevocable decree. By it the *Austrian* succession was, in the first place, to pass entire to the archduchesses his daughters; in the second place, to the archduchesses his nieces; thirdly, to the archduchesses his sisters; and after that, to the next right heir, whether male or female. The two daughters of his brother *Joseph* were married, one to the prince royal of *Poland*, electoral prince of *Saxony*; and the other to the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, who both of them succeeded to their father's dominions. Their marriages, however, could not be effected till they took the most binding oaths to renounce all their claim upon the *Austrian* succession. The rest of *Europe*, though they guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, were extremely jealous of its consequences. A powerful prince, by marrying the heiress of the house of *Austria*, it was evident, must soon become an over-match for the rest of *Europe*; but different views prevented any material opposition to the Pragmatic Sanction.

Troubles of
Germany
after the de-
cease of
Charles VI.

THE elector of *Saxony*, who was chiefly interested against it, acceded to it on account of the emperor's assisting him with his interest in obtaining the crown of *Poland*; and the elector of *Bavaria* continued neutral, being unwilling to accept the Pragmatic Sanction, and unable to oppose it. *Charles VI.* by a concurrence of circumstances fortunate for his family, got the better of all difficulties before his death, which happened in the year 1740. He was succeeded by his eldest daughter *Maria Theresa*, who soon saw herself in danger of being stripped of her immense fortune. She had been married to *Francis Stephen*, duke of *Lorraine*, a prince of no power or importance, and therefore she was liable to excite any jealousy in the other *European* states. Though *France* had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, yet she pretended that this guaranty could not take place in prejudice of a third power; and *France*, *Prussia*, *Saxony*, and *Bavaria*, all at once attacked her dominions. The *Prussian* monarch alone effectually carried his point. He had been left by his father immensely rich, and he had on foot a strong army, which he disciplined to the greatest advantage. He pretended that the family of *Austria* had unjustly seized upon that fine duchy of *Silesia*, and he shewed *Europe* a new way of making war. Without publishing tedious manifestos, or undertaking amusing motions, he marched his army into that duchy, while the *Austrians* beheld him with silent contempt. The *French*, notwithstanding their guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, broke it in favour of the elector of *Bavaria*, who, by their means, was chosen emperor, and recognized as such by all the powers of *Europe*.

King of Prus-
sia seizes Si-
lesia.

Disputes about
the Austrian
succession;

MARIA THERESA now saw herself and her family in danger of wanting bread. *Bel-lesse*, who was, at once, the *French* general and minister, threatened to give her laws upon the bastions of *Vienna*; and the progress her enemies made in stripping her of her territories, was inconceivably rapid. In this distress she fled to *Hungary*, where she assembled the states, and harangued them in a manner so effectual and pathetic, that they unanimously resolved to stand by her to the last drop of their blood. This country, which had formerly been refractory to her family, was now its only support against the greatest powers in *Europe*. The house of *Austria* had before this time lost its great possessions in *Italy*. The elector of *Bavaria* claimed *Maria-Theresa's* dominions, under a will made by the emperor *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles V.* from whom he was descended on the mother's side. The queen of *Poland's* right, as being daughter to the emperor *Joseph*, elder brother of *Charles VI.* was strenuously asserted by the house of *Saxony*; and the king of *Spain* himself claimed, by a maternal title, the whole of the *Austrian* succession. Many other small claims started up to other parts of her dominions. *Maria-Theresa* saw the storm gathering round her, and faced it with intrepidity. She held up the Pragmatic Sanction, which

a which had been guarantied by the great *European* powers, as her defence, but it was regarded by *Great Britain* only. The immense opposition to her was greatly weakened by the *French* king not being a claimant, though he had a prior right to the king of *Spain*, as being descended, in a right line, from the eldest male branch of the house of *Austria*, by two princesses, the wives of *Lewis XIII.* and *Lewis XIV.* Had his most Christian majesty appeared as a claimant, all *Europe* would have united against him; and his not appearing as such, was more than a tacit acknowledgment of the validity of the last Pragmatic Sanction.

b THE intention of *France* was already answered by giving to the empire a weak head, and dismembering it from the *Austrian* Succession. It would have been equally disagreeable to her to have seen that succession possessed by the *Josephine* as by the *Caroline* line, if at the head of the empire; and it is pretty evident, that the *French* ministry never were in earnest about aggrandizing the emperor they had made. *Maria-Theresa*, bred up in those stupid ideas of power which had been always attached to *Austrian* grandeur, had good sense enough to relax in some particulars. By an oath she took at her *Hungarian* inauguration, she gave her subjects leave to oppose her, if ever she should invade their privileges; which won the hearts of that nation. She likewise took off many of the restraints and those awful distances which her family had always affected towards their inferiors, or rather those whom they considered as such. But in all this she sacrificed none of her real power. She knew that *Great Britain* looked upon the indivisibility of the *Austrian* succession as a capital point; and perhaps no prince ever adhered more sacredly to a maxim than *George II.* did to that. He was the soul of the Protestant interest in *Europe*, and he understood it well; neither he nor *Maria-Theresa* ever dreamed of *Brandenburgh* greatness. They had been accustomed to look upon that house, during the reign of his present *Prussian* majesty's father, in a contemptible light, without considering that his most despicable qualities laid the surest foundations for the greatness of his son. He had a most ridiculous affectation for military grandeur, and without entering upon any warlike expedition, he maintained 80,000 men. His son disciplined them, and made them soldiers. The father had a sordid passion for money. The son at his succession found his treasury equal to any enterprize, and his own genius was superior to all.

d He spoke to *Maria-Theresa* the language of good sense. He shewed her the inability of her opposing his designs upon *Silesia*; and offered, if she would yield it up, to guaranty her other dominions against *France* and all other powers. She heard him with contempt, and had the *Austrian* weakness to risk every thing rather than part with territory. In this she was privately encouraged by *George II.* and openly, by the spirit of indignation, which the *French* breach of the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction spread through the *English* nation. A single vote of a *British* parliament can raise millions of money, and, consequently, thousands of men. It was easily obtained; and the moment it passed, the money was ready, even before it was raised, without waiting for the tedious forms that attend *French* or *Austrian* supplies. But the *British* generosity, great as it was, could not answer all the purposes of *Maria-Theresa*. Her spouse was an indigent prince. She had a vast extent of territory to guard, and nothing to depend upon but *English* money. The parliament, on the third of *April*, 1742, voted her the sum of 500,000 l. and that 16,334 effective men should be sent to her assistance in *Flanders*, to which they were immediately transported. The earl of *Stair*, who was appointed to be their commander, was nominated ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General, to bring them into the like measures for the support of public liberty. Those vigorous measures saved the house of *Austria* from apparent ruin. The king of *Sardinia* declared himself for *Maria-Theresa*, and the protestant cause was re-established. But nothing could re-animate the public spirit of the *Dutch* government. They had, indeed, consented to considerable augmentations of their force both by sea and land, and they expressed themselves in the most cordial manner in favour of his *Britannic* majesty's system; but they could be brought to nothing more, because they were secretly in the *French* interest, tho' their subjects in general were even sanguine for the queen of *Hungary*.

f GEORGE II. would willingly have averted the blow which he saw the king of *Prussia* was aiming at *Silesia*; but though *Maria-Theresa* owed him every thing she possessed, he could not persuade her to give up an inch of her dominions. *Europe* had not, for some years, seen such operations as were conducted by his *Prussian* majesty, nor an army so well disciplined as that which he headed. He entered, and rapidly over-run all *Silesia*. He was opposed by *Neuperg*, the *Austrian* general, and a battle was fought at *Molwitz*, near the river *Neiss*. The *Prussian* cavalry was defeated, their king's baggage was plundered, and he himself, in a manner, forced out of the field in the common rout. His second line of infantry, by that admirable discipline which he had taught them, retrieved the day and gained him the victory. The court of *France*, though under no special engagements to

which is
favoured by
Great-Bri-
tain.

Generosity of
the English
parliament.

support the king of *Prussia*, found it was her interest not to oppose him. The count *a*
de Belleisle was ordered by the *French* king and his ministry, to draw up a scheme for dis-
 tressing *Maria-Theresa*. He said he had one ready, and that he would answer for the suc-
 cess of it with his head; but that it would be ineffectual if it was executed by halves. He
 proposed that 50,000 *French*, of whom 20,000 were to be cavalry, should pass the *Rhine*,
 and advance towards the *Danube*, to second the operations of the *Saxons*, *Russians*, and
Bavarians, who were then in arms against *Maria-Theresa*; while an army of 40,000 men
 was to enter *Westphalia*, and over-awe *George* the II^d's electoral dominions into a neutra-
 lity. This scheme had an appearance as if the *French* were resolved to give law to *Prussia*
 as well as *Austria*. He ordered his ministers at *Vienna* to declare, that he was willing to
 enter into a confederacy with *Russia* and the maritime powers, for the support of *Maria-*
Theresa, and the co-regency of her husband; that he would give him his vote at any future *b*
 election of an emperor; and that he would immediately pay them down two millions of
 florins, if she would cede to him even the half of *Silesia*. She rejected all these proposi-
 tions, and her husband was accused of having entered into a conspiracy for taking off the
 king of *Prussia* by violence.

Confederacy
 against Ma-
 ria-Theresa;

THE elector of *Cologne*, brother to the *Bavarian* emperor, naturally joined the *French* in
 their invasion of the *Austrian* dominions, and the elector *Palatine* adhered to the same party.
 In short, *Belleisle*'s scheme of invading the empire took place, to the apparent ruin of *Ma-*
ria-Theresa; and the *Bavarian* emperor, at the head of his own and the *French* army, sent
 a summons to *Kevenbullen*, governor of *Vienna*, to surrender that city. An army under *c*
 the *French* general *Maillebois*, had forced *George* II. to accept of a neutrality for his
 electoral dominions. The emperor was in possession of *Passau*, and had advanced as far
 as *Lintz*, the capital of the *Upper Austria*. The conduct of *France*, at this juncture, is
 unaccountable, otherwise than by supposing that they thought a *Bavarian* emperor, if too
 powerful, might prove as formidable to them as an *Austrian*; and that it was their interest
 not to extinguish, but to weaken, the power of *Maria-Theresa*. Instead of undertaking
 the siege of *Vienna*, to which the combined armies of *France* and *Bavaria* were advanced
 within three leagues, they turned off towards *Bohemia*; and being joined in the month of
November, 1741, by 20,000 *Saxons*, they took *Prague* by surprise, and made the garrison,
 consisting of 3000 men, prisoners of war. The affairs of *Maria-Theresa* now appeared to *d*
 be desperate; her competitor the *Bavarian* emperor had been crowned archduke of *Austria*
 at *Lintz*, king of *Bohemia* at *Prague*, and was chosen emperor at *Frankfort* on the 4th of
January, 1742. The last was an empty title, but the two former struck at her vitals, as
 did the conquest of *Silesia* and *Moravia*, which was now almost compleated by the king of
Prussia.

whose affairs
 mend.

It has been observed, that few great confederacies against a single state have been suc-
 cessful. The differences that prevailed among the powers in alliance against *Maria-The-*
resa, worked out her deliverance. The *Saxons*, *Prussians*, *French*, and *Bavarians*, accused
 each other, and all of them complained that *Belleisle*'s plan of operations had been but par-
 tially executed. Instead of 20,000 cavalry, the court of *Versailles* had sent no more than *e*
 8000 into the field, and the whole of their army did not exceed 32,000; and marshal *Bel-*
leisle was lying sick at *Frankfort*. The *Austrian* generals made incredible efforts for the re-
 lief of their mistress, and they were successful. The emperor had improvidently left but
 a few troops in the *Upper Austria*; and *Transylvania*, *Croatia*, *Moldavia*, and other *Panno-*
nian countries scarce ever heard of before, poured out their thousands of hardy combatants
 in the cause of *Maria-Theresa*. Count *Kevenbullen*, who was reckoned one of the most
 accomplished generals in *Europe*, served under the grand-duke of *Tuscany* in *Upper-Aus-*
tria, where the emperor's conquests were guarded only by about 15,000 *Bavarians*, and
 8000 *French*. *Belleisle* had sensibly foreseen that this handful of men must fall a sacrifice to
 the superiority of the *Austrians*. The grand-duke made himself master of *Lintz*, *Schar-*
ding, and *Passau*; all *Bavaria* was over-run, and its elector lost his capital of *Munich* to *f*
Mentzel, an *Austrian* freebooter, on the very day when preparations were making to crown
 him emperor at *Frankfort*. The king of *Prussia*, it is true, was still successful; but he
 looked upon himself, through the *French* having failed in their engagements, to be de-
 tached from the confederacy; and he had, upon that head, upbraided the old marshal
Broglie, who, upon the illness of *Belleisle*, had been sent to command the *French* army.

IN fact, his *Prussian* majesty, contented with securing his own interest, left his allies to
 their own fate, but not without fairly telling them so. The consequence was, that the
Austrian generals, invigorated by *English* money, recovered *Austria*, secured the best posts
 in *Bohemia*, and desolated the emperor's electorate of *Bavaria*. Prince *Lobkowitz*, an ac-
 tive *Austrian* general, made head against *Broglie* in *Bohemia*, as prince *Charles* did against *g*
 the king of *Prussia*, who was obliged to abandon *Olmütz*, with great part of his magazine
 and artillery. He attributed those misfortunes to the inability of *Broglie* to oppose *Lo-*
kowitz,

a kowitz, which gave an opportunity to prince Charles of Lorrain to recover Moravia. The king of Prussia, for his own interest, was obliged to march to the relief of Broglia, and was followed by prince Charles; but his Saxon confederates deserted him upon their entering Bohemia. On the 6th of May, 1742, the Prussian army under its king, and the Austrian, under prince Charles of Lorrain, fought a severe battle at Czaflaw. The Prussian cavalry at first gave way, but the Austrians were in their turn repulsed by the admirable discipline of the Prussian infantry. Prince Charles was obliged to retire, and consequently may be said to have been defeated. The king of Prussia gains the battle of Czaflaw.

His Prussian Majesty, after this battle, discovered that the French were rather his enemies than his allies; and that he had more to dread from them than from the queen of Hungary herself. King George II. had always been indefatigable in bringing about an accommodation between him and Maria-Theresa; and his Prussian majesty, when the world least expected it, accepted of his mediation. In about three weeks after the battle of Czaflaw was fought, a treaty was signed, which gave up to him all Silesia; and it was agreed between them, that neither should assist the enemies of the other. The French besieged in Prague.

MARIA-THERESA never would have submitted to this mortifying treaty, had she not been forced to it by the impending dangers that surrounded her, and which were now diminished, but not extinguished. The emperor was abandoned by the peace, nor was France mentioned in it. Maria-Theresa soon persuaded the Saxons to withdraw their arms from both those allies, made a rapid conquest of all his electoral dominions, and forced him to shut himself up in Francfort, while the Austrians besieged the French in Prague. That poor prince had no dependence but upon France, whose army was in a most miserable situation. Notwithstanding this, the French general, the duke de Harcourt, taking post on the Danube, obliged Kewenbullaer to evacuate Munich, which had suffered inexpressible barbarities and desolation from the licentiousness of the Austrian soldiers, especially the Pans of Prussia, who exceeded, if possible, in barbarity the ancient Goths. The treaty with the king of Prussia, had left the queen of Hungary at liberty to send general Festitz, who commanded in Silesia, with 18,000 men to reinforce prince Charles, who was besieging Prague, which was defended by Belleisle and Broglia. The French offered to surrender not only that city, but Egra, and all the posts they held in Bohemia, provided all the Austrian troops should evacuate Bavaria, and the garrison of Prague, consisting of 28,000 men, was permitted to depart with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The emperor, on his part, made the like advantageous offers. The inherent Austrian pride would not suffer Mary to accept of those terms. She imagined the surrender of Prague to be inevitable, and she thought it would give her husband, who was sent for that purpose, an eclat in Europe; if he commanded the army that took it. The siege was accordingly formed about the end of July, and was attended with very extraordinary circumstances.

ALL Europe, as well as her Hungarian majesty, thought that the French garrison of Prague must surrender prisoners of war, which must have been the case, had the Austrian artillery been tolerably well served. The garrison was reduced to eat horse-flesh, and that of other unclean animals, for their subsistence, and the hardships they otherwise underwent were inexpressible. The French general, Maillebois, was ordered immediately to their relief; and he was joined in the Upper Palatinate by the French and Imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles, hearing of this, left Festitz to continue the siege of Prague, and marched with the main body of his army against Maillebois, whom he forced with infinite loss to fall back into the Palatinate. In the mean while, the two French generals had obtained some advantages over Festitz; but upon the approach of Lobkowitz with a strong body of troops, they were obliged again to shut themselves up in Prague, where their condition appeared now more deplorable than ever. The genius of Belleisle exerted itself, upon this occasion, in a most amazing manner, notwithstanding his own indisposition, the inclemency of the weather, and the unhealthiness of his troops. He amused Lobkowitz, he imposed upon the inhabitants of Prague, and leaving a garrison of no more than 900 men, with proper directions how to act, he marched out of Prague in the night-time; and though followed by Lobkowitz as soon as his departure was known, he reached Egra, and from thence Alsace, without any material loss from the enemy, while the small garrison he left in Prague obtained an honourable capitulation. Their wonderful retreat.

THIS wonderful retreat put Mary again in possession of the capital of Bohemia. Being now supported by his Britannic majesty, her generals again ravaged the electorate of Bavaria to the very gates of its capital; which, for a third time, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The emperor was then a beggar and a fugitive, in his own dominions, at Francfort, and made the most humiliating proffers for a neutrality, but they were rejected. Mary's unseasonable haughtiness awakened compassion in the breasts of many Protestant princes; particularly the king of Prussia, and George II. was touched with his deplorable condition. On the 9th of June, 1743, his Britannic majesty came to his camp upon the Upper-Maine. War between the empress-queen and the Prussians.

Notwithstanding the advantageous post occupied by the *French* general, the duke de Noailles, he gained the battle of *Dettingen* that same month; but used his victory with so much moderation, that it did not prove decisive against the *French*. In *September*, a treaty was concluded at *Worms* between his *Britannic* majesty, the queen of *Hungary*, and the king of *Sardinia*, the substance of which we have already given. Though *George II.* appeared so zealous for her *Hungarian* majesty, who by this time had been crowned at *Prague*, yet he thought that she ought to hear reason now that all the purposes of the *Pragmatic Sanction* were answered; and his *Prussian* majesty openly espoused the part of the distressed emperor, by making a sudden irruption into *Bohemia*. *Mary* beheld this amazing reverse of fortune with great firmness, though he made himself master of *Prague*, and the greatest part of that kingdom. The reduction of *Prague* happened on the 16th of *September*, 1744. He even talked of penetrating to *Vienna*, and it was now publicly known, that an alliance had been formed at *Francfort* against the house of *Austria*, between him, the *French*, and the emperor. His *Prussian* majesty lost those conquests almost as rapidly as he had gained them. The *French* suffered prince *Charles* to repass the *Rhine*, and this obliged his majesty to evacuate *Bohemia*, and even *Prague* itself, and to return with very considerable loss to *Silesia*. a

THE emperor *Charles* died in the beginning of the year 1745, and the great duke of *Tuscany*, husband to the queen of *Hungary*, was chosen in his room. *Mary*, before the emperor's death, had made peace with him. The war still continued between the *Prussians* and the *Austrians*; but the latter, with the *Saxons*, were defeated at *Niedburgh* in *Silesia*, and afterwards at *Standentz*. His *Prussian* majesty then made himself master of all the electorate of *Saxony*, and *Maria-Theresa* was at last compelled to make peace with him upon his acknowledging her husband as emperor. As the other events of this war are to be found in the foregoing parts of this history, we shall confine ourselves to those of *Germany*, of which a slight recapitulation will be sufficient. *Maria Theresa* could not contentedly sit down with the loss of *Silesia*, and a secret alliance was formed between her, the empress of *Russia*, and the elector of *Saxony*, for dismembering the *Brandenburgh* dominions. This alliance was discovered by the king of *Prussia*, who was, or pretended to be, thereby exasperated beyond all measure. The system of *Europe* now received a total alteration. The empress queen, to support her plan, formed a strict alliance with *France*, as *Prussia* did with *Great Britain*. His *Prussian* majesty once more fell into the electorate of *Saxony*, which he again reduced, and made the *Saxon* army of 16,000 men prisoners. He afterwards, on the first of *December*, defeated the *Austrians* at *Lowositz*; and pushing forwards to *Bohemia*, on the 6th of *May* 1757, he gained a compleat victory over *Brown*, the *Austrian* General, near *Prague*, which was immediately invested, and must have been taken, had not count *Daun*, another *Austrian* general, collected the remains of that army, and defeated his *Prussian* majesty at *Colin* so effectually, that he was obliged to raise the siege of *Prague*, to evacuate *Bohemia* with great loss, and to take refuge in *Saxony*. b

COULD the empress-queen have acted with any degree of moderation in this prosperous state of her arms, she might have obtained a good peace at this time. The *French* were victorious in *Westphalia*, the *Russians* had entered the empire, and the *Austrians* had taken *Schweidnitz* and *Breslau* in *Silesia*. The king of *Prussia* had gained the battle of *Rosbach* against the *French* and Imperialists; but that did not compensate for his other losses; he engaged *Daun* at *Lissa*, and gained a decisive victory over the *Austrians*, of whom 6000 were killed, and 1500 taken prisoners. The consequence was, that *Breslau* was retaken, and the *Austrians* once more driven out of *Silesia*; and, in the beginning of *April*, 1758, *Schweidnitz* itself was retaken. The empress-queen was all this while firmly supported by her sister the empress of *Russia*, who poured her troops into *Germany*, defeated the *Prussians*, and when the *Austrian* affairs seemed desperate, retrieved them. The king did not fail, under all his difficulties, to shew himself a great soldier. Though he was obliged to raise the siege of *Olmütz*, and to retreat before *Daun*, yet he found means to re-enter *Silesia*, where he acted on the defensive; while *Daun* marched in concert with the army of the empire, to deliver *Saxony*; in which, after many operations, too complicated to be described here, he at last succeeded, after surprizing the king of *Prussia* and his army at *Hobkirk*. The death of the empress of *Russia* delivered his *Prussian* majesty, when his affairs were thought to be irretrievable. Her successor, the hereditary duke, was as much his friend as she had been his enemy; and *France* and *England*, as we have already seen, being tired of the war, had entered into a negociation, which the empress-queen had reason to believe would deprive her of the assistance of the *French*, as she had lost that of the *Russians*. c

SHE was at war with no power but *Prussia*, and she reasonably concluded, that as she could not, without great difficulty, make head against that prince, even with the powerful assistance of *Russia* and *France*, she could be far less able to do it without them; and she had some intimations from the court of *Petersburgh*, that if she obstinately refused d

She forms an alliance with France.

She makes a peace with Prussia.

a to conclude a peace, the *Russians*, who were still in the heart of *Germany*, would declare against her. She therefore wisely resolved, as soon as she knew that she must be deprived of the assistance of *France*, to conclude a peace with his *Prussian* majesty, which she accordingly did at *Hubertsburg*, and which left matters between them in the same condition as they were in when they went to war. She, however, reaped one advantage from this peace, which is her procuring her eldest son, the archduke *Joseph*, to be chosen king of the *Romans*, by which his succession to the imperial crown is secured.

THE histories of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, and *Germany*, which we have brought down to the present time, in fact, include the great public transactions of the capital powers of *Europe*; and we shall therefore, conclude this volume, with a short recapitulation of their b affairs since the time of their having been broken off in this history to the present.

THE empress *Elizabeth* of *Russia*, after a most glorious reign, died on the 2d of *January*, 1762, in the career of her *German* victories, and left her empire to *Peter* the III^d, who had been designed her successor. His attachment to the king of *Prussia* was entirely personal; and though generous, was ill-timed, because disagreeable to the *Russians*. In other respects, nothing could be more plausible than the commencement of *Peter* the III^d's government. He recalled the prisoners that had been banished to *Siberia*, and among others the famous count *Biron*, who, from being a slave in that country, is now the sovereign prince of *Courland*, which he has rendered hereditary in his family. The reign of *Peter* III. was short. There had, for some time, been no good understanding between c him and his princefs; and he shewed dispositions for a war to recover his hereditary dominions of *Holstein* from the king of *Denmark*. A few weeks discovered his temper to be irregular, and his conduct impolitic. From a rage for reformation, and by the most extravagant behaviour, he disoblged both the army and the clergy. He even preposterously attempted to abrogate the established religion of *Russia*. Those were measures which, joined to the intemperance, levity, and dissoluteness of his behaviour, rendered him equally odious and despicable. A conspiracy to dethrone him was formed among the great lords of the empire, who invited the empress to take upon her the imperial authority; a dignity, to which they thought her intitled, by her sufferings, her understanding, and her manners, which were the reverse of those of her husband. She accepted d the invitation, and while her husband was indolently spending his hours at a country-seat, she mounted the throne of *Russia*, with the unanimous election and approbation of all orders of the empire. When news of this catastrophe was brought to the unhappy *Peter*, he endeavoured to escape, but was prevented, though he offered to resign the empire and retire to *Holstein*; and he was obliged to sign an unconditional resignation of his empire, and to acknowledge under his hand his inability to rule. A few hours after he had signed those mortifying deeds, it was publicly declared, as had been generally foreseen, that he was dead of a distemper which the court chose to call a hemorrhoidal cholic. The new empress *Catharine* II. daughter of the prince of *Anbalt Zerbst*, has, since her succession, outdone all the high expectations her subjects had formed of her genius, wisdom, and moderation, by preserving her husband's engagements with the king of *Prussia*, e and contributing all that a great monarch can do towards the public tranquillity of *Europe*, and the prosperity of her dominions.

Sequel to the histories of Russia.

AUGUSTUS III. king of *Poland*, elector of *Saxony*, had, at the time of the peace of *Poland*, *Hubertsburgh*, been a kind of an exile in *Poland*, from his electoral dominions. As he had great family-alliances, and the compassion of the public on his side, he had attempted to make one of his sons duke of *Courland*, and another bishop of *Liege*, but he failed in both; and he died of a lethargic distemper on the 5th of *October*, 1763, in the 67th year of his age. His eldest son declared himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, but he died on the 17th of *December* following, leaving behind him a minor son, under the tuition of prince *Xavier*. This prince, it is thought, is secretly favoured in his pretensions to the crown of *Poland* by the courts of *Vienna* and *Versailles*; but the interests of *Russia* and *Prussia*, with the general inclination of the *Polish* nation being against him, the elevation will probably fall upon a piast, or a native *Pole*.

THE present king of *Sweden* is *Adolphus Frederic*, of *Holstein Eutin*, who mounted that throne in 1751. He married *Louisa Ulrica*, sister to his present *Prussian* majesty. Both of them are personages of great accomplishments and virtues, but have not an opportunity of exerting either their virtues or their talents, which are controuled by the senate. This senate has more power than is consistent with the form of a monarchical government. It was the ungovernable spirit of this senate that forced the *Swedes* to take part g against the *Prussians* in the late war, which was equally prejudicial to their reputation as their interest; and, probably, the *Swedes* cannot, for many years, make that capital figure in the affairs of *Europe*, which they did at the beginning of this century.

Denmark,

THE king of *Denmark*, *Frederic*, who succeeded his father in 1746, is a wise and understanding prince. He took no capital concern in the late war, but in ordering his minister, count *Lynar*, to settle the convention of *Clostersezen*, between the duke of *Cumberland* and marshal *Richelieu*. The improvement of the trade, manufactures, learning, arts, and police, of his kingdom, entirely employs his attention. Upon the death of his queen, *Louisa* of *England*, he married *Julia Maria* of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttle*, by whom he has a numerous issue. The prince-royal of *Denmark* is now about fifteen years of age. All the disputes that subsisted between *Russia* and *Denmark*, are amicably adjusted; and his *Danish* majesty is not only improving his *East-India* trade, but has made very considerable additions to the few possessions which he has in the *West-Indies* and *America*.

Sardinia,

WE have, in the preceding work, sufficiently explained the views of the king of *Sardinia*, whose territories have been more increased than those of any other prince in *Europe* since the year 1740. He has of late found means to obtain a confirmation and guaranty of that part of the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which establishes in him and his family the reversionary right to the duchy of *Placentia*, in case don *Philip* should die without heirs male, and the *French* pay him on that account a very considerable annuity. He beholds, without any uneasiness, the struggles which the *Corficans* are making for their liberties; and it is thought that he could not, without jealousy, behold any third power interfere between them and the *Genoese*, who, by the latest and best accounts, are upon the point of being driven out of that island. The affairs of the other powers of *Italy*, and likewise of the republic of *Holland*, are so complicated with those related in the preceding part of this history, that it is needless here to repeat them.

and Turkey.

OUR history of *Turkey*, in the preceding part of this work, ended in 1699; and the principal transactions of that empire since are connected with the history of *Germany*. *Mostapha*, who was then sultan, being too much guided by his favourites, especially the mufti, was deposed in 1703, and succeeded by his brother *Achmed*, who gave shelter to *Charles* king of *Sweden*, after the battle of *Pultowa*. It was in his reign that the famous treaty of *Pruth* was concluded with the czar *Peter the Great*; and it must be acknowledged, that he behaved with unexampled magnanimity and good faith towards both those *European* monarchs. In the year 1715, the armies of *Achmet* III. took from the republic of *Venice* all the *Morea*. In 1716, they were entirely routed by prince *Eugene*, near *Peterwaradin*, and the Imperialists took *Temeswar*. Next year they received a still greater defeat near *Belgrade*, which likewise fell into the hands of the Imperialists; but a treaty between the two powers was made in 1718. A war breaking out with the *Persians*, sultan *Achmed* was deposed by an insurrection which happened at *Constantinople*, and was succeeded by *Mohammed* V. who made an advantageous peace with the *Persians*. That treaty being broken by the latter, the *Turks* were defeated at the battle of *Babylon*, or *Baghdad*. In a subsequent war, that broke out between them and the empires of *Germany* and *Russia*, they were successful against the former, but were obliged to make an inglorious peace with the latter. *Ozman* III. who succeeded to the *Othman* throne, died in 1754; and the present sultan, *Mostapha* III. seems to take a great deal more concern in the affairs of *Europe* than his predecessors have done for many years. He has lately joined the emperors of *Russia* and his *Prussian* majesty, in expressing his hopes that the *Poles* would elect a piast for their king; which, we are informed, has been happily effected in the person of count *Poniatowsky*.

END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.